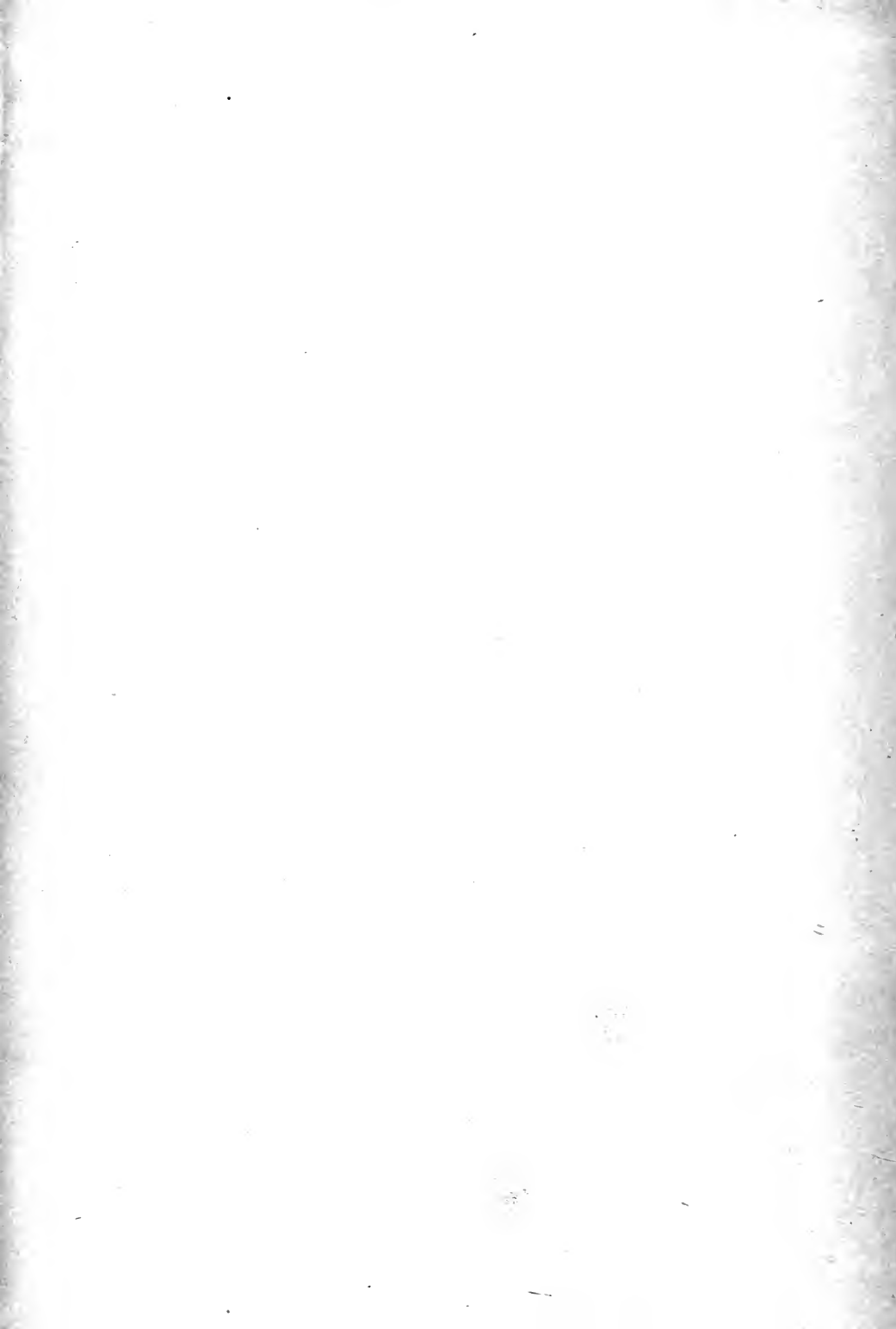
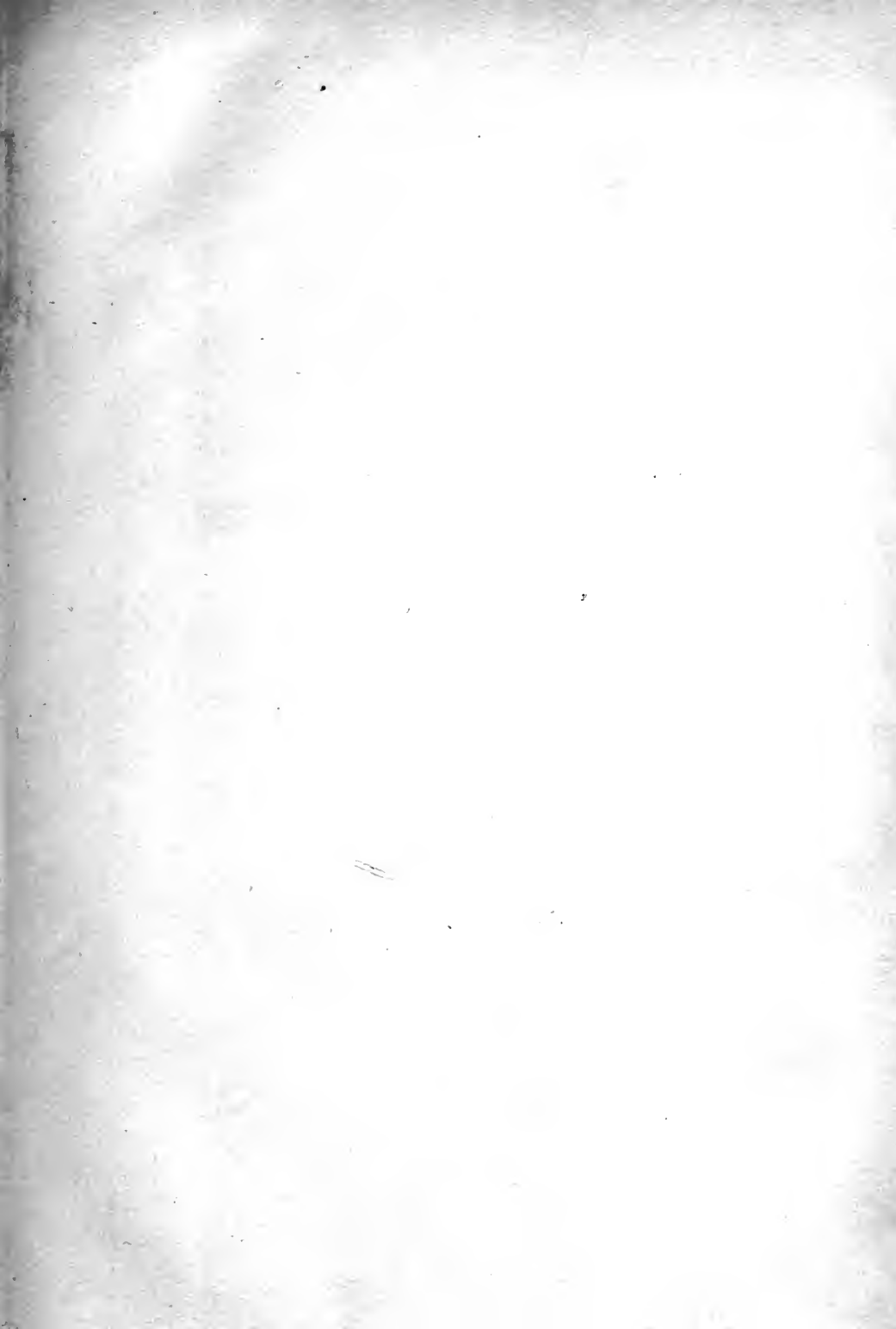


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**THE MODERN LANGUAGE  
REVIEW**

**VOLUME VIII**

**1913**

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THE  
MODERN LANGUAGE  
REVIEW

*A QUARTERLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE STUDY  
OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN LITERATURE  
AND PHILOLOGY*

EDITED BY

J. G. ROBERTSON

G. C. MACAULAY

AND

H. OELSNER

VOLUME VIII



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## INDEX

### ARTICLES.

PAGE

BALDENSBERGER, F. and CARRÉ, J. M., La première histoire indienne de Chateaubriand et sa source américaine . . . . .	15
BARBIER, PAUL, FILS, Étymologie et dérivés romans du lat. 'Acernia,' 'Acerna' . . . . .	185
BARNOUW, A. J., Goldsmith's Indebtedness to Justus van Effen . . . . .	314
BERDAN, JOHN M., Alexander Barclay, Poet and Preacher . . . . .	289
BRETT, CYRIL, Notes on 'Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight' . . . . .	160
BROOKE, RUPERT, The Authorship of the Later 'Appius and Virginia' . . . . .	433
FOX, J. C., An Anglo-Norman Apocalypse from Shaftesbury Abbey . . . . .	338
GUTHKELCH, A. C., Swift's 'Tale of a Tub' . . . . .	301, 454
KÖRNER, MARGARET, Two Poems attributed to Theodor Körner . . . . .	53
LIVINGSTON, ARTHUR, Concerning an Aspect of Concettismo . . . . .	331
MACAULAY, G. C., Richardson and his French Predecessors . . . . .	464
MACLEAN, CHRISTINA M., Victor Hugo's Use of 'Les Délices de la Grande Bretagne' in 'L'Homme qui rit' . . . . .	173
MACLEAN, CHRISTINA M., Victor Hugo's Use of Chamberlayne's 'L'État présent de l'Angleterre' in 'L'Homme qui rit' . . . . .	496
POPE, MILDRED K., A Note on the Dialect of Béroul's 'Tristan' and a Conjecture . . . . .	189
POPE, MILDRED K., Four Chansons de Geste: A Study in Old French Epic Versification . . . . .	352
POUND, LOUISE, Indefinite Composites and Word-Coinage . . . . .	324
RAGG, LONSDALE, Wit and Humour in Dante . . . . .	27
ROBERTSON, J. G., Friedrich Hebbel . . . . .	145
ROBERTSON, J. G., Notes on Lessing's 'Beyträge zur Historie und Aufnahme des Theaters,' I, II . . . . .	511
ROUTH, H. V., The Future of Comparative Literature . . . . .	1
SMITH, G. C. MOORE, Donniana . . . . .	47
SMITH, W. F., Rabelais on Language by Signs . . . . .	193
SPEARING, EVELYN M., A Chronological Arrangement of Donne's Sermons . . . . .	468
TUTTLE, EDWIN H., Notes on Romanic Speech-history . . . . .	484
WELLS, JOHN EDWIN, Fielding's 'Champion' and Captain Hercules Vinegar . . . . .	165

### TEXTS AND DOCUMENTS.

GREG, W. W., A Ballad of Twelfth Day . . . . .	64
JAMES, M. R., and MACAULAY, G. C., Fifteenth Century Carols and other Pieces . . . . .	68
NAPIER, A. S., Two Fragments of Alfred's 'Orosius' . . . . .	59 *
PRIESCH, R., Ein Unbekannter Brief Christian Brentanos an Henry Crabb Robinson . . . . .	533

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

## PAGE

BOAS, F. S., A Herrick Reading . . . . .	92
BRADLEY, HENRY, Who was John But? . . . . .	88
CHAMBERS, E. K., Henry Evans and the Blackfriars . . . . .	90
CLARK, RUTH, Saint Évremond's 'Parallèle de Monsieur le Prince et de Monsieur de Turenne' . . . . .	374
DEROCQUIGNY, J., E. 'Grouse,' F. 'Greuce'; E. 'Hatchment,' F. 'Hachement'; E. 'Junk' or 'Rush of the Sea,' F. 'Jonc marin'; E. 'Relent,' A.-F. 'Relenter' . . . . .	93
FORD, GERTRUDE E., Note on a Line in Keats's 'Isabella' . . . . .	543
GREG, W. W., Autograph Plays by Anthony Munday . . . . .	89
GREG, W. W., Chaucer Attributions in MS. Trin. Coll. Cambridge, R. 3. 19 . . . . .	539
HARPER, CARRIE A., 'Locrine' and the 'Faerie Queene' . . . . .	369
HOOPER, EDITH S., The Authorship of 'Luminalia' and Notes on some other Poems of Sir William D'Avenant . . . . .	540
LAWRENCE, JOHN, The O.E. Name for the Letter G . . . . .	206
LONG, PERCY W., 'Backare' . . . . .	373
MUTSCHMANN, H., An Unpublished Letter from Ottilie von Goethe to A. Hayward . . . . .	377
ROBERTSON, J. G., 'Nathan der Weise' Act I, Sc. II. . . . .	203
SMART, J. S., Milton in Rome . . . . .	91
SMITH, G. C. MOORE, John Mason and Edward Sharpham . . . . .	371
SMITH, G. C. MOORE, 'Jency' . . . . .	97
SMITH, G. C. MOORE, Spenser and Mulcaster . . . . .	368
SMITH, HERBERT, An English Translation of Goethe's 'Clavigo' . . . . .	204
SMITH, W. F., Identification of Don Philipe des Marays, Viceroy de Papeligosse in 'Gargantua' c. 15 . . . . .	199
THOMAS, P. G., 'Beowulf' and 'Daniel A' . . . . .	537
TILLEY, ARTHUR, The Date of D'Urfé's 'L'Astrée' . . . . .	101
TOYNBEE, PAGET, Dante's Remarks on Translation in the 'Convivio' . . . . .	101
TOYNBEE, PAGET, Jonathan Richardson and Portraits of Dante . . . . .	202
TUTTLE, EDWIN H., Hispanic 'Tomar'; Portuguese Spelling; Italian 'X' . . . . .	97
VIGLIONE, F., Paolo Rolli and the Society for the Encouragement of Learning . . . . .	200
WORRALL, WALTER, 'Backare' etc. . . . .	544
YOUNG, MARY VANCE, Voiture and Steele . . . . .	93

## DISCUSSIONS.

MACCRACKEN, H. N., Lydgate's 'Serpent of Division' . . . . .	103
RUDMOSE-BROWN, T. B., English and French Metric . . . . .	104

## REVIEWS.

Alexander, H., The Place-names of Oxfordshire (W. J. Sedgefield) . . . . .	243
Angela da Foligno, Book of the Divine Consolation of, transl. by M. G. Stegman (C. Foligno) . . . . .	271
Bailey, John, Poets and Poetry (Helen Darbishire) . . . . .	113
Bandello, M., Le Novelle, a cura di G. Brognoligo (C. Foligno) . . . . .	267



REVIEWS *cont.*

## PAGE

Baretti, G., <i>La Scelta delle Lettere Familiari</i> , a cura di L. Piccioni (C. Foligno) . . . . .	267
Berchet, G., <i>Opere</i> , a cura di E. Bellowini (C. Foligno) . . . . .	267
Blum, J., <i>La Vie et l'Œuvre de J. G. Hamann</i> (J. G. Robertson) . . . . .	405
Bridges, R., <i>Poetical Works</i> (T. S. Omond) . . . . .	240
Brooke, C. F. Tucker, <i>Authorship of King Henry VI, 2 and 3</i> (E. W. Lummis) . . . . .	220
Cambridge History of English Literature, ed. by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller, VII (W. Lewis Jones) . . . . .	109
Cambridge History of English Literature, VIII (G. C. Macaulay) . . . . .	223
Cambridge History of English Literature, IX (Carl van Doren) . . . . .	381
Chadwick, H. M., <i>The Heroic Age</i> (Allen Mawer) . . . . .	207
Chambers, R. W., <i>Widsith</i> (Allen Mawer) . . . . .	118
Christ, W. von, <i>Griechische Literaturgeschichte</i> (R. Petsch) . . . . .	413
Coleridge, S. T., <i>Poetical Works</i> , ed. by E. H. Coleridge (E. de Sélincourt) . . . . .	546
Coppo, G., <i>Legend of the Holy Fina Virgin of San Geminiano</i> , transl. by M. Mansfield (C. Foligno) . . . . .	271
Davidson, A. F., <i>Victor Hugo, his Life and Work</i> (H. Chatelain) . . . . .	130
Dodgson, E. S., <i>The Baskish Verb</i> (W. J. Edmondston-Scott) . . . . .	272
Duclaux, M., <i>The French Ideal</i> (E. Fannièrè) . . . . .	253
Duclaux, M., <i>The French Procession</i> (E. Fannièrè) . . . . .	253
Early English Classical Tragedies, ed. by J. W. Cunliffe (G. C. Moore Smith) . . . . .	218
Elton, O., <i>Survey of English Literature, 1780—1830</i> (A. A. Jack) . . . . .	235
English Literature and the Classics, ed. by G. S. Gordon (G. C. Moore Smith) . . . . .	387
Essays and Studies (English Association), ed. by W. P. Ker (Helen Darbishire) . . . . .	548
Fairchild, A. H. R., <i>The Making of Poetry</i> (Grace E. Hadow) . . . . .	213
Finsler, G., <i>Homer in der Neuzeit</i> (R. Petsch) . . . . .	413
Gardner, E. G., <i>Dante and the Mystics</i> (John T. Mitchell) . . . . .	566
Goethes Gespräche, herausg. von F. von Biedermann (H. Mutschmann) . . . . .	257
Gordon, A. L., <i>Poems</i> , ed. by F. M. Robb (Grace E. Hadow) . . . . .	558
Halifax, Marquess of, <i>Complete Works</i> , ed. by W. Raleigh (G. C. Macaulay) . . . . .	229
Hall, H. M., <i>Idylls of Fishermen</i> (G. C. Moore Smith) . . . . .	392
Hugon, C., <i>Social France in the Seventeenth Century</i> (T. B. Rudmose-Brown) . . . . .	420
Jack, A. A., <i>Poetry and Prose</i> (C. H. Herford) . . . . .	210
James I of England, <i>New Poems</i> , ed. by A. F. Westcott (T. F. Henderson) . . . . .	115
Jourdain, E. F., <i>Introduction to the French Classical Drama</i> (H. Chatelain) . . . . .	561
Keble's Lectures on Poetry, transl. by E. K. Francis (G. C. Macaulay) . . . . .	553
Lirondelle, A., <i>Le Poète Alexis Tolstoi</i> (W. J. Sedgfield) . . . . .	416
Loewe, R., <i>Germanic Philology</i> , transl. by J. D. Jones (R. A. Williams) . . . . .	412
Luquiens, F. B., <i>Introduction to Old French Phonology and Morphology</i> (M. K. Pope) . . . . .	248

REVIEWS *cont.*

PAGE

McKenzie, K., <i>Concordanza delle rime di F. Petrarca</i> (Paget Toynbee)	262
Menéndez Pidal, R., <i>El Romancero Español</i> (W. P. Ker)	264
Naumann, H., <i>Altnordische Namenstudien</i> (Allen Mawer)	246
<i>Oldest Monuments of the French Language</i> , transl. (E. G. R. Waters)	251
Patience, ed. by Hartley Bateson (G. C. Macaulay)	396
Patterson, F. A., <i>The Middle English Penitential Lyric</i> (Carleton Brown)	215
Pierquin, H., <i>Le poème de Beowulf</i> (W. J. Sedgefield)	550
Polo, Marco, <i>Il Milione</i> , a cura di D. Olivieri (C. Foligno)	267
Rand, E. K., and Wilkins, E. H., <i>Dantis Alagherii Operum Latinorum Concordantiae</i> (Paget Toynbee)	262
Reed, E. B., <i>English Lyrical Poetry</i> (Norman Hepple)	389
Runtz-Rees, C., <i>Charles de Sainte-Marthe</i> (H. Chatelain)	132
<i>Schriften des literarischen Vereins in Wien</i> , I–XVII (J. G. Robertson)	407
Shakespeare, W., <i>The Winter's Tale</i> , ed. by F. W. Moorman (F. W. Clarke)	222
Skeat, W. W., <i>The Science of Etymology</i> (W. J. Sedgefield)	394
Smith, W., <i>The Commedia dell' Arte</i> (C. Foligno)	563
Stjerna, K., <i>Essays on Beowulf</i> , transl. by J. R. Clark Hall (A. Mawer)	242
Strowski, F., <i>Tableau de la littérature française au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle</i> (Arthur Tilley)	398
Suddard, M., <i>Studies and Essays</i> (Grace E. Hadow)	227
Thompson, E. N. S., <i>The English Moral Plays</i> (E. K. Chambers)	121
Thumb, A., <i>Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular</i> (E. A. Gardner)	419
Unger, R., <i>Hamann und die Aufklärung</i> (J. G. Robertson)	405
Witkop, Ph., <i>Die neuere deutsche Lyrik</i> (John Lees)	560
Wright, C. H. C., <i>History of French Literature</i> (A. Tilley and H. Oelsner)	121, 277

## MINOR NOTICES.

Bladin, V., <i>Studies of Denominative Verbs in English</i>	274
Catalogue of the Dante Collection, University College, London.	275
Draper, W. H., <i>Petrarch's Secret</i>	423
Jespersen, O., <i>Elementarbuch der Phonetik</i>	423
Jespersen, O., <i>Growth and Structure of the English Language</i>	133
Lessing, O. E., <i>Masters in Modern German Literature</i>	276
Lindelöf, <i>Grundzüge der Geschichte der englischen Sprache</i>	422
Manzoni, A., <i>Carteggio di</i> , a cura di G. Sforza e G. Gallavresi	134
Menaechmi, <i>The</i> , transl. by Warner, ed. by W. H. D. Rouse	273
Morgan, C. E., <i>Rise of the Novel of Manners</i>	274
Porterfield, A. W., <i>K. L. Immermann</i>	276
Recluse, <i>The</i> , ed. by J. Pålsson	133
Schick, J., <i>Corpus Hamleticum</i> , I	569
Smith, Nicol, <i>Jeffrey's Literary Criticism</i>	133
Wyneken, F. A., <i>Rousseaus Einfluss auf Klinger</i>	276

NEW PUBLICATIONS . . . . . 125, 278, 424, 570

## THE FUTURE OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE.

IF in some future time a literary historian attempts to estimate the critical output of these last fifty years, he will find his task to be a labour of Hercules. He will be able at once to single out a few prominent figures such as Sainte-Beuve, Taine, Matthew Arnold, Brunetière, Faguet and Benedetto Croce, and he will easily understand and explain their messages. But he will also notice that these thinkers have had comparatively few followers, and that hundreds and hundreds of other workers in literature have sprung up, mostly in the Universities, with quite different aims and methods. He will readily recognise that these academic men—and women—of research have done a vast amount of valuable work; that they have cleared up obscure questions, annotated and reprinted obscure authors, systematised and tabulated obscure periods, each contributing his own piece of masonry to a vast edifice of learning. But when he enquires what common bond united all these scholars and to what common goal all these efforts were directed, he will search long and in vain for a sufficiently convincing reply. This question, which a future historian is bound to put, we cannot help asking now. After all, to what purpose is all this minute knowledge of literature? Much of it has obviously and clearly no purpose at all, and runs riot almost as wildly as did the post-Augustan Virgilians or some of the seventeenth century scholars; so that able men devote toilsome years to the discovery of quaint and curious details which they vaguely declare to be important, without saying why. Can all this erudition be put to any ulterior and nobler use, or must most of it lose its vitality as soon as created? The present writer believes that the 'voluminous and vast' body of knowledge, which has now been made so easily accessible, can be coordinated and interpreted in a way impossible half a century ago. He believes that a subtler and higher kind of knowledge can be extracted from it by a method rather inadequately designated as that of Comparative Literature.

To understand the possibilities of comparative literature it is necessary to see in what relation it stands to the present tendencies of research. Owing to the strenuous competition for academic emoluments, many advanced students are guided in their labours by no other ideal than that of a higher position or an increased salary. But wherever a scholarly and intellectual purpose can be detected, it is generally this—to enable others to view some fragment of literature with the same eyes as the specialist. The uninitiated reader looks upon a play, a poem, an essay or a novel much as the man in the street will soon look upon aeroplanes. It is there because it is there. The man of letters realises that a masterpiece is not only an aesthetic pleasure but a triumph of inventiveness for those who know the history of its type. He also perceives that the great books of the past were written for readers with different ideas and surroundings and sometimes with a different idiom from our own, and that much of their thought and style can be appreciated only when this atmosphere is recreated. Again, while performing his task of classification and appreciation, he finds that some classic has really borrowed the ideas and even the phrasing of another writer, perhaps of a different age or country, and must be stripped of his borrowed plumes. Thus the critic is really an artist, not necessarily of words but of facts. Whether he is studying an author, an age or the history of a type of literature, he has to gather together a mass of sometimes apparently incongruous knowledge, often penetrating far into other ages and languages or digressing into history, economics, sociology and art, and he weaves all this learning round his theme, till it stands out in a new garb. It is obvious that in such a scheme of study there can be no place for comparative literature. Every advanced worker in the most restricted field is himself a student who compares. To add to this programme a comprehensive history of 'influences' and parallels would be merely to authorise a sciolist to attempt what is now achieved by an army of specialists.

It was this misdirection of energy and erudition against which Professor Gregory Smith, though for other reasons, warned the first readers of *The Modern Language Review* in 'Some Notes on the Comparative Study of Literature,' urging that this method, as usually applied, was a desiccated perversion, interesting only to scientists and antiquarians, whereas the true scope of such synthetic study would be found in the positive side of criticism, in discovering 'what Aristotle taught us to understand by the Universal in literary art.' Few broad-minded students are likely to disagree with Professor Gregory Smith,

as far as he goes. Undoubtedly one of the functions of comparative literature will be to emphasise what is fundamental and common 'in the history of *motif* and form.' But does he go far enough? Besides 'mere Darwinism' or 'the analogies which an unreasonably scientific age borrows so readily from the weather bureau or the physical laboratory,' the genesis of books has a philosophy peculiar to itself. We have, of course, long recognised that literature is a part of a nation's life and often indicates more clearly than laws or treaties or revolutions the trend of a people's mind. But quite apart from, or only half associated with this historical significance, it should be possible to investigate and explain the forces and influences which, in different epochs, bring different *genres* into existence. It is only by a method of comparative study—though not the method justly censured by Professor Smith—that the enquirer can win access to these secrets.

It may well be urged that the achievements of comparative literature, painstaking and valuable as such work undoubtedly is, are far from justifying such pretensions. Such a contention is only too true because, up till now, comparative literature has generally concerned itself only with resemblances and parallels. But if the student were to turn his attention to differences and contrasts, he would be amazed to find how quickly his researches were leading him behind the scenes. Why did the essay, which sprang into a sudden and glorious existence in France, die out of that country almost immediately afterwards and thrive and multiply for over three centuries among the English? And, in revenge, what caused the French to look to England, in spite of Rousseau, for romantic inspiration, and then so rapidly and splendidly to develop an artistic ideal of their own? Why has oratory flourished as a literary type during only four periods of European history, with Demosthenes, with Cicero, with Bossuet and with Burke? How was it that Greece created a certain kind of epic, that a Roman took that epic as the model for a similar poem, that then an Englishman drew inspiration from both, and yet that each one (assuming for convenience sake that Homer existed) produced something essentially different from the others? And how was it that after Homer only Virgil, Milton and, in a less degree, Dante caught the epic spirit, while so many other gifted poets from Lucan to Morris failed? Again, how was it that antiquity created a certain type of drama, that England and France accepted this model in the sixteenth century, blended it with their miracle plays, and yet produced a literature so fundamentally different each from the other? How was it that both countries produced their best drama in the

seventeenth and not in any other century, while Italy failed to produce any first-rate work and Germany, drawing on the same sources of inspiration, produced yet another type of drama, and that too in the eighteenth century? Then as a contrast turn to the Roman *satura*. It differs from other types of Latin literature in being of native origin. Again it differs in being profoundly modified by the Romans themselves, first by Lucilius, then by Horace and then by Juvenal. Yet in northern and modern Europe, unlike the drama and the epic, it retains, beneath superficial changes, the spirit of the old classics, and again, unlike the drama and the epic, it is completely effaced in the nineteenth century by the novel and the short story. How was it that the Renaissance in Italy found vent in an assertion of individuality, while in France, the pupil of Italy, it subjected itself to law? Why did lyric poetry spring into a short and imperfect existence in Greece, an even less perfect existence at Rome, and then, after fitful and timorous efforts in medieval Latin and one short if glorious outburst at the Renaissance, find full and free scope only in the nineteenth century? Why was it the eighteenth century, in which sentimentality first really made its presence to be felt? Or take the idea of the Devil and the idea of a Gentleman, which run like threads through post-classical civilisation. Of course an exhaustive antiquarian enquiry into these two conceptions would be beyond the most prodigally comprehensive scheme of literary research, but a comparative study of how each idea changes as one age succeeds the other is like reading a picture history of moral and social development.

These are a few examples, chosen almost haphazard, of the riddles which present themselves for solution as soon as the student begins to *compare* literatures. In compiling such a list it is hard to avoid debateable ground and a critical reader will undoubtedly shake his head at incidental assertions, which lack of space compels the writer to state with dogmatic brevity. But very few will deny the suggestiveness of the principle. In fact, most will go so far as to point out that such a method has long been recognised, and up to a certain degree has been put into practice. It would readily be conceded, for instance, that the Marprelate controversy can be understood more clearly by comparison with the *Satire Ménippée*; that Pope should be read side by side with Horace and Boileau; that Racine will suddenly stand in a new and fuller light when his *Iphigénie* is compared with the *Iphigenia* of Euripides, and then with that of Goethe; that Montaigne's *Institution des Enfants* will, by contrast, illuminate Ascham's *Scholemaster*, and

that Faret's *Honnête Homme* will do the same for Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*. All this and far more will be conceded, and it will furthermore be pointed out that such comparisons do not merely trace the influence of one author or the indebtedness of another, but bring out the peculiarity or significance of a work as one shade of colour is heightened when compared with another. To this extent the comparative method is certainly far from new, but while it is applied only in this fragmentary way, to throw light on some specialist's subject, it is not a department of study but an obvious resource for any well-read and conscientious monographer. The real value of comparative literature can be appreciated only in the hands of some scholar who has no special author or period in mind, nor any desire to 'give a bird's eye view of the whole field,' but whose curiosity is excited by the strange contrasts and deviations of literary development. Such an enquirer will not dream of covering Europe's output in prose and poetry, but will concentrate his attention, almost instinctively, on those authors and schools of expression which, at any time or in any place, have unexpectedly differed. Not being distracted by any of the specialist's interests, though availing himself largely of his labours, he will pass from one author to another, wherever contrasts suggest an opening, first of all estimating the art and ideas of the works momentarily in question, then examining the *milieu* which shaped each literary life, then enquiring into the causes, whether social, domestic, racial, climatic or political which turned them severally from one trend of thought and one form of expression and drew them to another. By and bye, as he gradually learns what influences count in the formation of thought and what other influences, though considerable in history or sociology, are powerless, and again what qualities are essential to a particular type of literature, while certain other qualities are accidents of time and place, his apparently erratic footsteps begin to progress along definite lines. He finds that while avoiding the bibliographical and textual minuteness of the specialists, he has himself become a specialist of another sort, who supplements their discoveries by researches just as recondite. His chosen province is neither aesthetics nor biography, but the study of literary essence and evolution. Books to him are so much data for investigating the conditions which inspire and the conditions which diversify the written word.

It will readily be granted that no single literature can give the full materials for such an enquiry, and some will contend that all the

materials of all the literatures will never enable the student to arrive at anything but a half result. They will urge that such a method, however comprehensive, necessarily confines itself to the study of periods and tendencies, and overlooks the inexplicable but predominant personal element. Literary inspiration, they will add, like the wind, 'bloweth where it listeth,' the greatest intellectual movements are controlled by accidents of temperament or circumstance, and can often be traced to an obscure idiosyncrasy lurking in the brain of some genius. Thus any attempt at a concordance of literary tendencies must end in something academic and artificial. In reply to such objections it must certainly be admitted that all literary research is restricted in its range. Books are only one of the many products of the human mind and give an attenuated insight into its labyrinthine depths. But within the limits inevitably set to this source of knowledge, the comparative method will penetrate further towards fundamental truths than any specialised enquiry can do. To begin with, it is only by some such process that the personal element can be distinguished from the influences of environment, and again, it is only by the same means that the student can see how far-reaching these influences are. So imitative is the human mind, and so impressionable the creative faculty, that every author, even the most self-centred and secluded, produces his works in collaboration with all those whom he has read or who will read him. So although much in the genesis of human thought will always be a mystery, even more can be explained.

Let us attempt in a rough and conjectural outline, to sketch the method of an enquirer who is endeavouring to construct the laws of literary production. After all, the only effectual advocacy in these matters is by demonstration. Such a student duly observes that certain types of literature, certain arts of expression and phases of thought, appear, disappear and reappear at different times and in different countries, down all the course of history. And he further observes that there is always some one age when each literary phenomenon seems to stand out most clearly and completely, whereas at other periods its development and characteristics are either defective or obscure. So he stops at the favourable moment, where the material seems richest or most accessible, and constructs therefrom his theory of the conditions affecting his *genre*, and then he tests his conclusions by comparison with the other *milieus* in which the same type appeared. By watching a form of literature arise, flourish and decay in different ages and among different nations, he distinguishes between its essential qualities and the mannerisms which it affects at each epoch, and he



comes to see what spiritual and social atmospheres are necessary to its growth. After investigating one *genre*, he goes on to the next and then the next, until he has completed the study of every type which lends itself to this treatment.

Thus, in a certain sense, comparative literature is not a history but an aggregate of independent enquiries, each covering its own set of periods, though all contribute knowledge with regard to the place of literature in civilisation. Nevertheless these investigations almost naturally fit into a chronological sequence, and carry the student along the course of time, while he stops at the formation of each set of deductions, to digress into the past or the future in search of corroborative evidence. He begins with the types which can best be studied in the classical world, and he finds that his researches centre in Rome, because we still know too little about the origin and aims of Greek literature and inherit too fragmentary a residue of their output, to use their achievements except for comparison. But oratory, the 'self-conscious' epic, erotic poetry and satire can be studied in Roman literature better than elsewhere. In every case we first consider the ideas, sentiments, society and politics of the time which made these *genres* possible; then the genius and training of their chief exponents; then the Greek models which they copied; then their own artistic ideals and the characteristics of their work. After thus forming an idea of how these types came into existence, in what *milieu* they thrive and of what quality of excellence each is capable, we test our deductions by comparison with the same types at other periods. In oratory we have Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Massillon under Louis XIV, and Burke, Sheridan, Macaulay and others in the Georgian and early Victorian eras. With Virgil we compare Milton, to see what the epos was like in later ages, and a host of poets, including Lucan, Statius, Tasso, Voltaire, Hugo, Tennyson and Morris, to see when and why the epic spirit dies. Our ideas of erotic poetry are enlarged and corrected by comparison with the Italians of the late Middle Ages, the English of the Renaissance, the Germans of the *Sturm und Drang* period and the French of the nineteenth century. In satire we have Boileau, Dryden, Pope, Johnson, Crabbe, Rabener and Liscow. But no conception of formal satire would be complete unless we compared it with informal satire, and by briefly reviewing many famous diatribes, pasquinades and parodies (such as *Satyricon*, *Epistulae Obscurorum Virorum*, *Simplicius Simplicissimus*, *Hudibras*, *Les Châtiments*) showed how different was the atmosphere and scope of the two types, and how both were absorbed in the nineteenth

century novel. The study of these four *genres* will incidentally have given the student some idea of the distinctive classical spirit, and with this knowledge he will be able to approach the Middle Ages and investigate mysticism, romance and the art of story telling. As before, he compares. The first thing which strikes him is the difference between the spirit of medieval and classical Latin; the contrast in idiom and structure, in philosophy, in the legends which gathered round Aristotle, Cicero and especially Virgil, the transition from lyrical to sacred poetry and the transition from Plautine to goliardic humour. Then he compares the vision literature of ancient and medieval times; then the growth of the idea of the Devil, comparing this medieval superstition on the one hand with classical conceptions of evil spirits, and on the other hand continuing the study to Marlowe, Milton and Goethe. Then he compares romances such as *Roman de Troie*, *Roman de Thèbes*, *Roman de Jules César* and Chrestien de Troye's imitations of Ovid, with the classical sources to which they are distantly akin, and after that he examines the romantic spirit in the native epics such as the *Chanson de Roland*, *Nibelungenlied* and the Arthurian cycle. These epics, like the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, are too obscure in their origin and composition to supply data for the study of literary production, but they will be used to complete our conception of romance and of medieval civilisation. We shall now have formed some idea of the conditions, social, domestic, educational and religious, which made story telling one of the chief literary features of this era. The student next proceeds to study the medieval fable and allegory which culminated in *Roman de la Rose* and in *Renard*, emphasising their qualities by comparison on the one hand with Æsop, Phædrus and Avianus, and on the other hand with modern allegories and symbolism. He ends by studying the tale. He forms his first conceptions of the narrative gift from Herodotus, Euripides and Ovid. Then he sees how the *genre* developed in the *exempla*, the *fabliaux*, Boccaccio and Chaucer; then he tests his impressions by comparison with the Renaissance *facetiae* and novelettes, and ends by establishing the essential difference between this old fashioned art and the modern short story. Just as a knowledge of the ancient world is necessary to understand the Middle Ages, so an idea of both these cultures is needed if a student is to appreciate the complex conflict of tendencies out of which the Renaissance sprang. In this period we can most conveniently consider Hellenism, centring our researches round the sixteenth century Grecians, but always comparing their activity with the civilisation of Periclean Athens, the aims of the

German 'Aufklärung' and the later movements represented by such poets as Heine, Chénier and Shelley. After thus studying the scope and character of humanism, the enquirer passes on to the other three distinctive features of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: the idea of a gentleman, the essay and the drama, about which as much has been said as the narrow limits of this article permit. Most of the literary types which flourished in the eighteenth century can be more successfully studied at other periods; this age, however, brings out most fully the environment and art of letter-writing. The student establishes the difference between natural and artificial epistolography by comparing Cicero and Pliny with Seneca and Cassiodorus. He next enquires why the artificial form recurs so frequently through the Middle Ages up to the mid-seventeenth century and why the true epistolary art is found so seldom. Then he investigates the difference in circumstances, ideas and *milieu* which made the eighteenth century the great age of letter writers. By a comparative examination of such men as Gellert, Voltaire, Goethe, Schiller, Walpole, Gray and Cowper he discovers the secret of their art. On leaving the eighteenth century, it is observed that the drama, the epic, the epistle and formal satire decay, and so by reviewing the conditions which in previous ages had been favourable to these types, the student begins to understand the negative side of the nineteenth century. When he turns to the positive side of this era of change, he finds that the chief features to be investigated are sentimentalism, the feeling for nature, the romantic spirit, and among the more definite achievements, the novel and literary criticism. All that has been learnt of previous centuries contributes towards an understanding of these movements. Sentimentalism, it is true, does not go much further back than the Elizabethan broadsides, but a knowledge of the more academic and scholarly literature of other times enables the reader to understand why this atmosphere began to pervade such novels as *Clarissa* and such dramas as *Kabale und Liebe*. Landscapes are described in Homer, the Greek tragedians, all Roman poets beginning with Catullus; there are allusions to nature throughout the Middle Ages and many formal descriptions of the country in the Renaissance and the Augustan age. Criticism became a science in the hands of Aristotle and was zealously practised by Italy in the sixteenth, by France in the seventeenth and by England and Germany in the eighteenth centuries. But the nineteenth century saw both lines of thought develop amazingly in a new direction, and the significance of such men as Rousseau, Walpole, Ugo Foscolo and Sainte-Beuve cannot

be fully appreciated without such a system of comparison. In the same way the study of the novel and of romanticism must begin by a review of the classical spirit down to its ultimate development in the eighteenth century. Having thus grasped what the reaction of this age really means, the student is enabled with more penetration to examine the immediate influences which bore upon nineteenth century literature, and the artistic or social ideals at which its writers aimed. As at other times, he distinguishes what is essential from what is accidental, and what is national from what is universal, by comparing the development of the chief *genres*, such as the lyric or the novel, in different countries and by enquiring why some countries, as England, were so far in advance of others, as Italy.

This scheme of study must necessarily be incomplete and incorrect. In making such an experiment the actual operator has to feel his way; no onlooker or projector can entirely forecast its line of development, and the narrow limits of a periodical publication compel one merely to hint at ideas which need a full explanation. At the same time, enough should have been said to give some glimpses of the field of speculation opened up by the comparative method. In the first place attention would be drawn to many important 'side lights' of literature which do not at present adequately fit in with any specialised course. Not only would such books as *Libri VIII Miraculorum*, *Eckius Dedolatus*, *Le Moyen de Parvenir*, *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*, and *Le journal des frères Goncourt*, be discussed on their own merits, but the enquirer would have to reckon with all that moulds the thoughts of men and modifies their ways of expression. Political and social changes—wars, alliances, the rise and fall of classes and religions—or the great contagious outbursts which from time to time have passed over Europe, have often been discussed, but we have still to seek for a point of view which embraces the more commonplace and accidental developments, such as the improvement of houses, the cultivation of gardens, the fluctuations of the labour market and the invention of railways, not to mention matters of direct literary interest, such as the establishment of printing presses, the sale of books, the art of the theatre, censorship, patronage, travelling scholars, and all the hundred ambiguous and tortuous ways by which two writers, separated by space and time, may yet hold communion of thought and expression without one understanding a word of the other's language. And lastly, these general considerations would not blind the enquirer to the more academic questions of style and form. There is a subtle magic in the

arts of expression, and our student must note how and when one writer copies another out of sheer love for the literary type,—yes, and often centres his imitation on some whimsical peculiarity, till the true characteristics of his model are lost sight of. It may be objected that the proposed scheme is far too wide for a limited human intelligence; but it is surprising how much one man may accomplish if he makes proper use of his authorities and takes regular exercise.

A survey of the most suggestive workers in comparative literature, even though necessarily incomplete, will perhaps make clearer the intentions of the present writer. Some of the best known productions are really no more than accumulations of stores, from which each specialist may pick valuable material. In this category fall *Types of English Literature* and *Periods of European Literature*. The former series records how certain *genres* have originated and flourished in a single country, and the latter shows how certain habits of thought and of expression have prevailed at a single epoch. Such compilations cannot be missing from the library of any literary scholar, but, we repeat, they are records, they are books of reference. Professor Neilson's series cannot give us general truths, because each volume is confined to a single nation, nor can Professor Saintsbury's, because the volumes are confined each to a single age. The danger of constructing generalisations out of insufficient material are well illustrated in Taine's *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*. That book is one of the first attempts at a philosophy of literature, but so erratic and protean are the growth and development of books, that the learned Frenchman was led into numberless inconsistencies as soon as he began to establish a world-wide theory out of the evidence gathered from one literature. Professor H. M. Posnett in his *Comparative Literature* avoided such pitfalls by drawing on all literatures eastern and western, but in his endeavour to prove that they were susceptible of scientific treatment he hardly did more than demonstrate that literature is not independent of environment, just as M. Loliée in his *Histoire des Littératures Comparées* has confined himself to showing that civilisation, in some respects, is international. Neither thesis now-a-days needs demonstration. To turn to more specialised workers, we find that the chief exponents of the comparative method fall into two classes. On the one hand there are such men as Comparetti, Reinhartstöttnner, Zielinski, Süß, Stempfänger, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Krumbacher, Norden and other contributors to Dr Hinneberg's *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, some of the essayists in *English Literature and the Classics* recently collected by

Mr G. S. Gordon, and in a wider, more constructive field, Mr H. O. Taylor. These scholars show how posterity has clung to the memory or teaching of the great classics, disguising them in the garb of its own civilisation rather than forget them. Thus, while one generation after another is called up to give its estimate of a classic, it is really disclosing the thoughts peculiar to its own age, and through this series of confessions we gain some insight, by means of comparison, into the history of the human mind. And yet these records of the influence of Virgil or Cicero or Plautus or Boetius, are too specialised or too purely historical to give more than fleeting glimpses at the other broader questions which they involve. The mysteries of literary transmission, adaptation and antipathy are touched on only as side-lights, and these valuable monographs are not so much contributions to the philosophy of literature as studies in the posthumous biography of the immortals. However, this school of writers is indispensable to the student of comparative literature, because it shows how a master-mind projects the shadow of his thoughts or of his own personality down through posterity and thus gives some insight into the continuity of literature. The other class, including scholars of such varied attainments as Sir Sidney Lee, M. Charlanne, M. Huszár and M. Bastide, show how a creative author absorbs from other sources much of the material which he is popularly supposed to invent. Such research throws valuable light on the whole question of literary invention and originality and, in some cases, such as in Professor Herford's long established *Literary Relations*, we gain some insight into a people's psychology. And yet all this work cannot be regarded as more than materials for the study of comparative literature. These scholars provide us with remarkable instances of the dependency of writers, but their province is still that of the literary specialist who confines himself to the task of estimating and classifying certain authors or groups of authors.

Few authorities have shown themselves better qualified than Brandes in his *Main Currents* to write philosophically on comparative literature. As he shows how permanent influences, such as national character and geographical conditions, combined with temporary reactions in society and politics, to produce, at a certain period, new forms of thought, we get some glimpses of the forces which govern the creation of books. As he shows how different nations, at different moments, contributed their currents to the flood which was covering Europe, we gain some insight, by comparison, into the value and significance of these forces. But

*Main Currents* has neither the aims nor the method of comparative literature. Brandes is not attempting an 'anatomy' of literature, but only the appreciation of a 'movement.' His contributions towards a knowledge of how thought takes the forms of artistic expression are incidental.

As might be expected, the comparative method has found its most whole-hearted advocates among writers and lecturers who address themselves to a more general public. Foremost among these stands Brunetière. The author of *L'Évolution des Genres* never carried out his scheme, but, as far as can be judged from the fragments which he has left, his purpose was to centre his studies on France, which has produced the most logical, complete and formal body of literature in the world. Thus his deductions would have been incomplete. He misses all that is to be learnt from the eccentricities and failures of the English, the Germans and the Italians. He did not attempt to gather together all the instances where literature has conspicuously succeeded or conspicuously failed to express the human mind and out of such data to create a philosophy. He aimed rather at showing through what causes certain types of expression have arisen, reached perfection and decayed in a certain literature—a more difficult and questionable task—and out of such material to form a science. He seems to have intended his work to have been a record rather than an explanation. Professor Vaughan, in *Types of Tragic Drama*, has shown how one national theatre can be used to throw into relief the characteristics of another and Mr W. H. Hudson in his suggestive *An Introduction to the Study of Literature* discusses avowedly 'the comparative method.' Mr Hudson is fully alive to all that can be learnt by tracing the influence of one race or age on another, and by watching how any one of the great literary motives (e.g. the love of man and woman) is passed on from civilisation to civilisation. But, as he is writing for the general public, he contents himself with showing how these studies stimulate that sense of interest and curiosity which we have now accustomed ourselves to name culture. Professor Moulton's otherwise admirable *World Literature* suffers from the same limitations. Though he treats his subject as an organic whole, and has judiciously collected and compared some of its greatest masterpieces, he clearly aims at teaching little more than catholicity of taste; his suggestive book is no new departure in advanced education, but is merely a short cut to what most men of culture accomplish for themselves. Strange as it may sound, the comparative method has been applied in the most philosophic spirit by writers whose intentions are not literary.

Taine's *Philosophie d'Art* (as opposed to his *Histoire de la Littérature*) and H. S. Chamberlain's *Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* will at once occur to the reader; so will Troels-Lund's *Himmelsbild und Weltanschauung* and *Gesundheit und Krankheit in der Anschauung alter Zeiten* (German translation), which show how man's conception of the stars, attitude to the Devil, belief in God and ideas of health and sickness vary with every stage of civilisation and furnish the key to each of the past ages. Even more noteworthy examples can be found in the new movement towards psycho-analysis which is being expounded, under Dr Freud's editorship, in the *Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde*. Whatever votaries of Belles-Lettres or the 'genus irritabile' may think of the intrusion of these pathologists 'where angels fear to tread,' their contribution to the understanding of literature is considerable. In their endeavour to analyse the fundamental instincts of humanity, they turn to the folk poetry, epic and drama of all countries and ages for illustrations, and show how primitive tendencies, often distorted and perverted by civilisation, inspire and find symbolical expression in some of the greatest themes of literature. The criticism of the future will probably give full consideration to such questions, but, in the meantime, these scientists look at so complex a thing as art from only one point of view, and so see less than half of it.

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## LA PREMIÈRE HISTOIRE INDIENNE DE CHATEAUBRIAND ET SA SOURCE AMÉRICAINE.

CHATEAUBRIAND, enfin libéré, par la publication de l'*Essai sur les Révolutions* en février ou mars 1797, des engagements qui le liaient à l'éditeur Deboffe, n'est guère tenté de prolonger cette étude comparée des grands mouvements politiques de l'histoire, et d'ajouter un volume à celui qui est sorti—non sans peine—des presses de Baylis. Déjà, vers la fin de son livre, ses impressions d'Amérique et ses souvenirs de voyage, obliérés jusque-là par des curiosités et des inquiétudes plus pressantes, émergent de plus en plus et s'accommodent tant bien que mal des notes ou des parenthèses que l'*Essai* leur attribue. L'endolorissement sentimental que garde l'émigré, après son aventure de Beccles, la reprise de sauvagerie qui le promène dans les banlieues londoniennes, sans doute aussi la conversation du pasteur Ives, le père de Charlotte, et les livres qu'il a trouvés chez lui, ont redonné l'essor à mille réminiscences de la 'vie sauvage' ou de la 'forêt vierge': il les a mises en forme, pour la première fois, dans des passages tels que la rencontre de Philippe Le Coq ou la fameuse *Nuit chez les Sauvages de l'Amérique*<sup>1</sup>.

L'arrivée de Fontanes, au début de 1798, semble le pousser à une réalisation plus marquée de cette littérature encore indistincte. Ce praticien conseiller est peu disposé à laisser son ami éparpiller sa rêverie: il faut, à son gré, que les nébuleuses se fixent en étoiles. Et si les milieux 'monarchiens' où Chateaubriand vient, sur ces entrefaites, de trouver accès<sup>2</sup> rattachaient le solitaire à une société qui ne l'effarouchait pas trop, l'intervention de Fontanes paraît bien avoir eu pour effet, dès ce moment, de cristalliser quelque peu, pour la publication, l'exotisme littéraire qui se trouvait comme diffus dans les conversations et les travaux de son compagnon. Lucile disait jadis à son frère, à Combourg, lorsqu'il lui communiquait les mouvements de son inquiète

<sup>1</sup> *Essai*, Seconde Partie, chap. LVI et LVII.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. F. Baldensperger, *Chateaubriand et l'Émigration royaliste à Londres* dans *Études d'histoire littéraire*, 2<sup>e</sup> série.

imagination: 'Tu devrais peindre tout cela.' L'ami prudent que Fructidor avait envoyé au jeune écrivain lui aura dit sans doute, en lui entendant lire ses fragments américains: 'Vous devriez publier ceci....'

C'est du moins ainsi qu'apparaît le rôle de Fontanes, à propos de quelques pages assez peu connues où se pose un des premiers problèmes relatifs à Chateaubriand et à son exotisme littéraire. Et puisque le grand écrivain déclarait lui-même qu'il avait ramené d'Amérique une 'nouvelle Muse,' il n'est pas sans intérêt de rattacher à l'œuvre d'une romancière des États-Unis une petite publication qui s'apparente aux travaux préparatoires de ces futurs récits exotiques, les *Natchez* et le *Voyage en Amérique*.

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Chateaubriand avait-il eu l'occasion, tandis qu'à Philadelphie et New-York il dépouillait quelques-unes de ses illusions sur le caractère 'antique' de la jeune République américaine, de lire une œuvre récemment parue, et propre en revanche à flatter une autre chimère, la foi dans les vertus primordiales de la vie sauvage? En bon disciple de Rousseau qui va confronter la doctrine du maître avec quelques réalités, et que l'inquiétude sociale des temps a rendu doublement sensible aux mérites de l'humanité primitive, le chevalier de Combourg aurait trouvé fort à son goût l'idée maîtresse d'*Ouabi, ou les vertus de la Nature*<sup>1</sup>, sorte d'épopée lyrique en quatre chants due à la plume de Mrs Morton sous le pseudonyme de PHILENIA, A LADY OF BOSTON. Il y aurait vu, fondée sur des détails authentiques et une information 'indienne' garantie par des notes fréquentes au bas des pages, appuyée sur l'autorité inattendue de Sébastien Mercier<sup>2</sup>, une histoire bien faite pour plaire au René qui sommeillait et pour intéresser sa sensibilité d'explorateur, de voyageur et d'intellectuel aventureux.

Chez les Illinois, 'où le Mississipi roule ses flots paternels', les chefs tatoués du désert explorent les bois, les sachems féroces soulèvent le fracas

<sup>1</sup> *Ouabi, or the Virtues of Nature, an Indian tale*, Boston, 1790, dédié à James Bowdoin, gouverneur de la république de Massachusetts. Sur la place de cette œuvre dans l'histoire de la fiction romanesque, cf. L. Deming Loshe, *The Early American Novel*, thèse de Columbia University, New York, 1907, p. 67. Sur l'auteur, Mrs Sarah Wentworth Morton, cf. *Magazine of American History*, 1883, tome x, p. 420. Le critique reproduit et apprécie, avec ironie, le jugement de la *Monthly Review* (Sept. 1793) sur la déclamatoire et insipide poésie de Mrs Morton: le trop galant rédacteur portait aux nues la Muse américaine et, dans le même numéro, exécutait brièvement Wordsworth!

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Préface, vii, Mrs Morton a puisé son information dans les lettres de William Penn à ses amis anglais.

<sup>3</sup> Note de Mrs Morton: 'Mississippi, an Indian name, signifying the great father of rivers,' p. 10. Cf. 'Where Mississippi rolls his parent flood, The desert's painted chiefs explore the wood, etc.'

des batailles....' Ouabi, jeune chef illinois, a pour femme la tendre Azakia. 'Ses pieds délicats s'ornaient de sandales brillantes; des perles scintillantes irradiaient ses cheveux tressés; une ceinture pudique enserrait sa taille souple...<sup>1</sup>' Celario, un Européen exilé, promène sa rêverie désespérée sur les bords du Mississipi. Soudain il entend un cri perçant dans la forêt et, suivant la direction du son, il découvre Azakia embrassant les genoux d'un Huron menaçant. Il abat l'ennemi, délivre la belle captive, se sent gagné par tant d'innocence et de charme, et confesse aussitôt son amour. Mais, comme le note Mrs Morton, 'les femmes indiennes d'Amérique sont très chastes après le mariage, et si quelqu'un leur fait une déclaration, elles répondent: l'ami qui est devant mes yeux m'empêche de te voir<sup>2</sup>.' Entre eux deux, dit Azakia, s'élève ainsi, 'plus brillante que l'étoile du matin,' l'image d'Ouabi 'renommé à la guerre.' Et elle entraîne son sauveur vers le camp. Ouabi, le sachem 'formé par la main divine de la nature et dont les membres nus défient l'art du sculpteur<sup>3</sup>,' accueille Celario comme un frère. Il lui offre le secours de son bras et l'asile de sa hutte. En revanche, l'Européen 'fuyant le vice perfide, lui consacre sa vie<sup>4</sup>.' Celario combat avec Ouabi contre les Hurons. Un jour il est blessé dans une bataille et soigné par Azakia<sup>5</sup>. Elle applique des simples sur ses blessures et prépare ses repas. Le convalescent s'émeut de cette sollicitude. Avec ses forces reviennent ses désirs. En l'absence d'Ouabi, il renouvelle ses tentatives et se heurte à un nouveau refus. 'Aussi longtemps que les épis que le guerrier rompit avec elle, droits comme l'honneur, brillants comme la gloire, n'ont pas subi la flamme dévorante<sup>6</sup>,' Azakia restera fidèle à son époux. Celario, humilié par cette primitive et forte vertu, décide de fuir la tentation et de quitter son silvestre refuge. Mais voici qu'Ouabi, revenant de ses expéditions et ignorant ses scrupules, le force à rester. Il repart à la guerre en lui confiant la garde de sa femme. Alors Azakia, prise d'amour, se donne héroïquement une rivale. Pour protéger sa foi vacillante, elle veut mettre une barrière entre elle et Celario et facilite—sans succès—les entrevues de l'exilé et de Zisma, la belle et jeune sauvage<sup>7</sup>. Cependant Ouabi est tombé, blessé, aux mains

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* p. 11:

'With splendid beads her braided tresses shone,  
'Her bending waist a modest girdle bound.'

<sup>2</sup> p. 13:

'The friend that is before my eyes prevents my seeing you.'

<sup>3</sup> p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> p. 15:

'From perfidious vice I flee, And devote my life to thee.'

<sup>5</sup> (Chant I.)

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* p. 24.

<sup>7</sup> (Chant II.)

des Hurons. Et Mrs Morton le remarque en note : 'un usage superstitieux et immémorial parmi les Indiens veut que si, dans les quarante jours après la mort de son mari, sa veuve le voit et lui parle dans deux songes, elle en déduise qu'il l'appelle au séjour des âmes—et rien ne peut l'empêcher de se donner la mort<sup>1</sup>.' Or Azakia a vu l'apparition d'Ouabi : 'la nuit dernière vint le radieux guerrier, tendant vers moi ses bras héroïques<sup>2</sup>.' Celario cherche à la détourner de son fatal dessein, à écarter le breuvage mortel. La seule chose qu'il obtienne, c'est qu'elle promet 'par toutes les puissances brillantes des cieux' de ne pas toucher à sa vie avant d'avoir la certitude de la mort d'Ouabi. Et il s'en va avec les fidèles Illinois à la recherche du sachem. Rencontre avec les Hurons et victoire. Ils trouvent Ouabi sur le bûcher, entonnant le 'Chant de mort.' Ils le délivrent, le ramènent, et le chef défaillant abandonne à Celario, avec une perspicacité magnanime, celle qu'il a sauvée deux fois. Quant à lui—ultime et brève compensation—il épouse avant de mourir la modeste et silencieuse Zisma.

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Chateaubriand aurait-il rapporté, parmi les notes désordonnées qui constituèrent son premier dossier américain, une analyse d'*Ouabi*? Cette démonstration des 'vertus de la Nature' voisinait-elle, dans son bagage de voyageur, avec ses documents botaniques et zoologiques? Et, si des manuscrits occupaient, à l'armée des Princes, la plus grande place dans son havre-sac d'émigré, peut-on croire qu'Azakia autant qu'Atala se glissait, dès 92, parmi d'inutiles cartouches<sup>3</sup>? Ou bien est-ce en Angleterre seulement, au moment de ses grandes débauches de lecture, que notre chevalier fit connaissance de ces 'enfants des solitudes'? Les pasteurs de Beccles et de Bungay avaient l'un et l'autre des livres; l'œuvre de Mrs Morton était de celles qu'une jeune Anglaise de l'âge de Charlotte pouvait lire sans scrupule, tant les incolores pentamètres de l'écrivain américain émoussaient la pointe de cette aventure de passion 'au fond des déserts.' D'autre part, à son retour à Londres, Chateaubriand n'a pas cessé d'être muni de livres : parmi les bibliothèques où il pouvait avoir accès, il faut citer celle d'un riche membre de l'Académie royale, John Symmons, dont un émigré, Gauthier de Brécy, était devenu bibliothécaire pour le plus grand avantage de ses compagnons d'exil, Delille entre autres, le charitable Anglais ayant mis à leur disposition ses 40000 volumes et en particulier

<sup>1</sup> p. 32 (Chant III).

<sup>2</sup> (Chant IV.)

<sup>3</sup> *Mém. d'outre-tombe*, éd. Biré, tome II, p. 58.

les 7 ou 8000 ouvrages français qui s'y trouvaient<sup>1</sup>. Chateaubriand, en tout cas, pouvait retrouver en Angleterre, aussi bien que les récits de voyageurs et de missionnaires qui alimentaient son information d'explorateur, cette histoire d'outre-mer.

Elle s'apparentait à merveille, en tout cas, à ses dispositions de 1797 ou 98, à l'heure où la nature, en lui, ne cédait pas sans soubresauts à la société, et où le souvenir de Charlotte lui faisait porter si douloureusement son cœur en écharpe. Ses longues randonnées vers Hampstead Heath et jusqu'à Harrow, ses rêveries en face des molles campagnes que traverse la Tamise, ce n'étaient plus, assurément, les vertus de la nature telles qu'il les avait encore célébrées à la fin de l'*Essai* : cependant on peut jouer au sauvage, au civilisé qui se libère, dans les districts les plus peuplés d'un pays habité, dès qu'on porte au fond du cœur assez de farouche individualisme ; et le fantôme de Charlotte peuplait les prairies et les bruyères de ces banlieues au point de rendre partout présente une Azakia délicieusement secourable et tendre.

Aussi peut-on légitimement attribuer aux mois les plus mélancoliques de 1797 l'élaboration d'un 'conte' qui sera l'un des premiers échantillons soumis à Fontanes, en février 1798, par le jeune confrère retrouvé à Londres. Mieux que les ambitieux *Natchez* que le prestige du *Paradis perdu* sollicite vers la forme magnifique de l'épopée chrétienne en prose, un récit indien d'une vingtaine de pages paraîtra, au sage conseiller de Chateaubriand, digne d'être publié, comme un essai et une amorce. Et c'est ainsi, sans doute, qu'*Azakia et Celario* va se retrouver dans des périodiques pour lesquels Fontanes était parfaitement en mesure de servir d'intermédiaire et d'introducteur.

La *Bibliothèque britannique* de Genève, d'abord. Ce 'recueil extrait des ouvrages périodiques et autres' avait commencé, en 1796, à fournir à ses lecteurs une matière principalement anglaise, mais où l'Amérique, elle aussi, avait sa place<sup>2</sup>. Fontanes, dont on sait les relations de famille avec Genève<sup>3</sup>, a été en correspondance avec quelques-uns des hommes qui dirigeaient cette publication, Marc-Auguste Pictet, Pierre Picot, Pierre Prévost, pasteurs ou professeurs érudits ou lettrés. Correspondances

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gauthier de Brécy, *Révolution de Toulon en 1793*, manuscrit rédigé en 1795, laissé à Londres en 1802, et publié en 1814, p. 95 de l'édition de 1828 ; Regnault de Beaucaron, *Souvenirs anecdotiques et historiques d'anciennes familles champenoises et bourguignonnes*. Paris, 1906, p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> Le tome v (1797) publie une copieuse analyse du livre de Bartram sur les coutumes des Creeks. Cf. aussi Février 1797 (*Découverte à l'ouest du Canada*), Mars 1797 (*Excursions sur les Montagnes bleues*).

<sup>3</sup> Son parent, Jean Fontanes, avait été pasteur de l'église française de Hambourg ; il était rentré à Genève en 1755 pour y occuper une chaire de belles-lettres.

relatives surtout<sup>1</sup> à des années postérieures à celle qui nous arrête ici, mais qui continuent des rapports personnels noués dès 1787, et maintenus par le passage de Fontanes à Genève à plusieurs reprises : c'est ainsi qu'après sa fameuse évasion de Lyon, le rédacteur très 'juste milieu' du *Modérateur* avait fait une rapide escale dans la cité du Léman.

Telles sont les raisons—toutes conjecturales assurément—qui peuvent expliquer la publication, dans le numéro de mai 1798 de la *Bibliothèque britannique* de Genève<sup>2</sup>, d'une 'variété' intitulée *Azakia et Celario, conte*. Nulle indication ne signalait la dépendance qui rattachait ce récit au livre de Mrs Morton : de fait, l'auteur anonyme procède fort librement à l'égard de ce premier canevas. Et si, comme tout le fait supposer, c'est bien le futur auteur de *René* qui s'exerce ici, par des 'gammes' encore hésitantes, à la virtuosité et au grand art, si c'est donc, entre l'*Essai sur les Révolutions* et les premières amorces du *Génie*, une des rares pages publiées par l'écrivain, il est intéressant de surprendre, dans son effort d'affranchissement et d'indépendance, un auteur qui a besoin, lui aussi, d'un 'premier mot,' mais qui rétrécit, étire et transforme son canevas selon ses propres dispositions.

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Non loin des lieux où le Missouri vient mêler ses eaux bourbeuses aux ondes limpides du Mississipi, on voit une peuplade également intéressante par son origine et par ses mœurs.... Elle fut formée par les hardis enfants de la France qui pénétrèrent jadis dans ces régions reculées, et fondèrent leurs établissements au cœur de l'Amérique.... Ces colons ont l'activité des hordes qui font de la chasse leur occupation chérie : ils ont les inclinations paisibles des peuples agricoles, la simplicité des peuples pasteurs. Un petit nombre de lois suffit au maintien de l'ordre chez des hommes que les mœurs gouvernent, et qui n'ont rien à s'envier. Les Français du Mississipi ne connaissent la vie sauvage que par ses douceurs, la civilisation que par ses bienfaits....

Cette entrée en matière, en faisant d'une colonie française en terre américaine le point de départ de l'histoire, établit à sa façon—qui est celle de *René* et du *Génie*—un lien entre les aventures qui vont se dérouler et les vastes entreprises nationales. Celario 'a vu le jour dans un de ces établissements favorisés de la nature.' Mais l'influence du milieu n'a guère agi sur cette âme inquiète : tandis que l'original de Mrs Morton s'intéresse peu au caractère de Celario et préfère l'idyllique description

<sup>1</sup> Communications de MM. Aubert, sous-conservateur des manuscrits à la Bibliothèque de Genève, et Frédéric Rilliet, descendant de A. Pictet.

<sup>2</sup> Tome VIII, p. 95. Ce ne serait pas le seul exemple d'un périodique suisse publiant à ce moment de la 'copie' dû à un émigré français résidant en Angleterre. C'est ainsi que le *Journal littéraire de Lausanne*, auquel collaborèrent Joseph de Maistre et le marquis de Surville, donne en 1798 des fragments de la *Promenade autour de la Grande-Bretagne* de l'émigré La Tocnaye.

à l'élémentaire analyse, toute une psychologie impatiente et trouble s'esquisse ici.

Il entre dans son cinquième lustre<sup>1</sup>.... Doué des qualités qui accompagnent le courage, il est loyal, fier, généreux ; mais il a les défauts des âmes ardentes et de la jeunesse inexpérimentée. L'habitude de vaincre lui donne le besoin de dominer. Il est impatient de tous les jougs ; il souffre à peine des égaux. La contradiction l'enflamme. Sa colère est redoutée : il le sent, et il en devient plus ardent, plus impétueux.

Ce byronisme avant la lettre fait à bon droit présager des aventures peu communes : un duel où Celario tue son adversaire l'oblige à quitter la colonie ; il passe le fleuve dans un canot abandonné et va tenter la fortune sur l'autre rive. Il est au courant des ressources des tribus sauvages et se sent attiré vers celles qui ont acquis le plus de célébrité par les armes, Illinois et Hurons.

Le hasard l'avait conduit au déclin du jour sur les bords d'une forêt sombre. Tout à coup des cris perçants viennent frapper son oreille. Il accourt. Il voit un sauvage<sup>2</sup> le bras levé sur une femme suppliante. Il s'élance ; et avec la rapidité de l'éclair, il frappe le barbare qui tombe sans vie. Il rassure alors celle qu'il a sauvée ; il la contemple ; il l'admire. Il éprouve un sentiment nouveau. Un trouble secret a pénétré dans son cœur. Il tremble devant une femme.

Mais il ne lui fait pas, comme dans *l'Ouabi* de Mrs Morton, une déclaration d'amour intempestive. Il y a plus de délicatesse dans le cœur de René. Azakia mène son sauveur à Ouabi son époux, le grand chef illinois, qui l'adopte comme un fils : car c'est un noble vieillard—et non plus un jeune homme—à qui le mariage indien a attribué pour femme la dolente Azakia. Voici en quel lieu se fait la présentation et se donne l'investiture illinoise du jeune étranger :

Parmi les détours obscurs d'une antique forêt que les rayons de l'astre de la nuit ne pénètrent qu'à peine ; entre des bancs de rochers entourés de broussailles épaisses, est une vaste et profonde caverne, dont l'entrée n'est connue que des seuls Illinois. Là, les guerriers réunis après le combat qui les a dispersés, comptent et déplorent leurs pertes. Leur chef Ouabi, assis sur un bloc de marbre, au centre d'une aire spacieuse, les exhorte à la vengeance. Il invoque le grand esprit.... Comme on voit un vieux chêne encore verdoyant, respecté par la hache et les années, dominer les rejetons vigoureux d'une forêt, et élever sa tête vénérable parmi les enfants de la même terre, tel paraît le chef des guerriers, au milieu des compagnons de ses travaux.

Celario reçoit, de ce sachem vénérable, le droit de cité sauvage. ('Tu apprendras, à notre exemple, à ruser comme le renard, à attaquer, à combattre comme le tigre, à fuir comme l'original.... Tu enlèveras la chevelure des morts ; et tu boiras dans le crâne d'un ennemi....') Surprise, combat, ralliement des Hurons, dont les nouveaux amis de

<sup>1</sup> Chateaubriand a vingt-trois ans quand il entreprend son expédition américaine.

<sup>2</sup> Ici, comme dans l'original, un Huron qui fait violence à la femme d'un chef illinois.

Celario ont cependant raison, grâce à sa vaillance et à son élan. Mais il est blessé, et Azakia s'installe, pour le soigner, au chevet de sa couche primitive. 'Elle charme ses douleurs par sa présence et par ses discours. Elle panse elle-même sa blessure. Elle lui prépare ses aliments. Elle boit la première dans la coupe qu'elle lui présente. Elle veille à ses côtés lorsqu'il repose; elle rencontre ses regards à son réveil.'

Il va de soi que Celario s'éprend de sa garde-malade: tout l'y poussait, la fatalité du cœur autant que le précédent offert par Mrs Morton et que l'expérience récente de Chateaubriand, au presbytère où sa chute de cheval l'avait conduit.... Un jour qu'on brûle vifs trois captifs, un père avec ses deux fils, nos deux jeunes gens, trop sensibles pour se repaître d'un aussi horrible spectacle, s'écartent de cette cruelle fête et s'égarent 'sur le penchant d'un vallon.'...

L'air était embaumé par le parfum des arbustes fleuris. Une vapeur à peine sensible couvrait le paysage, en adoucissait l'aspect, et semblait mettre en harmonie toutes les teintes de la nature.

...La pente d'un vert gazon, parsemée de locustes et de mûriers, conduisait l'œil, par une gradation insensible, jusqu'à un large ruisseau qui serpentait dans les prairies, et dont un brouillard léger marquait le cours jusqu'à la rivière des Illinois, qu'on découvrait comme une lame argentée sur un lointain horizon. Au delà du ruisseau, une majestueuse forêt que le soleil commençait à dorer de ses rayons, s'élevait en amphithéâtre. Elle était couronnée par des bancs de rochers, surmontés de sommets arrondis et verdoyants.... Les oiseaux faisaient entendre leurs chants d'amour, et le cri de la cigale, porté par les zéphyrs, se mêlait aux concerts des habitants des bois.

Dans ce 'ravissant' décor, l'âme de Celario s'amollit.

Il regarde Azakia et il soupire. Elle ne lui avait point encore paru si belle. Une guirlande de fleurs et de plumes flottantes couronnaient ses cheveux d'un noir d'ébène qui tombaient en boucles redoublées sur ses épaules et sur son front. Un manteau blanc, d'un tissu léger, agraffé sur son sein, embrassait de ses replis sa taille svelte. Le souple brodequin lui servait de chaussure. Le carquois sonnant était suspendu à ses épaules; et elle s'appuyait sur son arc. La rose de la santé était sur ses lèvres; le feu de la jeunesse brillait dans son regard. La démarche, son port gracieux et fier, l'air de majesté répandu sur toute sa personne, rappellent à Celario les attributs et les charmes de la déesse des forêts.

Sans doute il y a encore là des vestiges de la phraséologie descriptive du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, mais sous ces banalités il y a des choses vues, bien senties, des impressions de nature fraîches et neuves pour l'époque. Ces citations donnent un exemple du style, harmonieux et ample. A côté de comparaisons classiques (le vieillard et le chêne, les morts et les épis fauchés), on trouve çà et là une notation directe et pittoresque.

Nos deux amoureux se font leurs confidences; Celario apprend à connaître toute la fidélité conjugale des femmes indiennes ('l'ami que j'ai devant les yeux m'empêche de vous voir') et décide de fuir. Il imagine douloureusement les solitudes où le conduira son double exil.



Je quitterai les lieux où tes regards peuvent m'atteindre. J'irai chercher, dans de lointains climats, l'oubli des maux que j'endure.... Mais soit que le destin dirige ma course errante vers les sauvages retraites des Algonkins, où les frimas suspendent le cours des fleuves ; soit que je cherche un refuge sur les bords enchantés du Miami ou de l'Ohio ; soit que je porte mes pas incertains jusque dans les contrées brûlantes des Alibamous et des Natchès, toujours, oh toujours ! tes bontés généreuses seront présentes à mon souvenir.

Est-ce à Charlotte Ives, la chère abandonnée de Bungay, que s'adresse cet adieu désolé ? Il était déjà indiqué, dans le poème de Mrs Morton<sup>1</sup>, et Chateaubriand s'en est emparé en le rendant plus pathétique. D'ailleurs l'arrivée d'Ouabi, déterminant le jeune Français à rester parmi les Illinois, modifie le cours des événements. Une nouvelle attaque huronne fait tomber le sachem aux mains de l'ennemi.

Les Hurons et les Iroquois, satisfaits d'un avantage signalé, glorieux surtout de compter parmi leurs captifs un des chefs longtemps célèbres des Illinois, revinrent sur leurs pas, traînant à leur suite les malheureux que le sort des armes leur avait livrés. Mais le nombre de ceux-ci embarrassait et retardait leur marche : ils résolurent de consacrer une nuit aux sacrifices de la vengeance.

Au sein des bois qui couvrent de leur ombre épaisse les bords de la grande rivière des Illinois, on trouve une vallée profonde que creusa pendant des siècles le torrent qui l'arrose. Les cimes dépouillées, les troncs abattus et blanchis, parmi les fragments de rocher que recouvre la mousse, y accusent la main du temps et l'absence de l'homme. Les hurlements des animaux féroces répétés par les échos et confondus avec le bruit de l'onde, y troublent seuls le silence de la nature. C'est dans ce lieu solitaire et sauvage que les troupes réunies des Hurons et des Iroquois entraînent leurs victimes pour célébrer la fête de mort qui les attend.

Mais Celario paraît avec les Illinois. 'Les guerriers épars et saisis d'épouvante se dissipent à son approche, comme les feuilles que disperse un ouragan furieux.' Il voit Ouabi sur le bûcher au milieu des flammes ; il le délivre, mais trop tard pour l'empêcher de mourir. Et tandis qu'une intrigue secondaire, dans l'original, amenait le jeune sachem à renoncer à Azakia et à épouser *in extremis* la pâle Zisma, le vieil Ouabi, arraché aux mains des Hurons et des Iroquois, se comporte plus noblement encore—et tout aussi avantageusement pour l'avenir sentimental de Celario : il joint les mains d'Azakia et de son amant, et leur donne les conseils de la plus cordiale expérience, sous une forme que les PP. Aubry et Souel n'auraient pas dédaignée.

'Les ardentes passions de la jeunesse peuvent encore vous séduire. Défiez-vous des plaisirs que le devoir condamne, et que la douleur suit de près. N'oubliez jamais ce mot d'un ami qui a vécu sans reproche et qui meurt sans crainte : le secret du bonheur est dans la paix avec soi-même.' Ainsi parle le sage vieillard,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ouabi*, p. 25 :

'Soon, ah ! soon I must away,  
Where Scioto's waters flow,  
Or the fiery Chahtaws glow,  
Or the snowy mountains rise  
Frozen by Canadian skies.'

et ce sont ses dernières paroles. Ses forces épuisées l'abandonnent. La flamme de vie qui brillait encore dans son regard s'affaiblit et s'éteint. Ses yeux, fixés sur Azakia, se ferment à la lumière du jour ; et le grand Ouabi, si longtemps la terreur des ennemis de sa nation, n'est plus qu'un cadavre insensible.

Tel est le récit de Chateaubriand. Le jeune auteur qui s'essaie, se fait la main avant d'affronter les *Natchez*, n'y déploie pas encore un grand talent, mais il y fait preuve de bon goût. Il simplifie la proluxe et banale histoire de Mrs Morton, il lui donne une unité, il supprime la première déclaration vraiment trop rapide et à peine convenable, il fait d'Ouabi un vieillard qui laisse pressentir Chactas, et de Celario un fils adoptif aussi individualiste, aussi mélancoliquement insatisfait que René. Il abolit les deux songes d'Azakia et l'épisode de Zisma qui embarrassent la marche du récit ; enfin, au lieu du spécieux et commode échange final, il trouve une solution grave et noble qui fait honneur à la perspicacité d'Ouabi.

En dehors des linéaments essentiels que Chateaubriand modifiait au gré de ses propres états d'âme et que sa documentation américaine—missionnaires et voyageurs—l'incitait à transformer, il trouvait encore dans le récit ou les notes de Mrs Morton plus d'un détail de folk-lore ou de description qu'enregistrait sa mémoire ou sa plume. Sans doute il est difficile de dire ce qu'il retint d'*Ouabi* et ce qu'il puisa dans Charlevoix et Bartram. On trouve au cours de l'épopée lyrique américaine plus d'un motif exotique qui sera repris dans les *Natchez* : 'the warrior feast,' 'the fierce-dance,' 'the peaceful calumet,' 'the death-song'<sup>2</sup> et cette note sur les funérailles : 'the posture in which they bury their dead is either sitting or standing.' Et Chateaubriand lui-même a transformé en 'Natchès' les 'Chactaws' qu'évoque, dans *Ouabi*, l'ami désolé d'Azakia. La disposition du conseil de guerre est identique dans le poème de Mrs Morton, le conte de la *Bibliothèque britannique* et les *Natchez*<sup>1</sup>. Mais le 'Chant de mort' d'*Azakia* et *Celurio* est beaucoup plus élaboré, beaucoup plus vigoureux aussi que le 'death-song' d'*Ouabi*<sup>2</sup>. Il repose sur un triple refrain que rien ne pouvait inspirer dans l'original américain et se développe sur le rythme fruste que Chateaubriand reprendra plus tard dans le chant de guerre des Francs. Les Hurons, prisonniers d'Ouabi, immobiles sur le bûcher, entonnent leur chant de mort :

'Acharnez-vous, vils ennemis, comme des frelons sur le tigre. J'ai combattu vingt ans contre votre nation. J'ai fait périr de ma main l'élite de vos guerriers. J'ai surpris vos camps. J'ai brûlé vos villages et vos moissons. J'ai répandu parmi vous la consternation et le désespoir. Vengez-vous si vous le pouvez. Déchirez,

<sup>1</sup> *Ouabi*, p. 13 : the warrior-council : they seat themselves in semicircles or half-moons.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 37.

consume ce corps que je vous abandonne. Mon âme est au-dessus de vos atteintes<sup>1</sup>. Acharnez-vous, vils ennemis, comme les frelons sur le tigre....

...Comme une troupe de chiens sans courage se réunit contre l'ours des forêts, amutez-vous, faibles Illinois, contre un enfant de notre nation. La fermeté de nos femmes ferait honte à vos guerriers. Ils craignent la mort dans les combats : nous la bravons dans les supplices. Approchez-vous sans trembler, car mes mains sont liées. Ameutez-vous, faibles Illinois, contre un enfant de notre nation, comme une troupe de chiens sans courage se réunit contre l'ours des forêts.

D'autres motifs de folklore, développés par Mrs Morton, ne semblent pas avoir dépassé le récit d'*Azakia et Celario* : 'l'ami que j'ai devant les yeux m'empêche de te voir.' Le thème des songes de la veuve et celui des épis sacrés que l'on retrouve dans une autre version d'*Azakia* ont disparu dans celle de la *Bibliothèque britannique*.

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La fortune d'*Ouabi* ne s'arrête pas en effet, au numéro de mai 1798 de la *Bibliothèque britannique*. En août, la même année<sup>2</sup>, le *Spectateur du Nord*, l'importante revue fondée à Hambourg par Baudus, reproduisait intégralement le texte du périodique genevois : ces emprunts, de l'un à l'autre magazine, ne sont pas rares, et, par exemple, une *Histoire de la Roche*, édifiante à souhait, figure parallèlement vers ce même temps dans les deux périodiques. Cependant le *Spectateur* ajoute à son texte cette mention qui manque dans la *Bibliothèque* : 'le fond de ce conte est tiré d'un poème anglais imprimé à Boston, sous le titre *The Virtues of Nature*.' Faut-il croire que l'auteur anonyme de l'adaptation a eu une sorte de repentir et s'est senti obligé de faire l'aveu de sa dépendance lointaine ? Mais, entre lui et la rédaction du *Spectateur*, c'est encore Fontanes qu'on est tenté d'imaginer comme intermédiaire. On sait qu'après quelques mois d'amitié, d'intimité, de promenades et de causeries, de discussions philosophiques (ou anti-philosophiques) et d'entreprises politiques, Fontanes avait quitté Londres : son itinéraire l'arrêta quelque temps à Hambourg où il vit, comme de juste, le libraire Fauche, et fut reçu par les rédacteurs du *Spectateur*. Ceci se passait quelques semaines avant que cette revue de l'Émigration reprît le conte publié trois mois auparavant par la *Bibliothèque*.

Enfin voici que tout à la fin de cette année, le 31 décembre 1798, le périodique dirigé à Londres, sous le titre *Paris pendant l'année...*, par l'ineffable Peltier, ami, bienfaiteur fréquent et coreligionnaire politique intermittent de Chateaubriand, donne à son tour<sup>3</sup> la même aventure,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. la chanson de mort de Chactas : 'Je ne crains pas les tourments, je suis brave, o Muscogulges....' (*Natchez*.)

<sup>2</sup> Tome VII, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> Tome XX, p. 141.

mais sous une forme dépouillée, grêle et gauche qui est peut-être le résumé primitif conservé par Chateaubriand, peut-être une réfection de Peltier. Cependant le Canada, où l'histoire est nettement située, la qualité militaire du baron de Castainville qui ne devient Celario qu'assez tard, une certaine désinvolture dans les sentiments et le dénouement de l'intrigue<sup>1</sup>, une moindre couleur locale aussi, semblent s'accorder pour faire de cet essai un 'état' antérieur du même opusculé. Chateaubriand, cédant aux instances de Peltier qui avait pu donner, un an auparavant, son adaptation de l'*Élégie* de Gray, aura laissé au journaliste la première maquette de ce qui était devenu déjà, dans l'intervalle et pour d'autres, une figurine intéressante. Cette ébauche américaine du futur grand artiste avait été signalée<sup>2</sup>; mais M. Cassagne, qui admet qu'elle soit du Chateaubriand avant la lettre—et avant l'art—a raison de n'y trouver, ni dans la psychologie ni dans le style, rien qui porte la marque 'd'une personnalité extraordinaire<sup>3</sup>'.

C'est que, précisément, une amertume, une fièvre nouvelles étaient venues, pour d'autres lecteurs, modifier les traits et les détails de cette histoire empruntée à la littérature américaine encore balbutiante. Chateaubriand traversait sur ces entrefaites sa crise essentielle : l'histoire canadienne de *Paris* est antérieure, en dépit de sa date, à ces mois d'inquiétude accrue qui avaient permis au jeune écrivain d'ajouter du mouvement et du style à ce fait-divers de la forêt vierge dont il gardait (et dont il gardera longtemps) l'obsédant souvenir.

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<sup>1</sup> Ouabi cède sa femme à Celario pour épouser lui-même la jeune Zisma ; et comme il ne meurt pas, c'est une simple répartition nouvelle d'affinités électives qui s'est opérée à l'aimable. C'est là la seule modification essentielle apportée à l'histoire originale.

<sup>2</sup> F. Baldensperger, *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 1907, p. 606, et *Études d'histoire littéraire*, 2<sup>e</sup> série.

<sup>3</sup> *La vie politique de François de Chateaubriand*, Paris, 1911, p. 29. Si l'on admet que c'est là un premier travail, un dépouillement provisoire de la fade épopée américaine, on comprend que Chateaubriand écrive ce résumé à la fois concis, prosaïque, et fidèle. Il veut fixer l'affabulation essentielle et le détail exotique : aussi reproduit-il littéralement au cours de son récit les notes marginales du poème sur les mœurs indiennes. Il ne laisse échapper aucun des thèmes folkloriques, sans les utiliser d'ailleurs d'une façon littéraire.

## WIT AND HUMOUR IN DANTE.

PROFESSOR SANNIA'S work on the humorous element in the *Divine Comedy*<sup>1</sup> marks in some respects an epoch in the study of Dante. Its title may seem audacious, to the verge of irreverence; but if this is so, the fault lies partly in an age-long neglect of one aspect of the great poet's nature, partly in a difficulty (common to both the Italian language and our own) confronting the critic who would define in appropriate language that subtle element—now gently playful, now fiercely ironical—which redeems Dante's work as a whole from dullness, and makes the *Divine Comedy* in particular one of the most human books ever written.

Whether or not Professor Sannia has fallen deep into the pit that ensnares most critics who have a hobby and a mission, his pioneer movement is certainly far from futile. We believe that he has largely proved his point, and given us, in consequence, a living Dante in place of the traditional wooden effigy. At any rate his work will have justified itself if it turns the attention of all-too-serious Dante students to a new field, and emphasizes those qualities in the Divine Poet which the sheer sublimity of his work has hitherto tended to obscure.

In the following study we shall not confine ourselves to the limits of the *Divina Commedia*, but gather all we can in so short a space from his other works, and especially from the *Convivio* and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*.

As a preliminary we shall do well to bestow a glance at least upon Dante's environment from this particular point of view—the temper of the generation in which he lived, and that of his immediate circle, not neglecting such inferences as may be suggested by the tradition of his physiognomy and the evidence of his earliest biographers. For a provisional definition of the subject we may turn to 'The Philosopher' from whom Dante and his contemporaries drew directly and indirectly. 'Melancholy men of all others are most witty.' So said the 'Maestro

<sup>1</sup> *Il comico, l'umorismo e la satira nella Divina Commedia.* Da Enrico Sannia. 2 vols. Milan, 1909.

di color che sanno,' according to the author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*; and Boccaccio<sup>1</sup>, describing the habitual expression of Dante's face, says it was 'always melancholy and thoughtful.'

Before we draw the enticing inference that Dante was a paragon of wit, we shall, however, do well to verify our quotation from Aristotle, and to bear in mind the fact that the words 'wit' and 'witty,' like their companions 'humour,' 'humorous,' have changed their meaning since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By 'Wit and Humour,' as applied to Dante, we mean something vague and general, yet sufficiently definite to make our quest practicable. The phrase is intended to cover the playful and fanciful use of the intellect upon literary material, in the broadest sense: from the simplest and most elementary puns and word-plays to the subtlest and most surprising analogies; from the most discursive description of a laughably incongruous situation, to the swift agility of brilliant paradox; from the quiet, genial sally of the man who laughs *with* you while he laughs *at* you, to the biting sarcasm of the satirist, whose keen and often envenomed darts are winged with wrath and indignation. It is this last phase that we shall naturally expect to find most prominent in Dante.

In so far as it is to be expressed by a single Aristotelian word, our subject corresponds most nearly in connotation to the Greek *εὐτραπελία*, that intellectual elasticity and adroitness which seizes instinctively upon the right subjects on which to vent its fun, and handles them with a sure, artistic touch. It stands midway between the vulgarity of the buffoon (*βωμολόχος*) and the insensibility to humour of the down-right boor (*ἄγροικος*). Indeed in one place (*Mag. Mor.* i, 31, 1193) this quality of *εὐτραπελία* is described by the Philosopher in terms which practically identify it with our own useful phrase 'A sense of humour.' 'The vulgar buffoon,' he says, 'deems everybody and everything a legitimate mark for a jest, while the boor has no will to jest himself, and to be jested upon makes him angry. The witty man'—the true humorist, as we might say—'avoids both extremes. He selects his subjects—and is not a boor. On the one hand he has the capacity of jesting with decency and decorum'—his jokes do not jar on our good taste—'and on the other, he can bear good humouredly jests of which he is himself the butt.'

<sup>1</sup> *Vita*, § 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Mag. Mor.* i, 31, 1193. *εὐτραπελία δ' ἐστὶ μεσότης βωμολοχίας καὶ ἀγροικίας. ὃ τε γὰρ βωμολόχος ἐστὶν ὁ πάντα καὶ πᾶν οἰόμενος δεῖν σκώπτειν, ὃ τε ἀγροικὸς ὁ μὴτε σκώπτειν βουλόμενος, μὴτε σκωφθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὀργιζόμενος. ὁ δ' εὐτράπελος ἀνὰ μέσον τούτων, ὁ μὴτε πάντας καὶ παντὶ σκώπτων, μὴτ' αὐτὸς ἀγροικὸς ὣν. ἔσται δ' ὁ εὐτράπελος διττῶς πῶς λεγόμενος. καὶ γὰρ ὁ δυνάμενος σκῶψαι ἐμμελῶς, καὶ ὃς ἂν ὑπομείνῃ σκωπτόμενος.*

How far Dante would satisfy the second part of this canon, may perhaps be open to discussion. But this is to anticipate. For the moment it behoves us to observe that a somewhat tedious search in the Berlin Index volume for the passage cited in the *Anatomy of Melancholy* reveals the fact that Burton's 'witty man' is not *εὐτράπελος* but *εὐστοχος*<sup>1</sup>. In other words, what Aristotle attributes to the melancholy temperament is inductive acumen, the qualification of the scientific discoverer, rather than a sense of humour. The two qualities have, however, something in common: the gift of seeing and grasping analogies not obvious to the plain man in his plain moments<sup>2</sup>. So this crumb of comfort may hearten us in our quest, although the path be at first sight as unpromising as were certain stages of the Poet's mystical journey.

If then we elect to follow Aristotle, as Dante followed Virgil (and I feel sure the Divine Poet would approve our choice of guide), we may draw one more drop of comfort from a passage in the *Eudemian Ethics*<sup>3</sup>, in which the Philosopher, discoursing of friendship, notes how unlike characters often pair off together, 'as austere people with witty ones (*εὐτράπελοι*).’ May we look for this friendly union of playfulness and austerity within a single personality—in the redoubtable person of Dante Alighieri?

Is it not almost as incongruous, it may be asked, to look for humour in the *Divina Commedia* as it would be to search for jokes in the Bible? We are prepared to maintain that even the intense seriousness of Dante—that sublime and solemn earnestness which can only be compared to the temper of Holy Writ, is not merely compatible with a playful use of the intellect, artistically restrained, but is rendered more complete and effective thereby. And what about Holy Scripture itself? I speak with all reverence.

Hebraists assure us that puns and plays on words are far from rare in the Old Testament; and there are, in the Psalms and the Book of Isaiah<sup>4</sup>, and elsewhere, passages of which the irony, at once keen and sublime, cannot fail to strike the English reader. Would it not be possible also to quote even from the New Testament—from the

<sup>1</sup> *De divinatione per somnum* II (464<sup>a</sup> 33) οἱ δὲ μεταγχαλικοὶ διὰ τὸ σφύδρα, ὥσπερ βάλλοντες πόρρωθεν, εὐστοχοὶ εἰσίν. Cf. *Eth. Nic.* VI, 10 (1142<sup>b</sup> 2), where *εὐστοχία* is distinguished from *βούλευσις* as 'swift and wordless': *ἄνευ τε γὰρ λόγου καὶ ταχύ τι ἢ εὐστοχία*. And a little further on it is said that *ἀγχίνοια*—'ready wit,' 'shrewdness,' is a kind of *εὐστοχία*.

<sup>2</sup> *Rhet.* III, 11, 1412<sup>a</sup>. *εὐστοχία* sees analogies, like Archytas who says 'a *διατηρήτης* is like an altar'—for to both the injured flee!

<sup>3</sup> *Eth. Eud.* VII, 5, 1240<sup>a</sup> 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Ps.* cxv, 4—8. *Esp. Isaiah* xlv and xlvii.

Gospels—phrases and metaphors in which the deepest and most solemn truths are cast into a form which, for want of a better word, must be described as playful or witty? The picture of the children in the market place discontented with their games; the ironical description of the ‘blind guides of the blind’; and of the pedants who ‘strain at a gnat and swallow a camel,’ the still more terrible irony of the ‘whited sepulchres’—instances like these show that Truth and Wisdom incarnate did not disdain to use the whip wherewith the old Hebrew Prophets had scourged the idolatrous follies of their contemporaries.

In the light of what has just been said, we may perhaps be justified in doubting whether the most perfect presentation of ideas—or at any rate the most surely effective—does not involve of necessity the use of those faculties with which we are at present concerned. ‘Without a sense of humour,’ it is often said, ‘no man can be a perfect Saint.’ Surely it is equally true to say that the same quality is essential for a really great man of letters, be he Essayist, Historian or Poet.

One more question before we come to Dante himself. What about the age and place in which the Poet lived? Were the Italians of Dante’s time devoid of the spirit of mirth and of the power to express it? Boccaccio and Sacchetti, the *Novellino*, nay, even the Franciscan Legend with its *Joculatores Domini*, and not least the charming *Fioretti*, cry out with one voice against the unjust imputation. But one single name would be enough to vindicate for the Italy of Dante’s elder contemporaries, and for the men who figure largely in Dante’s writings, the possession of the sense of humour and the gift of wit: Fra Salimbene of Parma, the immortal gossip, who so dearly loves a joke, and is so ready to pardon other failings in the man who has ‘a pretty wit.’ He peoples the world into which Dante Alighieri was born with folk whose joy in laughter and rollicking sense of fun match in their intensity the sternness, cruelty, savagery of those strange days. And to Florence he accords the palm for wit and humour<sup>1</sup>, though not in the strict Aristotelian sense; for Salimbene’s Florentines are far from being always seemly and decorous in their jests.

The mirthful spirit that pervades the pages of Salimbene recalls indeed most forcibly a passage of Aristotle to which we have not yet referred, and a definition of *urbanitas* (εὐτραπελία), which, if slightly mysterious, is the most epigrammatic and the most suggestive of all his utterances on the subject.

‘The young,’ he says in the second book of the *Rhetoric*, ‘are

<sup>1</sup> See esp. *op. cit.* pp. 77 sqq. ‘Florentini...trufatores maximi sunt.’



laughter-loving, and therefore witty, for wittiness is *πεπαιδευμένη ὕβρις*...<sup>1</sup> How shall we render it? 'A disciplined "cheek",' an 'educated insolence'! The riotous, effervescent self-assertion of the Middle Ages, outcome of abundant vitality, offered splendid raw material for the manufacture of *urbanitas*. The uncontrollable vivacity which vented itself in the field of life sometimes in horseplay or in huge practical jokes; too often in fighting and bloodshed; which vented itself in the field of Art in the fantastically contorted and quaintly humorous subjects of the illuminations with which even sacred MSS. were adorned, and in the carving of grotesque figures in wood or stone:

Come, per sostentar soloia o tetto  
Per mensola talvolta una figura  
Si vede giunger le ginocchia al petto<sup>2</sup>;

and in the field of literature ranged from sheer profanity and lewdness to the edifying if amusing hagiological tales which meet us everywhere in the pages of Tammassia's work upon St Francis<sup>3</sup>.

That Dante's own literary circle was not innocent of this *πεπαιδευμένη ὕβρις*—*ὕβρις*, that is, more or less *πεπαιδευμένη*—a glance at the dainty little collection in Rossetti's volume will show at once<sup>4</sup>. Not to speak of the famous *Tenzone* or 'literary wrangle' between Dante and Forese Donati, of which the Poet, it would seem, was afterwards ashamed<sup>5</sup>; a group which included the extravagantly humorous Cecco Angiolieri cannot be described as wanting in the 'playful use of the intellect.'

'Del resto,' says Professor Sannia, 'Dante era un toscano, uno fiorentino; che è tutto dire...nella facoltà comica e satirica ei fu degno rappresentante della sua stirpe, il più degno e il più alto: il genio comico e satirico fu in lui impronta, eredità etnica<sup>6</sup>.'

And though he fails to cross-examine the Friar of Parma—perhaps the most telling of all witnesses on this point—he has much to adduce to the same effect. Most pertinent is his quotation of D'Ancona's remark that the gay songs with which the streets of old Florence rang were not all love-ditties. Popular poetry was one of the forces which ruled the city, 'Firenze fu un Comune nel quale la poesia era uno dei

<sup>1</sup> *Rhet.* II, 1359<sup>b</sup> 10. οἱ νέοι...φιλογέλωτες, διὸ καὶ εὐτράπελοι· ἡ γὰρ εὐτραπεία πεπαιδευμένη ὕβρις ἐστίν.

<sup>2</sup> *Purg.* x, 130—3.

<sup>3</sup> Nino Tammassia, *S. Francesco d' Assisi e la sua Leggenda*, Padova, Drucker, 1906. [Eng. Tr. Fisher Unwin, 1910.]

<sup>4</sup> D. G. Rossetti, *The Early Italian Poets*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Purg.* xxiii, 115 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 55—6.

pubblici poteri.' It cannot fail to be significant that Dante spent the most impressionable years of his life in a society where the *poesia popolare*, by the inspiration of its eulogy and the stimulus of its satire, took the place of our modern newspapers in the formation, guidance and control of effective public opinion. And if the lessons of Florence were not fully learned at the time—if the *Vita Nuova* may be said by the unsympathetic to reveal something of the prig—the rough and tumble of an exiled life in fourteenth century Italy had no mean share of teaching to offer.

We have thus narrowed the field of observation to Dante himself, and are justified in claiming to have established at the outset at least so much as this: that if Dante was humourless, it was not for want of inspiration in his environment, or of material in the human—the *very* human—spirits among whom he moved.

It is not unnatural to ask first of all, whether Dante's physiognomy has anything to tell us on the subject. Two features act emphatically as index of the movements of the unseen spirit—as the Author himself points out in the *Convivio*<sup>1</sup>—the eyes and the mouth, those 'Balconi della donna che nello edificio del corpo abita.' And though the spirit of pleasantry and humour is apt to reveal itself through these windows chiefly in momentary flashes, the genial temper will usually leave some prominent tokens of its influence more especially about the corners of the mouth. As regards the eye, that most expressive of all our features, no fourteenth century portraiture, however faithful, could hope to reproduce its living flash. Moreover the most authentic portrait of Dante is blind, alas, or rather worse than blind: fitted with an execrable false eye by the much-abused Marini. The pose of Dante's mouth might teach us something, if only we could be sure of it. Mr Holbrook in his recent monograph<sup>2</sup> has confirmed our suspicions about the famous 'Death Mask,' which at best would naturally have furnished nothing more significant than the smile of peace which so often graces our poor clay, a parting gift from the spirit as it leaves.

The magnificent Naples Bust is seemingly, like the so-called 'Death Mask' itself, the creation of some abnormally gifted artist, who derived his inspiration, perhaps indirectly, through the Palatine Miniature (No. 320)<sup>3</sup>, from the Bargello portrait to which we have already referred. In vain, therefore, does its splendid physiognomy, completely

<sup>1</sup> *Conv.* III, viii, 70.

<sup>2</sup> *Portraits of Dante from Giotto to Raphael.* A critical study, with a concise iconography, by Richard Thayer Holbrook. London, Philip Lee Warner, 1911.

<sup>3</sup> Holbrook, *l.c.* pp. 68—72.

human, give such promise of a sense of humour as a face in repose can be expected to give. Nor does it matter for our purpose that the 'Ritratto brutto' (as the Riccardian picture—attached to MS. 1040—is justly styled by some distinguished Florentines) would suggest the bare possibility rather than the probability of a sense of humour; for that work of Art (if it may be so called), is probably derived, like the famous Torrigiani Mask, from the Naples Bust.

The one probably genuine contemporary portrait, the Bargello Fresco, which a merciful criticism still allows us to attribute to Giotto, is only preserved in the drawings of Kirkup and Faltoni. In these, one window of the soul, the eye, is wanting, and there is considerable difference between the two reproductions of that other essential feature, the mouth; where Kirkup has much more of the conventional 'Cupid's Bow'. The most that can be said here is what we said of the Naples Bust, that it certainly leaves room for a play of humour, restrained and dignified.

When we pass from portraiture to written record, we have but little material that is really *à propos* in the early biographers of Dante. Boccaccio, after portraying his character and features, says 'his expression was ever melancholy and thoughtful'—'nella faccia sempre malinconico e pensoso' (*Vita*, § 8), but goes on to describe him as 'smiling a little'—'sorridente alquanto' (*ib.*), when he overheard the gossips of Verona commenting on the crisped hair and darkened complexion of the man who 'goes down to Hell and returns at will to bring back word of those below.' Later on in his biography he draws out with evident relish the power of the poet's sarcastic satire: 'with a fine resourcefulness of invention,' says Boccaccio (§ 17), 'he fixes his fangs on the vices of many yet alive and lashes the vices of many that have passed away'—'con invenzione acerbissima morde le colpe di molti viventi e quelle de' preteriti castiga.' And speaking, in an earlier passage, of his courtesy in intercourse with others<sup>2</sup>—'più che alcun altro cortese e civile'—he takes something of the edge off Giovanni Villani's description of a man 'somewhat haughty, reserved and disdainful, and after the fashion of a philosopher, careless of graces and not easy in his intercourse with laymen<sup>3</sup>.' Yet we feel all the time that Villani's description is, speaking broadly, the more convincing; and are relieved

<sup>1</sup> Holbrook, *op. cit.* p. 102 and illustration opposite p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita*, § 8. 'Ne' costumi domestici e pubblici mirabilmente fu ordinato e composto, e in tutti più che un altro cortese e civile.'

<sup>3</sup> *Hist.* ix, 136. 'Per lo suo sapere fu alquanto presuntuoso e schifo e isdegnoso, e quasi a guisa di filosofo mal grazioso. Non bene sapea conversare co' laici.'

when we realise that it is the outwardly and obviously genial temperament rather than the saving sense of humour that the Florentine historian would deny to his great contemporary.

Next, before we turn to the testimony of Dante's own works, we may refer briefly to the stories told of him; for if none of these be incontrovertibly authentic, and not a few of them be comparatively late in origin, their cumulative evidence should be of some value, at any rate in suggesting what his own countrymen of succeeding generations regarded as compatible with the Poet's temperament<sup>1</sup>.

We may dismiss, if we will, as apocryphal, the tale of Dante's conversation with the fish at the Venetian Doge's banquet, and of the smearing of his court dress at King Robert's feast; we may reject, perhaps, with more hesitation and regret, Sacchetti's stories of the harmonious but offending blacksmith and the donkey-driver who forced Dante's songs with an interpolated *Arrhi!* We may relinquish the pun on Can Grande's name, while retaining Petrarca's story (of which Michele Savonarola's is possibly a 'doublet') wherein Dante administers a deserved rebuke to Can Grande and his court for their preference of a buffoon to a poet. But even the rejected legends add their quota of testimony to the general and traditional belief that the *Divino Poeta* could unbend, and was capable of making a joke.

And there is a certain residuum—some would say larger, some smaller—of anecdotes that may be believed to contain a nucleus of truth.

There is to me a convincing ring about the comment of the *Anonimo Fiorentino* on *Purg.* IV, 106. When Belacqua makes excuses for his laziness on the ground of the Aristotelian dictum that 'by repose and quiet the mind attains to wisdom,' Dante retorts: 'Certainly, if repose will make a man wise, you ought to be the wisest man on earth!'

A like readiness of wit, in a moment where all depended on readiness, is evinced in the story of his reply to the Florentine envoy who was sent to Porciano to demand his extradition. 'Is Dante Alighieri still at Porciano?' asked the messenger who met the forewarned exile on the road, in the act of escaping. 'When I was there, he was there,' was the non-self-committing response:—'quand io era, v' era<sup>2</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Toynbee, *Dante Alighieri*, Methuen, 3rd ed., 1904, p. 176 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> This is quoted from C. Bruni's excellent *Guida al Casentino*, p. 167. B. does not specify his authorities, but says in a footnote: 'Questo aneddoto è così riferito da vari scrittori danteschi.'

The stories told of Dante, if they do not suggest a genial and convivial temperament, do suggest a ready and caustic wit. But it is time to turn to Dante's own works, and taste for ourselves.

The *Divina Commedia* is the criterion by which most would judge him, and on this we shall spend the bulk of the space at our disposal; but no discussion of this or any other aspect of Dante's literary genius can afford to neglect the field of his minor works, which are, in this particular case, of not a little importance. The *Convivio* (if we may anticipate) supplies us, among other things, with Dante's own idea of what laughter should be; and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* furnishes a practical illustration of his treatment of a subject like *patois* which lends itself to humorous handling even in a serious treatise.

These three works not only cover a large proportion of Dante's total literary remains, but they are also representative of his three chief styles of writing: Poetry, Italian Prose, and Latin Prose.

In opening the *Divina Commedia* one would venture to issue a further warning on the mistake of limiting the field of observation to the *Inferno*, or of allowing its temper and atmosphere too great a place in our estimate of the characteristics of Dante. Whatever he was to the women of Verona, Alighieri is to us much more than 'the man who goes down to Hell and comes up again at will.' Yet now and then even educated Italians, if you mention Dante's name, are apt to make it clear that they know him mainly as the creator of two episodes—*Paolo and Francesca* and *Conte Ugolino*; and there is a real danger among Englishmen—amply illustrated in Dr Paget Toynbee's *Dante in English Literature*—of laying too much stress on the *Inferno*, even if they do not confine themselves to it.

The humour of the *Inferno* is, of necessity, prevaiingly grim; sometimes almost coarsely grotesque. Here we may see the hand of the subtle artist, and detect a deliberate purpose on Dante's part to pour (as I have said elsewhere) 'a disdainful and indignant ridicule upon the futile, monstrous, hideousness of sin.' 'His fine scorn of sin tempts him to heap upon it all the...burden of loathsome grotesqueness that the resources of his imagination can furnish'.<sup>1</sup>

Typical of this method is the fierce sport of the scene described in *Inf.* XXII—XXIII, which culminates in the 'nuovo ludo'<sup>2</sup> (puzzlingly compared by Dante to the apocryphal Aesopian Fable of the 'Frog

<sup>1</sup> *Dante and His Italy*, pp. 141, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Inf.* XXII, 118.

and the Mouse<sup>1</sup>) in which Ciampolo outwits the Demons and brings them to confusion<sup>2</sup>. We are in mid-Hell, in the fifth *Bolgia* of the eighth circle, *Malebolge*, the place of the *Barattieri*, of those, that is, who have made traffic of justice or of public interests. Dante, who had been falsely accused of this crime, expends all the resources at his command to express his detestation of it, and holds it up at once to ridicule and loathing.

In Purgatory, on the terrace where pride is purged, he seems to acknowledge his appropriate place; but far different is his attitude towards the spot in Hell where his political enemies would fain have placed him.

The whole of these two Cantos and a half is pervaded by an unholy reek of boiling pitch; the appropriate similes are those of frogs immersed to the muzzle in stagnant ditch water<sup>3</sup>; of clawings, flayings, proddings of raw flesh<sup>4</sup>. Here, if anywhere, Dante verges on the vulgar. The names of the Demons are fantastically ridiculous and unpleasantly suggestive; their actions and their gestures, their badinage and their horseplay, all remind one that the stately pageant of the Middle Ages had its unspeakable and unrepresentable side. The Cantos are only redeemed from unreadableness by the fine similes, the lofty poetical touches which Dante, because he was Dante, could not but introduce here and there.

The graphic picture of the Venetian arsenal in full activity<sup>5</sup>, the swiftly drawn but masterly sketches of the wild duck's dive to escape the swooping falcon<sup>6</sup>, of the mother's rescue of her child by night from a flaming house<sup>7</sup>; the vivid reminiscences of Dante's own campaigning days, at Caprona and before Arezzo: these play, like sunlit iridescence on the surface of a noisome pool, where foul creatures sport and gambol in a nightmare fashion.

We must note, however, one point: that Dante never represents himself here as moved to mirth by the fiendish antics he so conscientiously describes. Rather he is pictured as consistently consumed by fear and loathing<sup>8</sup>.

More reprehensible from the point of view of good taste is the Poet's eager attention attracted to the vulgar harlequinade between

<sup>1</sup> *Inf.* xxiii, 4 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Sannia not inappropriately describes this passage as 'il comico popolare della D.C.' (p. 193). He should perhaps have excepted *Inf.* xxx, 108.

<sup>3</sup> *Inf.* xxii, 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Inf.* xxii, 41, 57, 60, 72, cf. xxi, 55 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> *Inf.* xxi, 7—15.

<sup>6</sup> *Inf.* xxii, 130.

<sup>7</sup> *Inf.* xxiii, 37.

<sup>8</sup> *Inf.* xxi, 31, 88 sqq.; xxii, 31.

Master Adam the false-coiner and the Greek Sinon, where the latter strikes the former on his 'inflated paunch' till it resounds

Come fosse un tamburo<sup>1</sup>.

But Dante is careful to put things right in the sequel, and makes his own blush of shame respond at once to Virgil's chiding:

...Or pur mira,  
Che per poco è che teco non mi risso<sup>2</sup>!

Less broad in its grim playfulness is the taunt which the spendthrift Giacomo da Sant' Andrea, hunted and breathless, gasps out at his fellow-sufferer: 'Lano, at Toppo's jousts thy legs were not so nimble'—

Lano, sì non furo accorte  
Le gambe tue alle giostre del Toppo<sup>3</sup>!

Exquisite in the irony of its situation is *Inf.* XIX, in which Dante, in order to find a place for solemn invective against Boniface VIII<sup>4</sup>, and to assign him, while still alive, his place in Hell, makes Nicholas III mistake the Poet's voice for that of the Pontiff, and exclaim

Sei tu già costì ritto,  
Sei tu già costì ritto, Bonifazio<sup>5</sup>?

Whereat Dante represents himself as quite puzzled, and unable to grasp the speaker's meaning!

Nor is the scene itself without a picturesque absurdity that evinces a subtle sense of humour, especially when we remember the overweening pretensions of Boniface to unearthly dignity. The flaming legs of Simonists kicking to and fro above the surface of the ground wherein the rest of them is buried headforemost; and the neat epigram in which Pope Nicholas describes his plight:

su l' avere, e qui me misi in borsa—

'I pursed wealth above, and here—myself<sup>6</sup>.'

Bearing in mind the Poet's solemn and deliberate purpose, as we conceive it, to pour scathing ridicule upon that which qualifies man for a place in Hell, we may fairly aver that even in the most critical scenes and episodes he does not transgress the canons of the Master whom he revered. If there is *βαυμολοχία*—unseemly and unrestrained jesting—in his *Inferno*, it is not Dante's but the Demons'. Dante, as we have seen, deliberately dissociates himself from it; and the absence of all such extravagance from his description of Paradise and even of Purgatory

<sup>1</sup> *Inf.* xxx, 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Inf.* xxx, 131, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Inf.* xiii, 120 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Inf.* xix, 52 sqq. Cf. Boccaccio, *Vita*, § 17.

<sup>5</sup> *Inf.* xix, 52 sq.

<sup>6</sup> *Inf.* xix, 72.

confirms our inference that the humorous element, even at its grimmest and coarsest, is carefully proportioned to the environment with which he is dealing.

The *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* are marked (like the scene with Nicholas III) by occasional outbursts of political or quasi-political invective, seasoned with stinging satire. In these tirades against Florence or the Papacy Dante is sometimes his own spokesman; sometimes they are put into another mouth.

The concluding verses of *Purg.* VI will at once come to mind: the famous invective in which he ironically congratulates his native city on her 'feverish' energy<sup>1</sup>, shown in the disinterested eagerness of her citizens to take up the lucrative burdens of public office, and in the amazing agility of her legislative activity, beside which the democratic traditions of Ancient Athens

Fecer al viver ben un picciol cenno<sup>2</sup>—

the laws passed in October being superseded by the middle of November—

...Che fai tanto sottili  
Provvedimenti, che a mezzo Novembre  
Non giunge quel che tu d' Ottobre fili.

Then there is the scarcely less famous passage in *Par.* XXI<sup>3</sup>, where St Peter Damian, inveighing against the Roman Curia, describes the fat Cardinals as supported on every side as they go—held up to right and left, and pushed and pulled along—

Or voglion quinci e quindi chi rincalzi  
Li moderni pastori, e chi gli meni  
Tanto son gravi, e chi dietro gli alzi.

And when they ride, covering their palfreys with their ample robes, 'so that two beasts are moving 'neath one hide'—

Sì che due bestie van sott' una pelle<sup>4</sup>.

Or again, there is Beatrice's tirade in *Par.* XXIX<sup>5</sup> against the farce of unauthorised indulgences, and against the fashions of the contemporary pulpit: the fashion of neglecting the Gospel, and straining after originality, as though Christ's mandate had been: 'Go ye into all the world, and preach—frivolities!'

Andate e predicate al mondo ciance<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Purg.* vi, 149.

<sup>3</sup> *Par.* xxi, 130 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> *Par.* xxix, 34 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Purg.* vi, 141.

<sup>4</sup> *Par.* xxi, 134.

<sup>6</sup> *Par.* xxix, 110.



The modern preacher's 'head is swelled' (if we may so translate 'Gonfia il cappuccio'), and he is perfectly content if by his jests and gibes he can raise a laugh, while the fiend sits unseen in the corner of his hood.

This passage is as perennially applicable as any in Dante, and combines the satire of Alexander Pope with the stern earnestness of the author of the *Task*, so aptly compared to it by W. W. Vernon.

Dante no doubt felt a certain appropriateness which justified him in putting these invectives into the mouths of his august *dramatis personae*: but we are apt to hear the ring of *his* voice in each of them. There are however other passages in the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso* of which the playfulness belongs to the characters themselves.

In *Purg.* xx we have two instances given to show that the risible faculties are not extinguished by the pains of purification.

Greedy Midas' dismal surprise when, in answer to his ill-advised prayer, his very food turned to gold and became uneatable, is a legitimate and unfailing cause of laughter—

Per la qual sempre convien che si rida<sup>1</sup>—

to those who lie fettered face downwards<sup>2</sup> in the terrace of the avaricious. And it is with evident relish that the same souls repeat their last lesson: 'Tell us, Crassus, for thou knowest, what is the flavour of gold?'

Crasso,  
Dicci, chè il sai, di che sapore è l' oro<sup>3</sup>?

In the next Cantos, XXI and XXII, the Poet delights us with scenes of a graceful and most appropriate playfulness. First there is the charming episode, *Purg.* XXI, 100 sqq., where Statius addressing Virgil, whom he does not recognise, says: 'What would I have given to have been on earth when the author of the *Aeneid* was alive!' and Dante, in spite of Virgil's unspoken but unmistakable 'Taci!' betrays the situation by an uncontrollable smile. Then in the next Canto (XXII) when the puzzled Virgil mistakes the guilt for which Statius is suffering for *avarice*, it is Statius' turn to laugh. The gentle, mirthful grace of the whole scene is enhanced by the pathetic sequel, when Statius explains that it was Virgil who converted him, by his famous fourth Eclogue, to Christianity, like one who, walking himself in darkness, carries a lantern behind his back to illumine the path of those who follow—

Facesti come quei che va di notte,  
Che porta il lume retro, e sè non giova  
Ma dopo sè fa le persone dotte<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Purg.* xx, 108.

<sup>3</sup> *Purg.* xx, 116—17.

<sup>2</sup> *Purg.* xix, 72, 124.

<sup>4</sup> *Purg.* xxii, 67—9.

Charming too is the playful irony of the scene in the Earthly Paradise where Matelda gravely discourses to Dante, in presence of Virgil and Statius, about the poets who in days of yore sang of the Golden Age—

Quelli che anticamente poetaro  
L' età dell' oro e suo stato felice<sup>1</sup>—

and Dante looks round on them and sees them smiling.

Io mi volsi dietro allora tutto  
A' miei poeti, e vidi che con riso  
Udito avevan l' ultimo costrutto<sup>2</sup>.

The smiles which wreath the lips of the denizens of the Heavenly Paradise, like that which gleams in Beatrice's eyes<sup>3</sup>, are something ineffably solemn and sublime: like the *Gloria* chanted in the Starry Heaven, of which the Poet exclaims:

...mi sembiava un riso  
Dell' universo<sup>4</sup>.

But there is a touch of the more distinctively human in the suggestion thrown out in the following Canto that St Gregory woke up in heaven to the true facts about the Angelic Hierarchy, and 'smiled at his own mistake' in departing from the Dionysian scheme.

Onde, sì tosto come l' occhio aperse  
In questo ciel, di sè medesmo rise<sup>5</sup>.

The passages we have touched upon in the *Divina Commedia* are those most obviously to the point. Professor Sannia's Italian mind can discern subtleties of humour in places where the foreigner cannot always hope to follow. But there is one point on which he lays much stress, namely the importance, for our purpose, of observing Dante's attitude towards himself throughout the mystical journey, and especially as he passes through the dismal regions of the First Kingdom. The Dante so graphically depicted to us in the Divine Comedy is altogether different from the cold, abstract Dante of tradition. He is an impatiently curious child, in whom the passion of curiosity even conquers fear. And while the pilgrim is depicted to us in very human guise, and his motions and his attitudes described in terms which presuppose not only a remarkable degree of self-knowledge, and a striking power of psychological analysis, but also a very real sense of humour; the poet, who sings of the pilgrim, reveals to us by the way a whole group of characteristics which claim the humorous gift as their inevitable

<sup>1</sup> *Purg.* xxviii, 139.

<sup>4</sup> *Par.* xxvii, 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Purg.* xxviii, 145.

<sup>5</sup> *Par.* xxviii, 134, 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Par.* xxiii, 22.

associate. Such are his broad humanity, his sympathy, his reverence even for the noble damned, his very modern type of tenderness shown by interest in the ways of children, animals, birds, insects, from whose life he loves to draw his similes.

Popular tradition has imaged him as a heartless, unfeeling judge, without that indulgence towards human frailty which the gift of humour presupposes: but the entire *Purgatorio* belies this calumny, and not a few episodes in the *Inferno* itself.

To pass from the *Divina Commedia* to the *Convivio* is in any case a drop down. If it is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous, the sublimity of the *Divina Commedia* should bring us very close to the regions where laughter is generated. The *Convivio*, with all its manifold interest, is obviously far below the level on which thought and feeling habitually move in the Divine Comedy. Has it therefore less promise in the matter of our quest?

I venture to think that there is a strain of playfulness underlying a good deal of the argument of this work: and that, even if we can bring ourselves to believe Dante's own solemnly elaborate interpretation of his love-songs to be quite serious in the main.

And apart from this, if we take the *Convivio* with the utmost seriousness, we may remember for our comfort that *πορίζεσθαι τὰ γέλοια*<sup>1</sup> is one of the qualifications of Aristotle's *εὐτράπελος* and the willingness to be laughed at another; and see in Dante (with all reverence) an example of those who, more or less unconsciously, provide matter for amusement to posterity. Nay, we may treat him as he treats St Gregory, and look upon him as laughing now at his own certitude about the ten heavens and the angelic hierarchy, from his place in the mystic rose—or are we to say on the terrace of Pride?

But to return to the *Convivio*. It is here, as we have already suggested, that Dante gives us his description of the ideal nature of Laughter. 'Ridere,' he says, 'è una corruscazione della dilettazone dell'anima<sup>2</sup>.' On the Aristotelian principle of the Mean (though his actual reference is not to Aristotle, but to Pseudo-Seneca 'On the Four Cardinal Virtues'), he urges that laughter should be moderate and modest, with no violent movement (such as convulses the pages, e.g., of Franco Sacchetti) and no 'cackling' noise. Laughter is, in fact—like little children—'best seen and not heard.'

<sup>1</sup> *Eth. Eud.* III, 1234<sup>a</sup> 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Conv.* III, viii, 95 sqq.

From each of the four extant treatises, quotations may be adduced which at any rate show the writer's sympathy with that view of life which fastens on the incongruous and sees in it matter for genial irony or for bitter sarcasm, according to the moral context.

*Tratt. I.* Chapter XI opens with a delicious satire on the 'sheep-like opinion' of the multitude, which I have elsewhere compared to the charmingly nonsensical scene—'Less Bread, More Taxes!'—with which Lewis Carroll inaugurates his *Sylvie and Bruno*. The 'man in the street,' says Dante, is ready to follow any cry that is raised. Thus the populace will be found exclaiming 'Viva la lor morte! Muoia la lor vita!—purchè alcuno cominci.' They are for all the world like sheep who follow their leader blindly over a high precipice or down a well. He goes on to rail at 'a bad workman who blames his tools,' the many who 'sempre danno colpa alla materia dell' arte apparecchiata, ovvero allo stromento; siccome il fabro biasima il ferro appresentato a lui.'

Nor can we fail to find in the next chapter (I, XII) a touch of the drily humorous spirit; in the passage which Dr Toynbee in his *Anthology*<sup>1</sup> entitles *Of Silly Questions*.

'If flames were plainly to be seen issuing from the windows of a house, and a bystander were to enquire whether that house were on fire, and another man to reply that it was, I should find it difficult to decide which of the two was the more ridiculous.'

What are we to say of the *Trattato II*? Here, if anywhere, Dante poses as the unconscious humorist; here, if anywhere, in his elaborately solemn disquisition upon the arrangement of the heavens and their analogues in the *trivium* and *quadrivium*, he is qualifying himself to play the rôle of St Gregory in the other world! But even here he finds leisure to cast occasionally a satirist's eye on the contemporary world,

l' aiuolo che ci fa tanto feroci;

and the naïveté of his references to it is delightful. They sometimes come in incidentally in the form of similes. In Chapter VII, for instance, is an allusion to the perennial banishments and sieges with which the factions of Guelf and Ghibelline, Black and White, harassed the cities of the peninsula: 'When we speak of "the city";' he says, 'we are wont to mean those who are in possession of it, not those who are attacking it, albeit the one and the other be citizens.' Or again, in Chapter XI<sup>2</sup>, a reference to the decline of good taste and culture is

<sup>1</sup> *In the Footprints of Dante* (Methuen, 1907), p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> *II*, xi, 60 sqq.

ingeniously worked into a question of etymology. 'Cortesia' is equivalent to 'onestade,' and 'because in courts of old time virtuous and fair manners were in use (as now the contrary), this word was derived from courts, and "courtesy" was as much as to say "after the usage of courts." If the word had been derived in modern days from the same origin, it could have signified nothing else than *turpezza*.'

In *Tratt. III*, as elsewhere, the playfulness is for the most part so spread out that it is difficult to quote. There is, however, a touch of real satire in such passages as that in which Dante twits the lawyers, physicians, and members of religious orders with their disqualification for the reputation of a true philosopher (XI, 100 sqq.).

'We are not to call him a real philosopher who is a friend of wisdom for profit[']s sake], as are lawyers, physicians, and almost all the members of the religious orders, who do not study in order to know, but in order to get money or office; and if any one would give them that which it is their purpose to acquire, they would linger over their study no longer.'

*Trattato IV* is more obviously fruitful. Here again he girds at the lawyers and doctors, suggesting that they might at least give unprofessional advice gratis, and, in another place, ventures timidly to assert that it may be possible 'to be religious though married<sup>1</sup>.' Again, in Ch. XVI, if *nobile* simply meant *notus*, then the Obelisk of St Peter would be the noblest stone on earth, and Asdente the cobbler (of whom Salimbene gives us so lively a sketch) would be noblest among the citizens of Parma<sup>2</sup>.

Some arguments are so senseless, he says a little earlier, that they deserve to be answered not with a word, but with a knife. 'Risponder si vorrebbe non colle parole ma col cottello a tanta bestialità<sup>3</sup>.'

Lastly, he has in this treatise the audacity to depict to us the sublimest sage, 'il maestro di color che sanno,' as indulging in a burst of hypothetical laughter at the idea of a double origin of the human race. 'Senza dubbio, forte riderebbe Aristotile'; and, he adds, 'those who would divide mankind into two separate species like horses and asses are (with apologies to Aristotle) themselves the asses.'

In the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, as we have already hinted, the 'idioma incomptum et ineptum' of various localities, alike on the right and on the left of the Apennines, gives play for pleasantry of which Dante does not fail to take advantage. It is with evident relish that he puts on record typical uncouth phrases of each dialect:—the Roman

<sup>1</sup> *IV*, xxviii, 70 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *IV*, xvi, 69. Salimbene (ed. cit.), pp. 457, 512, 530 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> *IV*, xiv, 105.

'Me sure, quinte dici<sup>1</sup>,' the 'Chignamente sciate siate' of the Marches of Ancona<sup>2</sup>, the Milanese 'Mes d' ochiover<sup>3</sup>,' the 'Çes fastù' which men of Aquileja and Istria 'crudeliter accentuando, eructant<sup>4</sup>.' The feminine softness of the Romagna, and especially of Forlì, with its 'corada mea<sup>5</sup>'; the more than masculine roughness of the men of Verona, Vicenza, Brescia—all those who say 'Magara<sup>6</sup>'; the 'nof' and 'vif' of Treviso<sup>7</sup>.

In Chapter XI he has his knife into mediaeval Rome, the proud and corrupt. 'Sicut ergo Romani se cunctis praeponendos existimant, in hac eradicatione sive discerptione non immerito eos aliis praeponamus, protestantes eosdem in nulla vulgaris eloquentiae ratione fore tangendos.' The primacy which the Romans claim in all things may certainly be theirs in this. In our eliminating process they shall be first to be rejected from the candidature to furnish a classical vernacular for all Italy.

Their dialect (he goes on), like their morals, is the most degraded in the whole peninsula, and has spread its corrupting influence into neighbouring districts<sup>8</sup>. It is indeed not worthy to be called a 'vulgare' (vernacular), but rather a depraved misuse of speech (*tristiloquium*), and is 'italorum vulgarium omnium...turpissimum.'

At the end of Chapter XIII he tilts at the Genoese Z—an ugly sound in itself, but one which, if lost or mislaid by defect of memory, would leave the poor people of Genoa without a means of transmitting their thoughts! The loss of this one letter would leave them dumb, or impose on them the necessity of inventing an entirely new mode of speech. 'Si per oblivionem Ianuenses ammitterent z litteram, vel mutire totaliter eos vel novam reperire oporteret loquelam: est enim z maxima pars eorum locutionis: quae quidem littera non sine multa rigiditate profertur<sup>9</sup>.'

On a different plane is Dante's lamentation in Ch. XII over the decay of literary culture in Sicily since the glorious days of Frederic and Manfred, which gave the title 'Sicilianum' to the work of Dante's predecessors in the vernacular: a passage (to me at least) somewhat obscure, in which Frederic II of Sicily, Charles II of Naples, Azzo Marquis of Este, and John Marquis of Montferrat are accused of blood-thirstiness, treachery and avarice: 'Venite carnifices; venite atriplices; venite avaritiae sectatores...<sup>10</sup>'

<sup>1</sup> I, x, 17.

<sup>2</sup> I, x, 19.

<sup>3</sup> I, x, 35.

<sup>4</sup> I, x, 36—7.

<sup>5</sup> I, xiv, 7—17.

<sup>6</sup> I, xiv, 20—26.

<sup>7</sup> I, xiv, 30 sqq.

<sup>8</sup> V.E. I, xii.

<sup>9</sup> V.E. I, xiii, fin.

<sup>10</sup> 'Quid nunc personat tuba novissimi Frederici? quid tintinnabulum secundi Caroli? quid cornua Iohannis et Azzonis marchionum potentum? quid aliorum magnatum tibiae? nisi Venite carnifices, etc.'

Turning to Bk II we find the same Azzo ironically praised in Chapter VI, in a 'copy-book phrase' of which the incidental introduction gives point to the satire: 'Laudabilis discretio marchionis Estensis et sua magnificentia praeparata cunctis illum facit esse dilectum<sup>1</sup>.'

More delightful still is a sentence which closely follows, quoted solemnly like the former merely as an example of good phraseology appropriate to a lofty subject, in which Charles of Valois plays the rôle of a 'second Totila,' and his calamitous dealings with Florence (including, presumably, Dante's own banishment) are adduced as a fitting prelude to his futile descent upon Sicily. 'Ejecta maxima parte florum de sinu tuo, Florentia, nequicquam Trinacriam Totila serus adivit<sup>2</sup>.'

Earlier in the book there is another humorous touch with which we may conclude our list, at the risk, perchance, of an anti-climax. A passage near the end of Chapter I recalls, in a curious way, a line from the *Epistles* of Horace.

Dante, having premised that every one should adorn (*exornare*) his verses as far as possible, goes on to point out that there are limits beyond which adornment becomes incongruous and absurd. 'We do not speak of an ox caparisoned like a horse or a belted pig as *ornatus*; we laugh at them, and would rather apply the word *deturpatus*.' This *bos ephippiatus* most aptly typifies incongruity of adornment. In Horace's well-known line

Optat ephippia bos piger, optat arare caballus<sup>3</sup>,

the point of the satire is different. It is the Roman poet's favourite theme of universal discontent—each envying another's lot.

In Dante's phrase we may perhaps detect an unconscious or semi-conscious adoption or adaptation of a classical image: parallel, in a humble way, with those splendid thefts from Virgil and Ovid with which he has enriched the *Divina Commedia*: conceptions too unquestionably original in their new form to be classed as mere plagiarisms.

'Cicero hath observed,' says the *Spectator* of Nov. 5, 1714<sup>4</sup>, 'that a jest is never uttered with a better grace than when it is accompanied with a serious countenance.'

If this be true, our quest may perhaps modestly congratulate itself on the avoidance of undue levity. Nor need we take it seriously to

<sup>1</sup> V.E. II, vi, 42—4.

<sup>3</sup> Hor. *Ep.* i, xiv, 43.

<sup>2</sup> II. vi, 46.

<sup>4</sup> No. 616.

heart if we have failed to vindicate for Dante the character of a humorist in the modern sense, and of the American type. The most that our investigation can be said to have proved is that Dante, embittered as he was by his exile, and emaciated by long and serious study, was not devoid of that sense of humour whereby man is able to wring matter for cheerfulness and mirth out of the most unlikely material, and, going through this vale of misery—‘questo aspro diserto’—to ‘use it for a well.’ But neither is he the cold abstraction, both less and more than human, which tradition, of a sort, has handed down to us. His works display, for those who care to look for them, a breadth of sympathy, a capacity for observation and discernment, a keenness of interest, an eye for the incongruous, a richness and sureness of self-expression that are guarantees of the possession of the sense of humour. The manifold play of the forces of one of the most picturesque ages of human history found a sympathetic response in Dante’s genius, though the sublimity and the restraint of his work has obscured this. This side of his genius is well summed up by Sannia.

‘La coscienza lucidissima di sè stesso, l’attitudine all’analisi psicologica, la febbrile curiosità del mondo esterno, naturale ed umano, lo spirito d’osservazione, il senso più squisito dell’arte, la divina serenità, la multiforme impressionabilità dell’artista, il senso del tenero, la pietà umana, il pessimismo furono note spiccatissime, eminenti del suo genio.’

LONSDALE RAGG.

GREEN’S NORTON,  
TOWCESTER.



## DONNIANA.

IN that almost forgotten journal *The Modern Language Quarterly* (IV, 91), I gave under the above title some notes on Mr Gosse's *Life and Letters of John Donne*. Having now re-read that most interesting book, I venture to send a few more notes on it.

I, p. 134. Donne is said to owe nothing to Shakespeare. It is possible however that his phrase 'Th' expense of brain and spirit' (*Progress of the Soul*, stanza 5) is a reminiscence of Shakespeare's Sonnet cxxix, l. 1, and the line 'She to whom all this world was but a stage' (*Second Anniversary*, l. 67) of *As You Like It*. One may also think that a passage in the *Funeral Elegy* (ll. 21—25) was suggested by the almost contemporary *Coriolanus* (I, 1, 105—107 and the Fable of the Belly).

p. 187. Lancelot Andrews is said by Mr Gosse to have been 'by eight years Donne's senior.' Should not 'eight' be 'eighteen'?

p. 189. The fragment of a letter 'Probably to Sir H. Goodyer' 'From my Hospital at Mitcham, August 10' is here assigned to the year 1608. The same passage, however, with the slightest possible verbal differences, occurs in a letter 'To the Honourable Sir R. D[rury]' printed in vol. II, p. 36 as written in February or March, 1614. Does the letter really belong to the latter date? and was it written at Mitcham? And, if so, must we not assume that Donne, even after his acquaintance with Drury and his obtaining rooms at Drury House, still kept up his old Mitcham home, or returned to it after an interval? A letter of 17th July, 1613 (II, 16, 17) is dated 'From my Hospital' and another of 28th July, 1614 (II, 46, 47) 'At my poor hospital.' Does this throw any light on the mystery of Donne's relations with Sir R. Drury, which Mr Gosse points out (II, 53)? 'We are to believe that since 1610 he had been, with all his family, the guests of [Drury]. Yet no mention of Sir Robert or Lady Drury is to be found in Donne's copious correspondence, with the exception of one colourless letter... Were it not that experience teaches us that those with whom we are

in daily intercourse are those of whom our letters, sometimes, speak the least, we should be tempted to think the lodgings in Drury House a myth.'

p. 200, middle. Mr Gosse says that 'M. Mole,' mentioned in Donne's previous letter, 'may doubtless be identified with Mathieu Molé the President.' The man referred to is however John Mole or Molle. See L. Pearsall Smith's *Life and Letters of Sir H. Wotton*, II, 473.

p. 203, l. 16 from bottom, 'this would be the worst degree of the ill-fortune if that fail.' Query 'of that fail [= failure]'? The substantive 'fail' is used repeatedly by Shakespeare.

p. 203, l. 10 from bottom, 'to live in your memory is advancement enough, and I shall by your Lordship's favour be bold to refresh by my often letters.' We ought probably to read 'refresh it.'

p. 217, l. 11 from bottom. Either emend 'having' to 'have,' or begin the sentence 'Except you repent... and continue to 'so ill.'

p. 223, 'our soul, which is but one, hath swallowed up a negative and feeling soul.' 'Negative' should be 'vegetive' or 'vegetative.' Donne is referring to the triple division of souls thus stated by Jo. Seton in his *Dialectica*:

Vegetatiua	} Vita triplex	{	Plantis brutis hominibus
Sensitiua			Brutis & hominibus
Rationalis			Homini tantum.

Cp. Donne's *Anatomy*, II, 160: those two souls which then thou [my soul] found'st in me, My second soul of sense and first of growth: *Verse Letter to the Countess of Salisbury*, 52:

We first have souls of growth and sense: and those  
When our last soul, our soul immortal, came,  
Were swallowed into it, and have no name.

p. 302, l. 7 from bottom, 'the magnificence which have been here.' Query, 'magnificoes'?

p. 307. 'Monsieur de Rohan...son in law to D. Sally,' i.e. to the Duke of Sully. This is Henri, Duc de Rohan, who among other things was godfather to Charles I.

p. 315, l. 2, 'we charged our whole gestic.' For 'charged' read 'changed.'

II, p. 8, l. 11 from bottom, 'comite.' Query 'comiti'?

p. 16, middle, 'I did your commandment with Mr Johnson, etc.' This is an interesting reference to some objection taken about July, 1613 to some work of Ben Jonson, which led him to change its name. I learn from Mr Percy Simpson that it has not hitherto been noted.

p. 29, l. 4. 'Mr M.' is clearly Albertus Morton.

p. 41, l. 10, 'whatsoever to appear to me.' Query 'whatsoever should [or 'do'] appear to me'? The sentence runs on over the close of the paragraph.

p. 46, l. 9 from bottom, 'in your business.' Query 'in their business' ('their' in the MS. being probably 'y').

p. 51. If this letter were addressed to Somerset, would it open with 'Sir'?

p. 71, l. 5 from bottom. Butler is no doubt the Cambridge physician.

p. 94, l. 10, 'dies' should be 'die.'

p. 125, bottom. Mr Gosse says of the letter which follows: 'Whether it was, indeed, written to Sir Thomas Lucy I greatly doubt; the tone is more that of a letter to Sir Henry Goodyear. No verse-letter which can be identified with that which is here announced, exists addressed to either friend.'

The letter (whether its recipient was Lucy or Goodyear) was clearly addressed to the same person as the letter on p. 121 which is superscribed 'To Sir H. Goodyer at Polesworth.'

The second sentence which I quoted from Mr Gosse rests on a misunderstanding. There is no question of any 'verse-letter...addressed to either friend.' Goodyear [or Lucy] had asked Donne to write an elegy on a Mr Martin. Donne has found himself unequal to doing so—but encloses to his correspondent 'to his own condemnation' a verse-letter which he had received from a very busy man.

p. 143, l. 11 from bottom, 'since by retiring.' Query 'since his retiring'?

p. 150. This letter is addressed to Sir Thomas Lucy and the one following it to Sir H. G[oodyer]. Yet it seems obvious that the two were written to the same person. This seems to dispose of Mr Gosse's suggestion that Donne's 'little book of Cases' mentioned in the postscript to the former letter was identical with his *Paradoxes and Problems*.

p. 170, middle. 'Why Sir Francis Nethersole should be imprisoned for debt etc.' I think the man imprisoned (pp. 166, 167, 171) was not Nethersole, Goodyear's son-in-law (though called 'his son' on p. 171), but his actual son, John Goodyer, who was still alive at this time (cp. p. 248).

p. 179, l. 8 from bottom, 'jests' = 'gests.'

p. 208, bottom. 'He preached on the 13th of June (1624) to the new Earl of Exeter, William Cecil and his company in his chapel of

St John's.' This chapel is, I suppose, the chapel of St John the Baptist, Westminster Abbey, in which the first Earl (ob. 7 Feb. 1622) had been buried, and where a great monument was (perhaps already) erected in memory of him.

p. 210, middle. 'The address of this letter is very extraordinary.' Is there, however, anything to show that it belongs to the year 1624?

p. 222. Mr Gosse thinks this letter 'may possibly be addressed to Dorset.' It is clearly written however to someone who had lately come into 'a place,' and who at the time was living in a monastery abroad on account of the prevalence of plague where he was, 2000 people dying a day as against 1000 dying in London at the same time.

Is it possible that the recipient of the letter was Sir Isaac Wake, who had lately succeeded Sir H. Wotton at Venice? The fact that he is addressed as 'Your Lordship' would be accounted for by his being an Ambassador. Cp. the letter to Sir T. Roe, p. 173. Donne had no doubt met Wake in the course of his diplomatic travels in Germany with Lord Doncaster in 1619. (Cp. p. 127, l. 4 from bottom.)

Against this suggestion are Donne's words 'I owe no man more.' I am not aware of any obligation to Wake which would account for them. Again Wake went to Venice in May 1624, and we should judge from Donne's letter that his friend's appointment had been more recent. There had been rumours that the unknown correspondent was to be Secretary. This would be, as Mr Gosse says, in the place of Sir Albertus Morton, who had died on the 6th of September 1625, this letter being written on the 25th of November following. I do not know if there is any other evidence of Wake's having been thought of in this connexion.

A last piece of evidence is ambiguous. Donne tells his friend that a protégé whom Donne had recommended to him 'hath embraced another employment for Savoy.' If these words mean 'another employment instead of Savoy,' they practically prove that Wake is the person addressed: as he was accredited not only to Venice, but also to Savoy. If they mean 'another employment, viz. one in Savoy,' they prove as decisively that Wake was not Donne's correspondent, as there would then have been no need for Donne to give Wake the information.

p. 223, l. 7, 'to be as near as I could to your inspection of the Church, I removed for a time to Chelsea.' Query 'to the inspection of the Church'? Cp. p. 270, l. 12: 'to be nearer to the service of the Church...I purpose to be at London.'

p. 224. The persons referred to in the first paragraph are no doubt

Buckingham and John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, who had just been removed from the office of Lord Keeper.

p. 224, ll. 14, 13 from bottom. 'Amongst your men-midwives I shall always assist it with my humble prayers both for the birth of your daughter and your honour in this world and of your son with your happiness in the next.' Query 'the birth of your daughter, your honour in this world, and of your son, your happiness in the next'? The metaphorical use of 'daughter' and 'son' seems to have been misunderstood, and the words 'and' and 'with' inserted.

p. 226. Donne writes in a letter of '21 December [1625]' (the year is no doubt right): 'I never went to Knolle nor Hanworth nor Keton, nor to the Court since the Court came into these quarters.' For 'Keton' (this is apparently the form found in the *Letters* of 1651) Mr Gosse prints 'Ke[ys]ton.' He tells us however (II, 156) that Donne had been obliged to relinquish the living of Keyston in 1622. There would seem no reason therefore why he should go there in 1625, and he is hardly likely to have written 'Keton' if he meant 'Keyston.'

Probably like Knole and Hanworth it was some place much nearer London than Keystone near Thrapstone.

p. 241, l. 9 from bottom, 'at this miserable chezmey.' Did not Donne write 'chez moy'?

p. 245, l. 10, 'the breaking of the bed of whisperers by casting in a bone of making them suspect and distrust one another.' Query, for 'bed' read 'band'?

p. 280. The lines

As west and east  
In all flat maps—and I am one—are one,

seem to point to the poem's having been written as the Julius Cæsar MS. says, in the Dean's 'great sickness in December 1623' and not (as Walton gives) on March 23, 1631. Cp. the letter to Sir R. Ker (p. 191), dated by Mr Gosse in Feb. or March, 1624: 'if a flat map be but pasted upon a round globe, the farthest east and the farthest west meet and are all one.' The fancy however also occurs in Donne's lines *The Annunciation and Passion* (written on 25th March 1608, when Good Friday coincided with Lady Day):—'As in plain maps, the furthest east is west'—and once again, as Professor Grierson informs me, in one of Donne's sermons.

p. 306, l. 7. 'And save his body in the grave hath none.' Mr E. K. Chambers' text, 'and sure his body,' etc. is obviously the right one.

p. 315. 'No letters of Wotton to Donne have been preserved, and very few of Donne to Wotton.'

Mr L. Pearsall Smith (*Life of Wotton*, II, 469) says he has found a number of letters of Donne to Wotton in the Burley Commonplace book, which he hopes will soon be published.

Two suggestions which I made in *The Modern Language Quarterly*, those on I, 279 and II, 209, I now withdraw.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

## TWO POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO THEODOR KÖRNER.

### I.

IN the *Revue Germanique* for 1907, C. Pitollet<sup>1</sup> reprints from the *Hermann, Deutsches Wochenblatt aus London* for August 29, 1863 the following poem attributed to Körner from a MS. in the possession of Herr von Erlanger:

Den ew'gen Ruhm erkämpfte sich  
Jüngst eine brave Schaar,  
Als Preussens Heer bei Halle wich,  
Und Frankreich Sieger war.  
Die Preussen waren längst entflohn  
Und ihre Fahne sank,  
Die Franken, sie erhoben schon  
Den frechen Siegesgesang.  
Da stand ein braves Regiment  
Dem Feind' im Angesicht,  
Als wenn es da auf immer ständ',  
Es wich und wankte nicht.  
Schon mancher war ihm weggerafft,  
Das Häuflein war zu klein,  
Es stürzten mit vereinter Kraft  
Die Franken auf sie ein.  
Sie standen, ihrer Väter werth,  
Der Feinde Übermacht,  
Und mancher fiel durch Preussens Schwert  
In tiefe Todes-Nacht.  
Und heisser werden sie bedrängt  
Von tapf'rer Franken Hand,  
Und endlich doch zurückgedrängt  
Bis an der Saale Rand.  
Und keine Rettung war nun mehr,  
Denn hinten war die Fluth...  
Im Angesicht der Feinde Heer,  
Den Kriegern sank der Muth.  
Die Franken dringen schärfer ein,  
Der Preussen Führer fällt,  
Da hüllt sich in die Fahne ein  
Der Jüngling, der sie hält.

<sup>1</sup> *Revue Germanique*, Vol. III, 1907, p. 231. C. Pitollet, *Une poésie inconnue de Theodor Körner*.

Und es erfasst sie fürchterlich,  
 Als wär's sein einzig Gut,  
 Und in die Saale stürzt er sich!  
 Weh! ihn verschlingt die Fluth.  
 Und wie er in die Wellen sinkt,  
 Wie ihn der Strom entrafft  
 Im Laufe, neuer Muth durchdringt  
 Die Schaar und neue Kraft.  
 Sie schwöret, sich dem Tod zu weihn,  
 Zu fechten als ein Held,  
 Und stürzt sich in die Franken ein,  
 Bis jeder Preusse fällt.

All efforts to trace the MS. of this poem failed. Although it was therefore impossible to make comparisons of the handwriting, there is much internal evidence to show that it is most unlikely that Körner was its author.

In the consideration of this and the following poem I only take such compositions into account as Körner wrote after his conversion to the revolutionary, religio-patriotic doctrine of Freiherr von Stein and E. M. Arndt about February 1813. There is no doubt that this poem was composed at a later date, for the battle between the Prussians and French at Halle to which it refers, only took place in May 1813.

Firstly, the poem is epic, and realistic in character. Körner, however, wrote no epic war-poems at all, so far as we know. He did base some of his lyrics on historical events during this period or the immediately preceding one. Such are *Hoch lebe das Haus Österreich*<sup>1</sup>, which bears the sub-title *Aus der Geschichte der Schlacht von Aspern*; *Moskau*<sup>2</sup>, a sonnet; and *Wilknitz*<sup>3</sup>. A single typical quotation will show how completely all these neglect the actual course of events, to pass into an exalted style and an idealistic contemplation of the action. The poem *Wilknitz*, which glorifies a companion in arms of Körner, opens:

Steig, Flügelross, den Sturm in deinen Mähnen!  
 Fleug auf, mein Lied, mit deinem kühnsten Schwung!  
 Zu dir, mein Held, zu dir, des Liedes Sehnen,  
 Zu deinem Licht aus meiner Dämmerung!  
 Und füllen gleich die Augen sich mit Tränen,  
 Dir gleich zu sein, bleibt doch mein stolzes Wähnen.

The contrast to the simple opening of the poem under consideration is apparent.

Of all historical subjects, however, that which recorded so complete a disaster for the Prussians is the very last Arndt or Körner would have treated poetically. The event would rather have called from them a

<sup>1</sup> *Leier und Schwert*, No. 6. Körner's *Werke* (Leipzig, Hesse, 1903), p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Leier und Schwert*, No. 10. *Werke*, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Werke*, p. 38.



*Trost*<sup>1</sup>. Other important characteristics of Körner's work are wholly lacking. There is the high religious sentiment which permeates *Leier und Schwert*; the hatred of the enemy which grants them no virtues<sup>2</sup>; the idea that freedom must be won for the Fatherland at the price of life; the glorification of this resolve; the appeal to all 'brothers' to take part; and the personal identification with the crusade. Our poem merely relates, with a simplicity approaching that of the Volkslied, the events of the disaster. Even where Körner depicts a scene in which he had no part, his strong personal feeling forces him to take up an ideal rôle, as in the closing lines of the quotation from *Wilknitz* above.

Certain technicalities also speak against Körner's authorship. (a) He was not fond of the simple Chevy-chace metre of our poem. True, he has used it twice, but with the strophe doubled to give an eight-lined verse, and probably *Trost. Ein Rundgesang* (*L. und S.* No. 12), as well as *Reiterlied* (No. 26), was based rather on the Volkslied, *Es gibt nichts Lust'gers auf der Welt*, than on the English verse-form made popular by Klopstock and Gleim. When not following the melody of a regimental song, Körner preferred classical forms, or original ones, as in *Gebet während der Schlacht* and *Missmuth* (*L. und S.* Nos. 23 and 24). (b) He indulged very little in enjambement. In any case such extreme examples of it as v. 8, 3—4 and v. 10, 2—3 above, are not discoverable in his war-poetry. (c) Körner's répertoire of rhymes during this period is none too large. As I shall show elsewhere, he learned the use of what I may call the topical rhyme—with 'Schwert,' 'Krieg,' 'Leiche,' 'Vaterland,' etc.—largely from Arndt. A comparison of the topical rhymes of *Leier und Schwert* with those before us reveals almost no common material. Only the rhyme of 'weggerafft' : 'Krafft' occurs with both (above v. 4; *L. und S.* No. 12, 2. Cf. v. 10 above and *L. und S.* No. 21, 3). The rhyme 'Schwert' : 'werth' (v. 5 above), although he uses 'Schwert(e)' so frequently in rhyme (*L. und S.* Nos. 15, 1; 16; 19; 23, 5; 26, 2; 20; 26, 6 etc.) never once occurs with Körner. The topical word 'Muth' is rhymed above with 'Fluth' (v. 7, cf. v. 9). In all possible combinations (: 'Blut,' *L. und S.* Nos. 12, 1, 8; 26, 2; 18, 3; 19, 4, 6; : 'Gut,' 12, 5; 3, 3; : 'Glut,' 11, 3; 15, 3; : 'Brut,' 15, 2) Körner never once uses it rhymed with 'Fluth.' He does not use the word 'Fluth' at all. In his reference to the Rhine, etc., he uses 'Strom' (*L. und S.* Nos. 19, 5; 32, 6; 18, 2; 24, 4), and that not in rhyme. Similarly,

<sup>1</sup> E. M. Arndt, *Lieder für Teutsche*, Leipzig, 1813; *Trostlieder*, p. 53 ff. and others. Körner, *Trost* (*L. und S.* No. 27) and *Letzter Trost* (No. 21).

<sup>2</sup> Evidenced by such epithets as *Bluthund* (*L. und S.* No. 9, 5 etc.), *Wütrich* (very common) etc. Cf. with these the honesty of our poem, vv. 4, 5 and 6.

'Rand' (': 'Hand' v. 6 above) for the bank of a stream is unknown to him. In a poem of 1811 he has 'Strand(e)' in rhyme (*L. und S.* No. 5, 3); uses 'Ufer' once in the middle of a line (*L. und S.* No. 29, 3); and rhymes 'Hand' : 'Vaterland' only (*L. und S.* No. 9, 4; 24, 4; *An L., Werke*, p. 36). The simple word 'sich' (above v. 1, and 9) is never used in rhyme by Körner, though he uses 'mich' and 'dich' (No. 23, etc.). (d) I have already drawn attention to two words in the poem under consideration which do not occur in Körner's vocabulary, and have to add 'Preussen' (v. 1, 2, 8, 11 above), for which he puts 'die Deutschen' or 'Deutschland,' except in one reference to the Königin Luise (No. 17, 1); 'Regiment,' for which he uses 'Korps' in his correspondence and in the title, *L. und S.* No. 11, or some more poetic term in his compositions, as *Die Jagd* (*L. und S.* No. 29), 'Brüder,' etc.; and 'Häuflein' (v. 4) and 'Krieger' (v. 7) similarly are unrepresented with him, because he did not refer to the ordinary warfare of soldiers and armies, but to the voluntary struggle of a nation. He speaks therefore of 'das Volk' (Nos. 34, 1; 25 etc.), 'Söhne des Vaterlands' (Nos. 35, 3; 11, 2 etc.), etc. but he uses the first person so much in his capacity as fellow-fighter that synonyma are few.

## II.

The second poem attributed to Körner which I have to discuss is a printed leaflet occurring in the British Museum as No. 11528 h 34 (10). It consists of two leaves,  $4 \times 6\frac{3}{8}$  in. The first page has the title, *Das eiserne Kreuz*. The second has the following paragraph :

Man kennt den Zweck, der der Errichtung des Ordens des eisernen Kreuzes in den preussischen Staaten zum Grunde liegt. Der Orden wurde im März v. J. errichtet, als Preussen gegen Frankreich den Krieg erklärte, mit der ausdrücklichen Bestimmung, dass nur während der Dauer des gegenwärtigen Krieges dies Ordenszeichen verliehen werden soll, um den Tapfern, die damit geziert sind, zu einem ehrenvollen Andenken an die Tage der Gefahr zu dienen, wo sie für das Vaterland und für die Rettung der deutschen Nationallehre und Selbstständigkeit mitgefochten.

In dieser Beziehung theilt man nachfolgendes Gedicht mit, dessen Verfasser, Theodor Körner, als Freiwilliger unter dem Lützow'schen Korps, am 20 Aug. v. J. bei Gadebusch im Mecklenburgischen, durch eine feindliche Kugel getödtet wurde.

The third and fourth pages have the poem :

Als ein Denkmal jener Tage  
 Ueberstandner Leidenszeit,  
 Als ein Sinnbild harter Plage  
 Ward das eh'rne Kreuz geweiht—  
 Eines Mannes Brust zu schmücken,  
 Der mit unerschrocknen Blicken,  
 Und mit eisernem Gemüth  
 Der Gefahr ins Auge sieht.

Stark und fest, wie dieses Eisen,  
 Müsse des Soldaten Muth  
 Sich dereinst im Kampf beweisen,  
 Ungebeugt von Feindes Wuth!  
 Wie es in dem Feuer glüheth,  
 Unterm Hammer Funken sprüheth,  
 'Biet' er im Gefecht mit Lust  
 Dem Geschosse seine Brust!

Finster sey des Kriegers Seele,  
 Wie dies harte Eisenerz!  
 Und aus seinem Innern stehle  
 Sich kein Jubel und kein Scherz.  
 Erst, wenn er den Feind bezwungen,  
 Und sein Vaterland errungen,  
 Oefne die verschloss'ne Brust  
 Sich der neuen Lebenslust!

Ohne Rostflek, ohne Schramme,  
 Ohne Bruch, wie dieses Erz,  
 Und geläutert in der Flamme,  
 Sey auch des Soldaten Herz!  
 Ohne Furcht und ohne Tadel  
 Sey er von gediegnem Adel,  
 Und von allen Schlaken rein  
 Müsse seine Seele seyn!

Wie mit Schweiss im Angesichte,  
 Aus der Erde tiefem Schacht,  
 Zu dem hellen Sonnenlichte  
 Es der Bergmann einst gebracht:  
 So will auch der Freiheit Segen  
 Auf gefahrvoll steilen Wegen  
 Nur mit Arbeit, Müh und Pein,  
 Einst zu Tag gefördert, seyn.

The publication of the poem, without the author's and publisher's name, town and date on the title-page, would suggest an unauthorised affair in any case. All Körner's works, before and after his death, were very carefully published. But pirated publications of them were by no means infrequent<sup>1</sup>, and this might be a case in point. The poem is, however, as in the previous case, entirely unknown to all editions and MSS. of Körner's works, and to the trustees of the Körner-Museum in Dresden. Further, the date of Körner's death, if not a misprint, is incorrectly given as the 20th instead of the 26th in the publisher's paragraph, and it seems probable that Körner's name was appended to the verses to assist the sale.

The matter of *Das eiserne Kreuz*, at first sight, might have been his. There is an earnest and high moral tone throughout, and his early verses on *Bergmannsleben*<sup>2</sup> might have suggested the last verse.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Zwölf freie deutsche Gedichte von Theodor Körner*, Leipzig, 1814, 'Vorbericht zur zweiten Auflage.'

*Werke*, p. 42, cf. p. 53 ff.

Nevertheless these likenesses, which might even have been purposely employed by the author, are superficial.

The poems of *Leier und Schwert* are direct lyrics, full of feeling. However influenced by the war-poetry of the period, Körner's earnestness and enthusiasm were his own. But all treating of the same subject, his poems of this period bear a strong likeness to and repeat each other. *Das eiserne Kreuz* does not repeat or bear a likeness to any of them.

*Das eiserne Kreuz* is a comparison of the iron cross with the soldier's soul. But I have already pointed out that Körner had, in this war, no conception of soldiers. He and his brothers-in-arms were volunteers, a part of 'das Volk.' There were 'Männer' who went out to fight the enemy, and there were 'Buben' (see No. 34) who stayed at home, but no soldiers. Körner uses neither the word 'Soldat' nor 'Krieger' in *Leier und Schwert*<sup>1</sup> (see above). The idea that freedom might be won for his country and the ordinary 'Lebenslust' renewed (v. 3), is quite foreign to Körner, whose war-verses anticipated nothing but death in exchange for the victory of freedom.

The form of the comparison in *Das eiserne Kreuz*, consistently by means of simile as far as v. 4, where metaphor begins to encroach, is not used by Körner. He prefers the symbol. The poem *Die Eichen* (*L. und S.* No. 3) affords in this respect an interesting comparison to *Das eiserne Kreuz*, for in it Körner draws a picture of the contemporary German race in terms of the oak-trees. The second verse shows this particularly well:

Viel des Edlen hat die Zeit zertrümmert,  
 Viel des schönen starb den frühen Tod;  
 Durch die reichen Blätterkränze schimmert  
 Seinen Abschied dort das Abendroth.  
 Doch um das Verhängniss unbekümmert,  
 Hat vergebens euch die Zeit bedroht,  
 Und es ruft mir aus der Zweige Wehen:  
 'Alles Grosse muss im Tod bestehen!'

Or the *Schwertlied* (No. 36) shows it.

Of rhymes, 'Lust' : 'Brust,' 'Angesicht' : '(Sonnen)licht,' and 'glühet' : 'sprühet,' common to both, are too usual to be a proof. With the case of 'Muth' (: 'Wuth' v. 2, unused by Körner) I have dealt above. The words 'Erz' and 'Scherz' (: 'Herz' vv. 3, 4) are foreign to Körner in any position. He rhymes 'Herz' : 'Schmerz' (of course) *L. und S.* No. 2, 10, etc., and : 'himmelwärts' No. 32, 2 (five times).

MARGARET KÖRNER.

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<sup>1</sup> He has once 'Soldatentod' (No. 34, 7), but in a different sense.

## TWO FRAGMENTS OF ALFRED'S 'OROSIUS.'

THE following two hitherto unnoticed fragments of Alfred's Orosius are contained in the Bodleian MS. Eng. hist. e. 49 and form the sole contents of the manuscript, which consists of two parchment leaves taken from a binding. They are in the handwriting of the early part of the eleventh century. The first fragment corresponds to Sweet's edition of Alfred's Orosius p. 102<sup>24</sup>—106<sup>19</sup>, and the second to Sweet p. 120<sup>14</sup>—124<sup>1</sup>. I have printed them line for line as in the manuscript, which I have also followed in the punctuation and in the use of capitals. Square brackets indicate that the letters enclosed are illegible or lost in the manuscript and have been supplied, and the sign : means that a letter is gone, but I have not ventured to supply it. Contractions have been expanded and printed in italics.

### I.

[Fol. 1]

...<sup>1</sup> hæfst on þinum bōcum sweotole gesæd · 7 Ic gehwam wille  
 þær[to tæ]can þe hine his lyst ma to witenne. Æ[ft]er þ::san on  
 ðæm ilcan geare tohlád seo eorðe binnan rome byrig.

ða sædan heora bisceopas eft þ heora godas bædan þ him man

5 sealde anne cwucne mann þa him þuhte þ hie heora deadra  
 to lyt hæfdan 7 seo eorðe swa geoniende bád oþ þ marcus þe  
 o[þ]re naman hatte curtius mid heorse<sup>2</sup> 7 mid wæpnum þær  
 on innan bescéat · 7 heo syþþan togædere behlad ;

Æfter ðæm þe romeburh getimbred wæs .ccc. wintrum

10 · 7 lxxxviii.<sup>3</sup> þ gallige oferhergodan romana land  
 æt ·iiii· mila to þære byrig 7 þa burh mihtan eaðe begitan  
 gif hie þær ne gewicodan forþon þe romane wæran swa forh  
 te 7 swa æmóde þ hie nè wendan [þ] hie þa burh bewergean mihtan.  
 ac þæs on morgenne titus heora ladteow þe oþre naman

<sup>1</sup> Room for 2 or 3 letters, now invisible. This first passage corresponds to Sweet 102<sup>24</sup>—106<sup>19</sup> and to Bosworth, 55<sup>41</sup>—57<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> So MS.

<sup>3</sup> So MS.

- 15 wæs h[at]en<sup>1</sup> quintius hie mid fyrde<sup>2</sup> gesohte þær g[e]fe[ah]t<sup>3</sup> mal  
 lius ánwig<sup>4</sup> þe oþre namam<sup>5</sup> wæs haten tarquatus wiþ anne  
 gal[li]scne man 7 hine ofsloh 7 titus quintius þa oþre sume<sup>6</sup>  
 geflymde sume ofsloh . be þæm man mihte ongytan hwæt  
 ðær ofslegen wæs þa heora fela þusenda gefangen wæs.
- 20 Æfter ðæm þe rome burh getimbred wæs .cccc. win  
 trum 7 .ii. þte cartaina þære burge ærendracan  
 coman<sup>7</sup> to rome 7 him gebudan þ<sup>8</sup> hie frið<sup>9</sup> him betweonum  
 hæ[f]dan forðon hie on án land winnende wæran þ wæs  
 on [b]enefente mid þæm þe þa ærendracan to rome coman<sup>10</sup>
- 25 þa [c]om eac mid him seo ofermæte heartsælnes 7 mani  
 gra<sup>11</sup> þeoda yrnþ seo lange æfter ðæm weaxende wæs swa  
 hi[t] heofenes tunglo on þæm tidum cyþende wæran þ hit wæs

[Fol. 1<sup>b</sup>]

- niht oþ midne dæg 7 on sumre tíde hit haglode stánnum off[er]  
 ealle romane on þæm dagum wæs alexander geboren on  
 crecum swa swa án mycel ýst come ofer ealne middangeard  
 7 ocus persa cyning þone man oþre naman hét artecsersis.
- 5 æfter þæm þe he ægypti oferhergode . he gefor on iude  
 ana land 7 heora feala forhergode. Siþþan on ircaniam  
 þæm lande he heora feala gesette wiþ þa sê þe mon caspia  
 hæt 7 hie þær gesetene synt gýt oþ þysne dæg mid bráðum  
 folcum on ðæm tohopan þ hie god þonon adón to heora ag
- 10 num lande . siþþan artecsersis abræc sidonem fenitia burh  
 seo wæs þa weligost on ðæm dagum . æfter þæm romane ongun  
 nan þ somniticum gewinn ymbe<sup>12</sup> c[a]mpena land hie þa lange  
 7 oftrædlice ymb þæt fuhtan on hweorfendum sigum . þa  
 getugan somnite him on fultum pirrusan epira cyning
- 15 þone mæstan feond romanum . þ gewinn wearð hweþre sume  
 hwile gestilled forðon punici wiþ romane winnan ongunnan.  
 Seopþan þ gewinn ongunnen wæs . gif ænig mann sy cwæð orosius  
 þe on gewritum findan mæge þ ianas dura syþþan belocen  
 wurde butan anum geare 7 ðæt wæs forðæm þe romane

<sup>1</sup> *haten*] the *at* quite gone, and of the *h* only the top left.

<sup>2</sup> *fyrde*] of the letters *yrð* only portions left.

<sup>3</sup> *gefeah*] the *e* gone, and the *g* very faint.

<sup>4</sup> *ánwig*] of the *a* only part left.

<sup>5</sup> So MS.

<sup>6</sup> *sume*] of the *s* only part left.

<sup>7</sup> *coman*] most of the *m* gone.

<sup>8</sup> þ very faint.

<sup>9</sup> *frið*] *ið* partly gone.

<sup>10</sup> *coman*] the *o* partly gone.

<sup>11</sup> *manigra*] *ra* partly gone.

<sup>12</sup> *ymbe*] of *mbe* only parts left.

- 20 ealne þone gear on manncwealme lagan ær eft octauia  
nus dæge þæs caseres . þ hus hæfdan romane to þæm anum  
tacne geworht þ on swylce healfe swylce hie þonne winnen  
de beon woldan . swa suþ swa norþ swa east swa west . þonne  
ondydan hie þa duru þe on þa healfe wæs<sup>1</sup> . þ hie be þæm  
25 wiston hwider hie sceoldan . 7 mid þæm þe hie þara dura  
hwylce opene gesawan þonne tугan hie heora hrægl bufa[n]  
cneow 7 gyredan hie to wigge . 7 be þæm wistom<sup>2</sup> þ hie wiþ sum  
folc frið næfdan . 7 þonne hie friþ hæfdan þonne wæran  
ealle ða dura betynede 7 hie letan heora hrægl on dūne<sup>3</sup> to

## II.

[Fol. 2]

- <sup>4</sup>eower romana brocu þe ge ðær eallnig drifan<sup>5</sup> næs butan<sup>6</sup>  
þry dagas . Philippuses yfel mihte þeah þa gýt be sumum dæ  
le gemetlic þincean ær se swelgend to ríce feng alexander  
his sunu þeah ic nu his dæda sume hwile gesugian sceol[d]e þ<sup>7</sup>  
5 ic romana gesecge þe on þæm ilcan tidum gedón wæran ;  
Æfter ðæm þe romeburh getimbred wæs .cccc. wintrum  
7 xxvigum . Caudenes furcules seo stow gewearþ swiþe  
mære 7 gýt todæge is for romana bysmore þ gewearð æf  
ter ðæm gefeohte þe romane 7 somnite hæfdan . swa we ær  
10 beforan sædan þa þara somnita .xx.m. ofslagen wurdan  
under fauia þæm consule . Ac somnite æt oþran gefeohte  
mid maran fultume 7 mid maran wærscipe to r[o]mana<sup>8</sup>  
gemetinge coman þonne hie ær dydan æt þære stowe þe  
mon hæt caudenes furculus . 7 þær romane swiþost for  
15 ðæm bescyrede<sup>9</sup> wæran þe him þ land uncupre wæs þonne  
hit somnitum wære 7 on ungewis on anig:::et<sup>10</sup> beforan  
þ<sup>11</sup> hie somnite utan beforan þ hie seoðþan oþer sceoldan  
oþþe for metelete heora lif alætan oþþe somnitum on

<sup>1</sup> *healfe wæs*] so MS. Sweet 106<sup>14</sup> and Bosworth 57<sup>11</sup> *healfe open wæs*.<sup>2</sup> So MS.<sup>3</sup> Sweet and Bosworth *ofdune*.<sup>4</sup> This second passage corresponds to Sweet 120<sup>14</sup>—124<sup>1</sup> and to Bosworth 62<sup>36</sup>—64<sup>9</sup>.<sup>5</sup> *drifan*] the top part of the *n* is gone, but it was clearly *n* and not *ð*, as in Sweet and Bosworth.<sup>6</sup> *butan*] the *n* partly gone.<sup>7</sup> þ] so MS. Sweet *oþ*, Bosw. *oð*.<sup>8</sup> *romana*] the *o* almost entirely gone and the lower part of the *m*.<sup>9</sup> So MS. Sweet *besierede*.<sup>10</sup> *anig:::et*] the 4th letter is clearly *g*, and the one following looks like *r*. Between that and the *et* two or at most three letters are gone. Sweet *an nirewett*, Bosw. *an nyrewett*.<sup>11</sup> þ] Sw. *oþ*, Bosw. *oð*.

hand gán. On þam anwalde wæran somnite swa bealde ꝥ se  
 20 æþeling þe heora latteow wæs pontius wæs haten · het axian  
 þone cyning his fæder þe þær æt ham wæs hweþer him leofre  
 wære þe he hie ealle acwealde þe hie lybbende to bismre  
 gerenian hete · hie þa se æþeling to þæm<sup>1</sup> bismre getawode  
 ðe þa on þæm dagum mæst wæs · ꝥ he hie bereafode heora  
 25 clapa 7 heora wæpna · 7 ccccc· gisla on his geweald under  
 fæng on ꝥ rád ꝥ hie heom seopþan éce þeowas wæran · 7  
 se æþeling behead sumum his folce ꝥ hie bebrohtan ro  
 mana consulas 7 heora witan æt heora agnum lande.

[Fol. 2<sup>b</sup>]

.....<sup>2</sup> lingas<sup>3</sup> ꝥ heora bysmor<sup>4</sup>  
 [þe]<sup>5</sup> mare wære · geornor we woldan<sup>6</sup> cwæþ orosi[us] eowra<sup>7</sup>  
 romana bysmra beon forswugigende þonne secgende  
 þonn[e] we for eowre agenre gnornunge mostan þe ge wiþ þæm  
 5 cristendome habbað · hwæt ge witan ꝥ ge gýt todæge wæran som  
 nitum þeowe gif ge him ne alugan<sup>8</sup> eowre wedd 7 eowre aðas  
 þe ge him sealdan 7 ge murniað nu forðanþe maneg[e]<sup>9</sup> folc  
 ðe ge onwald ofer hæfdan · noldan eow gelæstan ꝥ hie eow<sup>10</sup> be  
 heton · 7 nellað geþencean hu lað eow sylfum wæs to gelæstan  
 10 ne eo[w]re aðas þæm þe ofer eow anwald hæfdan · sona þæs  
 on þæm æfteran geare forbræcan romane heora aðas  
 ðe hie somnitum geseald hæfdan · 7 mid papiria heora con  
 sule hie mid fyrde gesohton 7 þær deadlicne<sup>11</sup> sige geforan  
 for ðæm þe ægðer<sup>12</sup> þara folca wæs þæs gefeohtes georn som<sup>13</sup>  
 15 nite for ðæm onwalde þe hie on ægþere healfe hæfdan · 7 ro  
 mane for ðæm b[i]smere þe hie ær æt him geforan · oþ roma<sup>14</sup>  
 ne gefenga[n] somnita<sup>15</sup> cyning<sup>16</sup> 7 heora fæsten abraecan · 7<sup>17</sup>  
 hie to gafolgildum gedydan · se ilca papirius wæs æfter þæm  
 gefeohte mid romanum swylces domes beléd ꝥ hie hine

<sup>1</sup> Most of the *to* þæ is gone, a hole having been cut in the parchment.

<sup>2</sup> Space for about 25 to 28 letters.

<sup>3</sup> *lingas*] lower part of *ling* gone.

<sup>4</sup> *bysmor*] only the first stroke of the *r* left.

<sup>5</sup> I think I can make out traces of the *þe*.

<sup>6</sup> *woldan*] the *an* not clear.

<sup>7</sup> *eowra* can just be made out.

<sup>8</sup> *alugan*] very faint.

<sup>9</sup> *manege*] the *g* almost gone, the final *e* quite.

<sup>10</sup> *eow*] of the *eo* only faint traces left.

<sup>11</sup> *deadlicne*] the *d* almost gone.

<sup>12</sup> *ægðer*] the *r* not clear.

<sup>13</sup> *som-*] the first stroke of the *m* gone.

<sup>14</sup> *roma*] the *a* partly hidden by overpasted paper.

<sup>15</sup> *somnita*] portions of the letters gone.

<sup>16</sup> *cyning*] *c* altered from *þ*.

<sup>17</sup> 7] only a trace left.



- 20 to ðæm gecoren hæfdan þ he mid gefeohte mihte þam maran  
alexandre wiðstandan gif he eastene of asiam italam  
gesohte swa he gecweden hæfde:;  
Æfter þæm þe romeburh<sup>1</sup> getimbred wæs ·cccc· wintrum  
7 xxvi · feng alexander to macedonia rice æfter
- 25 philippus his fæder 7 his ærestan þegnscipe on þon gecyþ  
de þa he ealle crecas mid his snyttro on his geweald genyd<sup>2</sup>  
de ealle þa þe wiþ hine gewinn upp ahofan þ wearð ærest  
fram persum þa hie sealdan demostanase þæm philoso:::<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *romeburh*] the greater part of *eb* gone.<sup>2</sup> *genyd*] the *d* clearly there, but hidden by overpasted paper.<sup>3</sup> *philoso*] the remaining letters illegible.

## A BALLAD OF TWELFTH DAY.

THE manuscript B. 14. 39 in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, is famous for several things, among others that it contains the poem of *Judas*, the earliest recorded English ballad by two centuries or more. This was published in *Reliquiae Antiquae* and has been reprinted more than once, notably in Child's great collection. It does not appear to have been noticed, however, that the same manuscript contains a poem on *Twelfth Day* of a somewhat similar nature. The more sophisticated metrical form is indeed in rather marked contrast to the plain couplets of *Judas*, but if it is correct to describe the latter as a ballad, I think that the term may also be applied to *Twelfth Day* without manifest absurdity. It may be further removed from the true ballad tradition, but it certainly has the appearance of being founded on it, and I am not sure that a thirteenth-century literary imitation of a popular ballad may not possess even greater interest than the genuine article.

*Twelfth Day* is written in the same hand as *Judas*. The scribe wrote a very good hand, but unfortunately spelt abominably. The aspirate and spirants caused him particular trouble. On the other hand *y* is carefully distinguished from *b* by being dotted, and *u* and *n* are kept apart with unusual accuracy. The text is evidently corrupt in places, but it seems doubtful whether the rimes were ever correct throughout.

I have printed the text exactly as it stands in the manuscript, except that I have expanded the contractions, none of which present any difficulty. For & I have printed *ant*, since the scribe elsewhere writes *āt*, i.e. *ant*. In a few cases, duly mentioned, the division of words has been altered. I have added a number of short notes which should make the sense clear. The most important of these I owe to the kindness of Professor W. P. Ker.

Wolle ye iheren of twelte day: wou þe present was ibroust.

In to betlem þer iesus lay: þer þre kinges him habbet isoust.  
a sterre wiset hem þe wey: suc nas neuer non iwroust.  
ne werede he nouþer fou ne grey: þe louerd þat us alle hauet  
iwroust. 4

þre kinges seten in here þede: bopen yonge men ant hore.  
ho iseien one sterre scinen: ne seien ho neuer none more.  
wel ho wisten wou hit hede: wise men ant witti of lore.  
þat iesus was icomen for nede: so hit was iquidded yore. 8

þre kinges for ho it herden quidden: þat iesus wolde ben ibore.  
þe time com ase ho herdden siggen: a briste sterre ho gunen  
isen.

ha gunnen bone for to bidden: loc bigunnen to greiþen heo.  
mirre ant stor gold þet þridde: huc on of hem brouste þe  
þre. 12

Foret þe kinges gunnen iwenden: þe sterre bi gon for to springen.  
þe on sait gold we sculen him boden: so me scal to riche kinge.  
þe stor is god to prestes nede: þe þridde mirre we sculen him  
bringe.

heo comen in to heroudes þede: ant þer heo herden sotele  
tidinge. 16

þo heroudes herde þe kinges speken: of alle his blisse he was skere.  
ful ney is herte wolde to breken: ant þau he madam glade chere.  
hendi kinges fer at reken: sechet þat child ant comet eft here.  
on him he þoute to ben awreken: if he wiste on londe wer he  
were. 20

þe kinges weren of fer icomen: þet seli child for to sechen.  
a present ho heden vnder nomen: wel was hem þat ho it  
geten.

þer comet an angele atte frome: ant waket hem ase ho gunnen  
to sclepen.

ant bid hem þene grimme gome: heroudes ant is lond fur  
leten. 24

Of þe boru heo gunnen riden: al þoru heroudes rede.

þe sterre was bopen sotel ant sene: in to bedlehem heo hem  
con lede.

to him þat weldet sonne ant mone: blosmen bopen wite ant  
rede.

lowe he liste ut of is trone: to sauē us alle quike ant  
dede. 28

pes cnistes weren acnen iseten: ant heret þet child of hende hewe.  
 þau he lutel were þe yet: for king heo him ful wel icnewe.  
 pre kinges þe hauet igret: ibroust heo habbet a present newe.  
 he bit þat heroudes lond fur saket: an angel us saide he nas  
 nout trewe. 32

pes kinges were boþe some ant saiste: ant under fongen was here sonde.  
 a slepiti al þat ilke naiste: ase trewe wid uten niþe and onde.  
 þer com an angel ant hem awaste: ant dede hem wel to under  
 stonde.

and þene riste wei hem taiste: hammard in to here owene  
 londe. 36

þer he godes wille wrouten: þe riste wise king wid uten roust.  
 heuene king ful hei icorn: iborn was in an asse boes.  
 her e werede an crowne of þorne: in worlde he ede wit uten scoes.  
 þent þou mon þat tou ne bee lorn: for alle dedis þat tou  
 doest. 40

## NOTES.

- 1 The poem begins rather more than half-way down fol. 35 *a*.  
*wou*, how (cf. l. 7).  
*þe*, originally *ye*, dot erased.  
*ibroust*, for *ibrouzt*, and so *st* for *zt* throughout.
- 2 *þer*, originally *yer*, dot erased.
- 3 *suc*, such.
- 4 *fou ne grey*, a regular phrase (like Fr. *vair et gris*); both are furs, *fou* perhaps ermine, *grey* a grey fur usually supposed to be badger. Cf. *Moral Ode*, 391: 'Ne scal þer beo fou ne grei ne cunig ne ermine.'  
*iwroust*, perhaps we should read *iboust*, redeemed.
- 5 *þede*, country (cf. l. 16).
- 6 *scinen*, no rime. [Probably we should read *brede*, OE *brédan*, meaning come into existence, appear.—Ed.]  
*more*, greater.
- 7 *hede*, for *ede*, how it went (K).
- 9 *quidden*, we should apparently read *quidde* (also *sigge* and *bidde*) for the rime, but *siggen* is anyhow imperfect.  
*ben ibore*, read *ibore be* for the rime (K).
- 10 *a briste*, written as one word.  
*isen*, read *ise* for the rime.
- 11 fol. 35 *b*. *loc*=*lake*, gifts. In the TCC Homilies (EETS 53, p. 45) we have 'þe þre loc' in the same connection.
- 12 *stor*, incense.  
*huc*, for *uch* (cf. l. 3 *suc*), each (K).
- 13 *Foret*, probably for *forwith*, before: so *Judas*, l. 18: 'Foret hym com þe riche ieu þat heiste pilatus' (K). [*Foret*=forth, *hym* in *Judas* being reflexive: cf. 'In hym com,' a few lines below in the same piece.—Ed.]  
*iwenden*, we should perhaps read *iwende*, but the rime would nevertheless be bad.  
*springen*, read *springe* for the rime.
- 14 *boden*, read *bede*, offer (K). [Or possibly *sende* in the sense of offer, cf. l. 33. The inner rime would then be in couplets, cf. l. 26.—Ed.]

- 16 *sotele*, open, clear (cf. l. 26).  
 17 *skere*, devoid.  
 18 *is*, his.  
     *madam*, for *made ham*.  
 19 *hendi...here*, addressed to the kings by Herod.  
     *reken* (for *wreken*, OE *wrecen*, from *wrecan*) with the sense of driven;  
 possibly from Norse *reka* (=OE *wrecan*), to drive: *fer at reken*, sped from far (K).  
 20 *were*, part of the final *e* (and the point, if there) concealed in the binding.  
 21 *icomen*, read *icome* for the rime (and so also *nome* for *nomen*).  
     *sechen* (and again *sclepen*) is a mere assonance.  
 22 *a present*, written as one word.  
     *vnder nomen* (read *nome*), undertaken (the giving of a present). [Rather,  
 'taken to themselves.'—Ed.]  
 23 *frome*, beginning.  
     *sclepen*, the word is partly hidden in the binding: part of *c* and only the  
 extreme top of *l* are visible, *e* has disappeared, *pen* are turned over into l. 24, but  
 only part of *n* is visible, and the point (if there) is concealed.  
 24 *fur leten*, forsake.  
 25 Having got into difficulties in l. 23, the scribe now changes to a smaller  
 hand.  
     *riden*, we should perhaps read *ride*, but anyhow it won't rime.  
 26 *sotel* (OE *sweetol*), manifest.  
     *sene*, visible: bad rime. [Probably a substitution for *side*, broad, large. If  
 not, perhaps an error for *schene*, bright.—Ed.]  
 28 *is*, his.  
     *sauen*, originally *sauem*, final minim expunged.  
 29 *acnen*, for *on cneon*, on their knees (K).  
     *iseten*, read *iset* for the rime.  
     *heret*, honour.  
 30 *were þe*, read *werede* (cf. l. 4) (K).  
 31 *ibroust*=*ibroust* (l. 1), brought.  
     *a present*, written as one word.  
 32 *he bit þat*, read *heo biddet*, they pray.  
     *heroudes...trewe*, in the form of direct address.  
     *fur saket*, bad rime.  
 33 *some* and *saiste*, accordant and in agreement: the phrase occurs in the *Love*  
*Rune* (EETS, 49, p. 97, l. 134): 'Alle heo schule wyl engles pleye Some and sahte  
 in heouene lyhte.'  
     *sonde*, embassy. [Offering.—Ed.]  
 34 *a*, for *heo*, they.  
     *nipe and onde*, malice and ill will.  
 35 *awaste*, read *awaiste*, waked.  
 36 *taiste*, taught.  
     *hammard*, for *ham ward*.  
 37 *wrouten*, bad rime.  
     *roust*, not in NED, but from OE *wroht*, blame: no rime. [It should  
 probably be *rous*, ON *hrós*, boasting, vainglory. *Wid uten rous*, without lie, in  
 truth.—Ed.]  
 38 *boez*, originally written *bos*, then *s* altered to *e* and an *s* written over the  
 point, no fresh point was added: see NED under *boose*, cow-stall, 'especially  
 the upper part of the stall, where the fodder is placed,' i.e. manger. If one were  
 to emend to *boust* (riming with *roust*) the meaning would be much the same: see  
 NED under *bought*, sheepfold; but *boes* is clearly better.  
 39 *e werede*, written as one word, *e* for *he*.  
 40 *þent þou*, read *þenc þou*, do thou bethink.  
     *doest*, read *does* for the rime.

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## FIFTEENTH CENTURY CAROLS AND OTHER PIECES

THE manuscript of which the contents are here printed, St John's College, Cambridge, S. 54, is a single quire of paper of fourteen leaves, measuring  $5\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$  in. Originally it probably had sixteen leaves, but now wants the first and last: ff. 13 and 14 are fragments.

The manuscript is of Cent. XV (second half), and has its original parchment wrapper. The second cover is so prolonged as to wrap the manuscript round completely. It would travel comfortably in the pocket or wallet, and looks as if it had been folded into half its size. It seems to have been presented to the College by Thomas Baker. The letter B in a modern hand is on f. 1. There seems to be other indication of provenance.

The book is written apparently in two, if not three, different hands:

A, a small neat script, f. 1, ll. 1—3, perhaps the first half of f. 2 a, ff. 3 b—4 b, 7 b—10 a, 12 a—14 (i, 1—4; iii; vii, 1—viii, 39; xii, 5—xv, 18; xix ff.); B, large and irregular, f. 1 from l. 4, ff. 2—3 b, 4 b—7 b, 10 a—11 b; the first three lines of 3 a are more roughly written and may be in a third hand. The transcript is careless and the spelling bad: in parts also the writing is faded and difficult to read. There is no punctuation and none has been attempted here; but some emendations of the text have been made, the manuscript readings being given in the foot-notes. The expansion of contractions is indicated usually by italics, but it has not been thought necessary so to distinguish the cases where 'and' is represented by an abbreviation. In the notes at the end of the text some of the difficulties are dealt with, but others must remain unsolved.

### [I]

f. 1 a      y<sup>e</sup> borys hed haue we in broȝht  
             lok ȝe be mery in herte and thoȝht  
             *quod* he y<sup>t</sup> all y<sup>s</sup> worlde has wrowt  
             saue ȝow and eke me

## [II]

Of X and M and *oyir* too

Of I and E I syng all so

X for *cristys* hym selfe was dyth

As clerkys redyn in story ryth

Qwan X and M w<sup>t</sup> word was lyth

To saue us fro y<sup>e</sup> fendys [feng]

M be gynnyth a gloryos name

Mary moder w<sup>t</sup> owtyn fane

Qwan X and M was borne in same

Oure goy be gynnyth to spreng

10

Of E I wyll syng [yer zete]

On *cristys* cross y<sup>t</sup> letr<sup>e</sup> was sette

f. 1 b

qwan X and E to gey<sup>r</sup> mette

M and E in herte was woo

I begynnyth y<sup>e</sup> name of Ion

qañ X upon y<sup>e</sup> rode was done

M and I stod styll alone

And hys postyllys went hym fro

y<sup>eis</sup> iiij letrys worchippe (?) we all

for *crist* was borne in ox stalle

20

to bryng us fro y<sup>e</sup> dewlys all

w<sup>t</sup> hys w.....kles

## [III]

f. 2 a

Nowell nowell ell ell

I wys yt ys a wunder nowell

Jhesu restyd in a may

xl wekys and a day

yer fore I may syng and say

Nowell ell ell

At y<sup>e</sup> feste of architriclyn

Crist turnyd watyr in to wyn

And yer fore xalle y<sup>is</sup> song be myn

Nowell ell ell

10

II, 5 wrod.

6 for y<sup>e</sup> fendys flyth.

11 3 yed.

18 wnet hym for<sup>e</sup>.19—22 *These four lines are struck out and not altogether legible.*

21 for.

Ihesu asse y<sup>n</sup> art hewyn kyng  
 Grawnt vus alle y<sup>i</sup> dere blyssynge  
 hosyll and schrift at owre endynge  
 Nowell ell ell

## [IV]

A A A A  
 gaude cely domina

Mary myld for loue of y<sup>e</sup>  
 Glad and blythe now may we be  
 I 3ow telle os 3e may see  
 Tua *quinque* gaudia

y<sup>e</sup> fyrst Ioy y<sup>t</sup> was sente y<sup>e</sup>  
 was qwan gabryelle gret y<sup>e</sup>  
 and seyde mary of chastite  
 Efficieris *Grauida*

10

y<sup>e</sup> second Ioy it was full good  
 qwan crist of y<sup>e</sup> toke flesch and blode  
 w<sup>t</sup> outyn synne w<sup>t</sup> myld mode  
 Enixa est puerpera

f. 2 b

y<sup>e</sup> iij Ioy was of grette myth  
 qwan crist was on y<sup>e</sup> rode dyth  
 dede and beryd for oure ryyth  
 Surrexit die *tersia*

y<sup>e</sup> iiij Ioy was on [holy Thurs]day  
 qwan crist to hewyn toke y<sup>e</sup> way  
 God and man y<sup>s</sup> is oure say  
 Ascendit *supra* scidera

20

y<sup>e</sup> v Ioy in y<sup>e</sup> gan lyth  
 qwan y<sup>n</sup> were in hewyn w<sup>t</sup> him dyth  
 All holy chyrche y<sup>n</sup> hast in myth  
 In tua potencia

III, 13 schirft.  
 19 on day. 26 I.

IV, 2 gaudet.

8 gabryelle.

13 mede.

18 de.



## [V]

A dere god qwat I am fayn  
 for I am madyn now gane .  
 y<sup>s</sup> endyr day I mete a clerke  
 and he was wyllly in hys werke  
 he prayd me w<sup>t</sup> hym to herke  
 and hys cownsell all for to lene

I trow he cowl of gramery  
 I xall now a good kyll wy  
 for qwat I hade sicculy

To warne hys wyll had I no may

10

qwan he and me browt nuus (?) y<sup>e</sup> schete  
 Of all hys wyll I hym lete  
 Now wyll not my gyrdyll met  
 a dere god qwat I xall say

f. 3 a

I xall sey to man and page  
 y<sup>t</sup> I haue bene of pylgrymage  
 Now wyll I not lete for no rage  
 w<sup>t</sup> me a (?) clerk for to pley

## [VI]

A A A A  
 salue caterina

lystyn lordyngys qwatte I xall sey  
 A grette maruell tell I may  
 Of a louely medyn tell I may  
 salue caterina

Of god *grace* sche was full wys  
 Sche was qweryd in hyr dewys  
 Of all dottys y<sup>t</sup> were so wys

Wundyr marwelys be godys *grace*  
 y<sup>r</sup> is no woman in y<sup>is</sup> plase  
 A woman is y<sup>e</sup> of *grace*

10

Thorow y<sup>e</sup> *prayer* of sent cataryne  
 God send us a hows twyl in  
 y<sup>t</sup> wordy lady and bryth and schene

V, 3 euery.  
 4 maruelli.

8 go<sup>d</sup>.  
 6 caterria.

10 no] mo.  
 15 schne.

VI, 2 caterria.

3 lordygnys.

f. 3 b

Y<sup>r</sup> sche in fyre was done  
 Sche brent nere here nere hone  
 Sche stod in hewen anone

## [VII]

I may syng and sey I wys  
 Gre mercy my owne [purse]  
 In euery plas qwere y<sup>t</sup> I wende  
 My purse is my owne frende  
 y<sup>r</sup> for gladly may I syng  
 Gre mercy my own purse

Qwere so euer I goo in lond  
 My purse is redy at my hond  
 y<sup>r</sup> for y<sup>ts</sup> is a redy song  
 vt *supra*

10

Qwere so I walke be y<sup>e</sup> way  
 My purse xall help me all vay  
 y<sup>r</sup> for may I syng and say  
 vt *supra*

If I be out in y<sup>e</sup> cuntre  
 And my purse be far fro me  
 yañ most I on beggyng fle  
 And far xall go and letyll xall haue

And 3e wol w<sup>t</sup> fellechyp won  
 Tay 3oure purse in 3ore bosom  
 yan may I well my song vowyn  
 [Gre mercy my own purse]

20

## [VIII]

f. 4 a

Lullay lay lay lay  
 my dere modyr lullay  
 As I me lay y<sup>is</sup> endyres nyth  
 All on my loue lokyng  
 Me thouth I saw a semyly syth  
 A mayn cradyll kepyng  
 lullay

VI, 18 sted. *At the end of this piece is written the line, 'Qwan crist was borne,' a false beginning of IX.*

VII, 21 yan I may I.

y<sup>e</sup> modyr wold w<sup>t</sup> outyn song  
 A slepe here chyld to bryng  
 y<sup>e</sup> chyld hym tho3th sche dyd hym wrong 10  
 And bad hys modyr syng  
 lullay

Syng now modyr seyde y<sup>e</sup> chyld  
 Qwat xall of me be fall  
 here after qwan I com of age  
 so chuld y<sup>o</sup> moderys all  
 lullay

ffor euery modyr sekyrly  
 y<sup>t</sup> can here cradyll kepe  
 sche most syng lullay 20  
 To bryng here child on slepe

Swete modyr seyde he  
 Sethyn y<sup>t</sup> it is so  
 I pray 3ou y<sup>t</sup> 3e roke me  
 And sum qwat sey y<sup>r</sup> to

f. 4 b

Swet son seyde sche  
 Qwere of chyld xuld I syng  
 Wot I neuer more be y<sup>e</sup>  
 yan of Angyll gretynge

he grett me gladly on kne 30  
 he seyde heyle mary  
 full of grace god is v<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup>  
 y<sup>u</sup> xalte bere mercy

I wondyr gretly in my thou3th  
 ffor man knew I non  
 Mary he seyde drede y<sup>e</sup> no3th  
 let god all mythy alone

y<sup>t</sup> holy gost xall do all y<sup>is</sup>  
 Yow he be owt of won  
 And xall haue ... Manys blys 40  
 Goddys owne son

## [IX]

Qwan crist was borne in bedlem  
 y<sup>r</sup> rose a stere os bryth [os lem]  
 y<sup>t</sup> gafe so glorius a glem  
     ouyr dale and downe  
 Oure dale and downe it sprong and sprede  
 y<sup>t</sup> made iij kynges to be a drede  
 In to an unchond lond it hem lede  
     into a towne

f. 5 a

y<sup>er</sup> were iij kyngys of grete renowne  
 y<sup>e</sup> cam to seke herowd y<sup>e</sup> kyng  
 and askyd hym of all y<sup>t</sup> thyng  
 And speryd aftyr y<sup>e</sup> chylde so ȝyng  
     y<sup>t</sup> xuld be kyng

10

y<sup>t</sup> schud be kyng of all Iury  
 we saw a stere secyrly  
 y<sup>r</sup> for we worchyp hym for y<sup>i</sup>  
     y<sup>t</sup> chylde so ȝyng  
 Here gold and homage we hym bryng

Wend ȝe forth all thre in fere  
 And of y<sup>t</sup> chylde if ȝe may here  
 y<sup>t</sup> ȝe wyll com agen in fere

20

I ȝou beseke  
 I ȝou beseke y<sup>t</sup> ȝe me say  
 Os ȝe com homward agen in ȝore way  
 y<sup>t</sup> I my selfe hym wȳrchyp may  
     y<sup>t</sup> chylde so meke  
 On my bare fete I wold hym seke

y<sup>e</sup> kyngys no lenger y<sup>r</sup> abode  
 but forth to bedlem yan y<sup>e</sup> rode  
 and y<sup>e</sup> stere before hem glode

30

Vn tyll y<sup>ie</sup> were  
 Vntyll y<sup>ie</sup> were y<sup>r</sup> ihesu lay  
 woondyn in a cryb of hey  
 y<sup>em</sup> thowt it was a pore aray

f. 5 b

Of prins of pes y<sup>t</sup> hast no pere

IX, 5 sperde. 7 anuchond (?). lēde. 17 ȝung. 21 cum ȝen he (he  
 perhaps struck out). 24 homwrod. 27 wlod. 28 abyde. 29 rōde. 34 y<sup>en</sup>.

Now knele we downe all iij in fere  
 And offyr to y<sup>is</sup> derlyng dere  
 Gold foree and rekyls clere  
 and myre al so

40

and myre al so in tokenyng  
 y<sup>t</sup> he is ueri man and kyng  
 Soffarond prins ouyr all thyng  
 oon and no moo

for holy wryth bere wyttenes al so

An angell warnyd hem in here slepe  
 y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>ei</sup> xuld hem for herowyd kepe  
 y<sup>ei</sup> thankyd god w<sup>t</sup> deuocion depe  
 and hom y<sup>ie</sup> wente

and hom y<sup>ie</sup> wente on here Iornay  
 quan y<sup>r</sup> of herowd hard say  
 he seyde alas and welaway

50

for I am schente

y<sup>is</sup> chylde he wyll my kyndam hente

f. 6 a

y<sup>e</sup> rerowd was both wode and wroth  
 w<sup>t</sup> mekyll Ire he mad hys othe  
 y<sup>t</sup> all y<sup>e</sup> londe it xulde be loth  
 y<sup>t</sup> he was borne

y<sup>t</sup> he was borne y<sup>t</sup> xuld be kyng  
 he dyde to doo a spythfull thyng  
 to slee chyldryn both elle and 3yng  
 in bedlem borne

60

w<sup>t</sup> in ij wyntrys y<sup>r</sup> before

y<sup>e</sup> chyldryn sprongyld an y<sup>e</sup> sperys  
 y<sup>e</sup> moderys wept bytyr terys  
 y<sup>t</sup> herowd dyd hem gylteles derys  
 y<sup>t</sup> fend so felle

y<sup>t</sup> fend so fell fowle mut hym befall  
 y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>us</sup> y<sup>eis</sup> chyldryn martyryd all

On to marie we gye and calle  
 to scheld us from y<sup>e</sup> pyth of helle  
 y<sup>re</sup> in blys well

70

IX, 39 Glod.

46 selpe.

50 Iornoy.

51 y<sup>ie</sup> of.52 he] y<sup>e</sup>.

57 This line is placed after l. 59 in the MS.

61 3yng] thayng.

63 before.

66 gylte les.

70 marte.

71 schend us ferm.

## [X]

f. 6 b

Lollay lay lay lay my dere modyr lullay  
Lullay my chyld

A chyld ys born e wys  
y<sup>t</sup> all y<sup>is</sup> word xall blys  
hys joy xall neuer myse  
for Ihesu ys hys name

On y<sup>e</sup> good 3owe morne  
y<sup>e</sup> blysfull chyld was borne  
to were a crown of thorne  
vt *supra*

10

Of a madyn so good  
he toke both fleche and blod  
for us he deyde up on y<sup>e</sup> rode  
vt *supra*

Of a medyn so trewe  
he toke both fleche and hewe  
for us he deyde on a tre  
vt *supra*

on y<sup>e</sup> estern morn all blyth  
he ros fro deth to lyue  
to make us all blyth  
vt *supra*

20

f. 7 a

On y<sup>e</sup> good fryday at non  
to y<sup>e</sup> deth he was done  
for us he deyde on tre  
vt *supra*

## [XI]

pray we to oure lady dere for here holy *grace*  
Sche saw y<sup>eis</sup> women all bedene  
both for sorow and for tene  
Madys and wyuys and weduys in weme  
all be y<sup>ei</sup> fayre in face

Women be both good and hend  
 Clen curteys cumly and kend  
 Yche a cumpany is wele amende  
     yf a woman be in a plase

Of a woman com all oure blys  
 y<sup>r</sup> for I loue hem all I wys  
 qwo so euer seyth on hem amys  
     be god he gawyd in hys face

Were a man in sore syngge  
 A woman xall hym out bryng  
 And w<sup>t</sup> a kys lesse hys mornyng  
     and sette hym in solace

7 b

y<sup>ies</sup> men arne falce fekyll in tho3th  
 women be wood y<sup>t</sup> trow hem howt  
 for welle y<sup>ie</sup> hote and hold it noth  
     but spek in here song

dere lady to y<sup>i</sup> son y<sup>n</sup> pray  
 he synd y<sup>eis</sup> women os he wylle may  
 for false men y<sup>t</sup> downe hym tray  
     y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>em</sup> sene he neuer in face

## [XII]

Now ys y<sup>e</sup> xij day com  
 Fadyr and son to gydyr wone  
 y<sup>e</sup> holy gost w<sup>t</sup> hem is nowme  
     in fere

God send us all a gud new 3er  
 I xall 3ow syng thoro hys my3ht  
 Of a chyld y<sup>t</sup> is so fayr of sy3ht  
 a mayd hym bare of cristynnes ny3ht  
     so styll

as ya was hys wyll

f. 8 a

iij kyngys y<sup>r</sup> cum of galily  
 y<sup>e</sup> cum toward bedlem iude  
 hym to sek and to se  
     Be ny3ht  
 y<sup>t</sup> was a semly sy3ht

As yei cum w<sup>t</sup> yer offryng  
 y<sup>e</sup> mete w<sup>t</sup> Erawd y<sup>t</sup> mody kyng  
 he hasked hem of here cummynge

y<sup>t</sup> syd  
 and yus tyll hem he sayd

20

fro qweyre cum 3e kynges iij  
 owt of y<sup>e</sup> est as 3e may se  
 to seke hym y<sup>t</sup> euer xall be  
 of my3ht

lord prince kyng and kni3ht

I pray 3ow lordys all iij  
 qwan 3e haue y<sup>t</sup> chyld se  
 y<sup>t</sup> 3e cum ageyn be me  
 and telythe

qwere y<sup>t</sup> fayr chyld dwellyth

30

kyng herawd we wyll not lete  
 as y<sup>n</sup> hast seyde yt xall be sete  
 we cum ageyn w<sup>t</sup> owte lete  
 and tell

qwer y<sup>t</sup> fayr chyld dwell

f. 8 b

qwan he had seyde hys lykyng  
 Syr herawd y<sup>t</sup> mody kyng  
 and forth y<sup>e</sup> wente w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>r</sup> offryng  
 Be ny3th

ye stere gaue hem ly3ht

40

be y<sup>e</sup> stere y<sup>t</sup> schon so bry3ht  
 y<sup>e</sup> iij kyngys tok wey ful ry3ht  
 Be y<sup>e</sup> hape of y<sup>t</sup> chyld so bry3ht

Thoro grace  
 to y<sup>t</sup> holy place

qwan yei<sup>e</sup> cum to holy place  
 y<sup>r</sup> Ihesu and hys moder was  
 yi<sup>e</sup> offryd to hym w<sup>t</sup> grete solace  
 infer

golde encens and myrre

50



all y<sup>ei</sup> wer both blythe and glade  
 qwan y<sup>ei</sup> hade her offryng made  
 as y<sup>e</sup> holy gost hem bad  
 and dedyn  
 worschype god *and* redyn  
 qwen y<sup>e</sup> lordyngys wer wente  
 y<sup>e</sup> chylde an angell from hevyn sente  
 to y<sup>e</sup> kyngys y<sup>t</sup> mad presente  
 or day  
 to tech hem y<sup>e</sup> waye

60

f. 9 a

my lord warnyth 3ow euery chone  
 y<sup>t</sup> non of 3ow be herowde gone  
 for yf 3e don 3e xall be slone  
 and stroy  
 and do 3ow mekyll noye  
 Thoro y<sup>e</sup> my3ht of god verrey  
 y<sup>e</sup> kyngys tokyn anodyr away  
 owt yei cum or yt was day  
 full ry3ht  
 home yei cum y<sup>t</sup> ry3ht

70

## [XIII]

fadyr my wyll yt is  
 nolo mortem peccatoris  
 ffadyr I am y<sup>n</sup> owyn chylde  
 and born of mary meke and mylde  
 fadyr now my wyll yt is  
 nolo mortem peccatoris

My hert is sore qwan I be thynk  
 and se mene trespas and in syn synk  
 for all y<sup>t</sup> is done amyse  
 nolo mortem peccatoris

10

y<sup>n</sup> falce fend w<sup>t</sup> all y<sup>t</sup> slente  
 y wyll no more man kynde be schente  
 Of hem y<sup>n</sup> getyst no ry3ht ywys  
 vt supra

Now mak we both ioy and myrtht  
 In worschyp of cristys owyn byrtht  
 y<sup>s</sup> is goddys owyn word ywys  
 vt supra

## [XIV]

f. 9 b

War y<sup>t</sup> war y<sup>t</sup> war y<sup>t</sup> wele  
 Wemen be as trew as stele

Stel is gud I sey no *odyr*  
 So mowun wemen be kaymys brodyr  
 ylk on lere schrewdnes at *odyr*  
 wemen be os trew as stele

Stel is gud in euery knyfe  
 So kun y<sup>s</sup> women both flyte and stryfe  
 Also yei cun ful wele lye  
 wemen vt supra

10

Stele is gud in euery nedyll  
 So be y<sup>s</sup> wemen both falce and fekyll  
 and os yer a...wyne ryght brytyll  
 vt supra

Stele is both fayr and bryght  
 So be y<sup>s</sup> women be candyl lyght  
 And som wyll both flyte and fyght  
 vt supra

Stel is gud in lond and watyr  
 So cun y<sup>s</sup> women both den and flatyr  
 and yyt for ned to play y<sup>e</sup> faytur  
 vt supra

20

## [XV]

Ay ay be y<sup>s</sup> day  
 y wyll mak mery qwyll y may  
 Qwyll mene haue her bornys full  
 y<sup>r</sup> of y thynk my *parte* to pull  
 for to...for y<sup>e</sup> kyngys wolle  
 y<sup>t</sup> may both selye and be my fey

• f. 10 a

for be yt werre or be yt pece  
 for we may yt be neuer ye les  
 lete hem sytte on y<sup>e</sup> hye dese  
 To serue hem in hys may

10

Me thynk y<sup>s</sup> word is wonder wery  
 and fadyth as y<sup>e</sup> brymbyll bery  
 y<sup>r</sup> for y wyll now but be mery  
 how long I xall y can not sey

Syrs and 3e do after me  
 Car 3e not thow y<sup>t</sup> 3e the  
 Now y red do aftyr me  
 for Iak rekles is my name

## [XVI]

Now Ihesus rector anime  
 ne cademus sustine

God y<sup>t</sup> all y<sup>is</sup> word has wro3th  
 And w<sup>t</sup> *precious* blod hath both  
 Of us synfull men haue thouthe  
 ne cademus sustine

y<sup>n</sup> arth lord y<sup>t</sup> mad all thyng  
 for all *grace* is in y<sup>i</sup> gouyrnyng  
 y<sup>n</sup> saue us fro y<sup>e</sup> fendys fowndyng  
 defensor *noster* domine

10

We haue iij enmys qwen y<sup>t</sup> we wende  
 y<sup>e</sup> werd y<sup>e</sup> fendys and y<sup>e</sup> flesch  
 y<sup>n</sup> saue us fro hem y<sup>t</sup> we not schende  
 Incidiantes deprime

In all 3oure leue wyll are here  
 we haue here wo trauyll and care  
 mete drynke *and* cloth we haue no more  
 pro *nostro* graui opere

XV, 13 bāt.  
 schede. 16 hire.

XVI, 3 wrod.  
 17 dryke.

8 gouynyng.

9 fre.

13 y<sup>n</sup>] y<sup>t</sup>.

f. 10 b

[XVII]

Nowell

y<sup>is</sup> word is falce I dare wyll say  
 and man xall fade as dose hay  
 for as a flour it fallys away  
 tunc non ualebit corpore

tell me sothe qwo so canne  
 qwan he hys dede qwat is he than  
 qwere se 3e eny ryche dede man  
 reuela mihi hodie

y<sup>n</sup> plesyst hym both nyth and day  
 and knele to serue hym wyll to pay  
 he may not hym a good word say  
 cum operitur puluere

10

hys secutourys w<sup>t</sup> oute lete  
 3ow be myth...ouer sette  
 y<sup>ei</sup> sey he ouyt so mykyll dette  
 non potest solui integre

qwan he is closyd in hys graue  
 yan is he y<sup>r</sup> he may not craue  
 Os he haue done so xall he haue  
 oblitus paruo tempore

20

And y<sup>r</sup> for man or y<sup>n</sup> hens wende  
 dele y<sup>i</sup> good w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>i</sup> honde  
 And thynke wyll dede man haue no frond  
 tu miserecis anime

f. 11 a

lord 3yf us grace so to do here  
 y<sup>t</sup> qwan we are broch on bere  
 y<sup>n</sup> take oure sole y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>n</sup> both dere  
 pendens alto arbore

and gyfe us grace so to spende  
 y<sup>t</sup> god y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>n</sup> on to us sende  
 y<sup>t</sup> we may sey at oure last end  
 laus summo regule

30

## [XVIII]

A newyr a newyr y<sup>e</sup> chyld was borne  
fadyr of hewyn hys owyn son haue sende  
hys [kyngdom] for to clemyn

y<sup>s</sup> chyld was borne y<sup>is</sup> endyr nyth  
vus for to saue w<sup>t</sup> all is myth  
so blyssyd be tyme a newyr

y<sup>e</sup> chyld was borne y<sup>is</sup> endys day  
All of a clene madyn as *zur* tell may  
so blyssyd [be] fadyr of hewyn *tur*

All of ane madyn *our* lord was borne 10  
All for to wyn y<sup>t</sup> Adam had forlorn

Lullay my letyll chyld my own swete seynt  
[Man]y scharp schourys xall y<sup>i</sup> body hent

f. 11 b

lullay lay letyll chyld my own suete foode  
how xall I suffyr y<sup>i</sup> fayre body forto be rent on rode

lullay lay letyll chyld we owth myrthys to make  
for many scharp schoures xall y<sup>i</sup> body schake

lullay lay letyll chyld we out to mak myrth  
And so out euery cristen man to worchyp y<sup>i</sup> byrth

blyssyd be y<sup>e</sup> modyr y<sup>e</sup> chyld bare about 20

And so be y<sup>e</sup> modyr y<sup>e</sup> chyld gaue soke

blyssyd be y<sup>e</sup> moder y<sup>e</sup> chyld cam to  
*Benedicamus domino*

so blyssyd be y<sup>e</sup> tyme

## [XIX]

f. 12 a

Nowell nowell ell ell

I pray 3ow lystyn qwat *Ī* 3ow [tell]

Ouer all gatis that I haff gon

Amonge y<sup>e</sup> grovys so fayer and grene

So ffayer a brownech yan know I non

As Ivy ys and that I mene

XVIII, 9 hewe. 10 mad madyn. 17 schape.  
*away at the end of the line.*

XIX, 2 *a word torn*

Ivy ys grene and wyl be grene  
 Qwere so euer a grow in stok or ston  
 y<sup>er</sup> ffore I red 3ow so mut I cheue  
 3e loue well Ivy eueryschon

10

I xall 3ow tell a reson quy  
 3e xall low Ivy *and* thynk no chame  
 y<sup>e</sup> ffyrst lett<sup>re</sup> begynnyth w<sup>t</sup> I  
 and ry3ht 3evyn so Ihesus name

y<sup>e</sup> secund lett<sup>re</sup> ys a V  
 I lykyn to Awmihty wyffe  
 Modyr sche ys and maydyn trewe  
 Non but on I y<sup>t</sup> euer bare lyffe

y<sup>e</sup> thred lett<sup>re</sup> is an e  
 I lykyn to emanuell  
 That is to sey cryst w<sup>t</sup> *vus* be  
 And euer more ffor to dwell

20

f. 12 b

As I lay in my bed alone  
 A comely lady sent to me  
 And be bad me rede y<sup>eis</sup> lettrys eueryschon  
 and all y<sup>e</sup> bettre xuld I be

All how holy be 3oure ffonn  
 And wilde ... towch w<sup>t</sup> tray and tene  
 Me...of Yvy xall hym ouer gonne  
 And ffayer burdys ouer be twene

30

Ouer all gatys that I have gone  
 Among y<sup>eis</sup> grouys ffayer and grene  
 I have be wery son anon  
 My botte sche was y<sup>t</sup> Ivy tre

yus yus Ivy ffull ffayer I gan spelle  
 So ffayer a brawnch know I non  
 I pray 3ow tent qwat I 3ow tell  
 And love well Ivy eueryschon

## [XX]

f. 13 a      Women ben good ffor lo ...  
                  that sit above  
                  In evyn yer sitte a lady ...  
                  Of all women sche ...  
                  Women to loue yt y ...  
                  Women to loue ...  
                  To loue women ...  
                  Women to loue ...  
                  Women xall In ...  
                  Day nye nyth ...  
                  Womenys crip ...  
                  I wys I hold ...  
                  That of no w ...  
                  Women to good  
                  Women ben goo ...  
                  Women to us ...  
                  Women to lo ...

10

f. 13 b      ... I wasche 3e and goo to met in honest  
                  ... 3e xall se  
                  ... blyshe 3our mete  
                  ... o 3e be  
                  ... fest be ganne  
                  ... e both god and man  
                  ... wasche

                 vt *supra*  
                  ... is no nay

                 vt *supra*  
                  ... y<sup>e</sup> blod

                 ... 3<sup>u</sup> good

                 ... ke on me  
                  vt *supra*

- f. 14 a      qwan 3e haue was ...  
               My pasche ...  
               y<sup>t</sup> I furssyd ...  
               loke at y<sup>e</sup>  
               to sytte at ...  
               in hewne ...  
               so to w ...  
               y<sup>t</sup> we m ...  
               a and ...

## NOTES

- I    This is presumably the last stanza of a piece which was written mainly on the first leaf.
- II   5   Perhaps we should read 'Qwan X in to y<sup>e</sup> word was lyth,' 'When Christ descended into the world.'
- 6   *feng* (clutches) satisfies the sense and the rhyme. The scribe frequently writes 'for' instead of 'fro.'
- IV   This piece occurs also (with variations) in MS. Balliol 354 (ed. Dyboski, No. 29) and in Wright's *Songs and Carols* (Percy Society, 1847), No. LIX.
- 1   The other copies have 'gaude,' which is obviously the true reading.
- 9   Ball. MS. 'And sayd Hayle Mary in chastite.'
- 19   The other copies have 'on holy Thursday.'
- V   The text of this piece is so corrupt that it is hopeless to attempt to restore it.
- 6   *lene*, conceal (= 'laine'). Perhaps this is the rhyme throughout the stanzas and we ought to read 'mayn,' 'sayn,' 'pleyn.'
- 18   *me a*. The MS. reading is uncertain here.
- VI   8 f. 'She was questioned in her conversation by all the doctors,' &c.
- 10—15. These two stanzas seem to be in a very bad condition.
- VII   A different version is given by Wright, *Songs and Carols* (1836), No. IV, and several other pieces occur with the same refrain.
- VIII 33   Read 'wondryd.'
- 38   *Yow*, i.e. *Though*.
- IX   2   *os bryth* [*os lem*], 'as bright as flame.' The line is incomplete in the MS. For 'lem,' cp. MS. Balliol 354 (ed. Dyboski, No. 1, l. 13):  
               'Forth they went by þe sterres leme  
               Til they com to mery Bethелеm.'
- 7   *unchond*, perhaps for 'unchende' (= 'unkende'), i.e. unnatural, strange. Or a misspelling for 'unconde,' unknown.
- 39   *foree*, probably for 'free,' i.e. abundant.
- 43   *Soffarond*, i.e. sovereign.
- 55   Read perhaps 'y<sup>t</sup> erowd.'
- 70   Read perhaps 'crye and calle.'
- XI   21   *song*] Both rhyme and sense fail here.
- XII   Also in Wright, *Songs and Carols* (1847), No. XLIII, and elsewhere.
- 10   Wright, 'As it was hys will.' Perhaps read 'yt' for 'ya' here.
- 11   Originally 'kyngys of coleyn y<sup>t</sup> cum,' but 'of coleyn' appears to be struck out, and certainly ought to be so.
- 19   y<sup>t</sup> *syd* corresponds to 'That tym' in Wright's text. Apparently 'syd' is for 'syth.' But the version found in MS. Harl. 541 has 'this tyde,' and 'tyd' may be the true reading here.
- 63   Read 'he xall 3ou slone.' Wright, 'he wol 3ow sclon.'



- XIV 8 ff. *ȝ<sup>s</sup> women*, 'these women,' i.e. women generally.  
 13 Illegible.  
 20 *den and flatȝr*, perhaps 'scold loudly and flatter'; 'den'=din.  
 XV 5 f. Not easy either to read or to explain.
- XVI, XVII are perhaps one piece, but they are separated by the word 'Nowell' at the beginning of the new page, and the second does not read quite as a continuation of the first. This form of stanza occurs frequently with a Latin tag or refrain.
- XVI 9 *fowndyng*, temptation.
- XVIII Cp. Wright, *Christmas Carols* (Percy Society, 1841), No. VII.  
 3 The word 'kyngdom' is supplied from Wright's text. Here a word is torn away.  
 9 'So blessed be the father of heaven's tower.'
- XIX 9 *so mut I cheue*, 'so may I thrive.'  
 14 Read perhaps, 'And ryȝht begynnyth so.'  
 16, 20 *I lykyn*, i.e. 'ilike.'  
 27 ff. This stanza is partly illegible and seems to give no satisfactory meaning, but is apparently a reference to the old strife between ivy and holly.
- XX The ends of the lines and the lower part of the leaf are torn away. So on f. 13 b the beginnings of the lines are lost, and again on f. 14 a the ends. On f. 14 b there are a few words only.

M. R. JAMES.

G. C. MACAULAY.

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## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

### WHO WAS JOHN BUT?

WHEN I attempted to discuss the significance of the addition made by John But to the A-text of *Piers Plowman* (*M. L. R.*, April 1910; see also the reply by Mr R. W. Chambers, *ibid.* July 1911), I was not aware of the interesting fact that a 'king's messenger' of that name is frequently mentioned in the Patent Rolls of Richard II. The first notice of him occurs in 1378, and the latest records his death in 1387.

There seems to be no reason why John But the king's messenger may not have been the same person as the author of the addition to William's poem, who prays for a blessing on King Richard and those lords who are his faithful friends. The identification might perhaps appear unlikely if it were necessary to suppose that the John But who wrote the epilogue to the vision was a professional scribe, but for this supposition there is no sufficient ground. Several other persons named But are mentioned in records of the fourteenth century, but the name does not appear to have been common.

If we could assume (1) that the John But of the Rawlinson MS. is identical with the John But of the Patent Rolls; (2) that he wrote not only the twelve undisputed lines but also the seventeen lines preceding them in the MS.; (3) that when he speaks of William as dead and buried he is stating a fact within his own knowledge; and (4) that the C-revision of *Piers Plowman* cannot have been finished earlier than 1387;—the conclusion would be inevitable that the C-revision is not the work of the original author.

Of course all these assumptions, except perhaps the last, are doubtful. The second and third of them, however, appear to me highly probable. If I could be convinced of the identity of King Richard's messenger with his bedesman who 'meddled of making,' I should feel that the case against the unity of authorship of the three texts was greatly strengthened.

As things stand, however, there seems to be not the slightest reason for inclining either to acceptance or denial of the identification, and it is unlikely that any evidence will ever be discovered that will settle the question. Still, until some negative evidence is forthcoming, the possibility that the verse-maker was the man who died in 1387 ought not to be ignored by students of the Langland problem.

HENRY BRADLEY.

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#### AUTOGRAPH PLAYS BY ANTHONY MUNDAY.

Lord Mostyn deserves the gratitude of scholars for permitting the reproduction of his interesting manuscript of *John a Kent and John a Cumber*. This has recently been published by Mr J. S. Farmer in excellent collotype facsimile, I presume by Mr Fleming.

The play is signed and dated at the end. Mr Farmer follows Collier, who printed the play for the Shakespeare Society in 1851, in reading the date as December, 1595. The facsimile shows that it is quite certainly '...Decembris 1596.' The signature is difficult to read but seems to be 'Anthony Mundy,' as Collier gives it. The facts that the signature is apparently in a different ink and that it bears no resemblance whatever to the handwriting of the text, suggest that it might have been desirable to offer some evidence for the statement, in which Mr Farmer again follows Collier, that the whole play is autograph. Such evidence is, as a matter of fact, supplied by a manuscript in the British Museum, Add. 33384, which contains, prefixed to Munday's *Heaven of the Mind*, several pages of what are evidently autograph preliminaries, dated 22 Dec. 1602. The hand of these preliminaries is clearly that of the text of *John a Kent*. I am, however, by no means certain that the date at the end of the play is autograph, though it is probably contemporary.

A much more interesting point follows. Mr Farmer writes: 'The first two pages of the manuscript are parchment, in Latin, with ornamental capitals, and the similarity of this leaf to the first four parchment pages of *Sir T. More* suggests that both these manuscripts have passed through the same hands....The similarity of the bold headings in both MSS., *Sir T. More* and *John-a-Kent*, in the parchment pages, forming as it were a kind of title, is suggestive of both being "play-house copies".' He might have gone further, for the resemblances between the two manuscripts do not end here. They are actually in

the same handwriting, though of course *More* contains extensive additions in a variety of other hands as well.

This fact, that the original draft of *Sir Thomas More* (MS. Harl. 7368) is in the autograph of Anthony Munday, is of some importance. In editing the play for the Malone Society last year I argued that this original draft was in the hand of a scribe. This view was based upon a single small item of evidence, which I then regarded as conclusive, but which turns out to have been misleading. With this, my further suggestion, that what I there term 'B' is the hand of the original author, must be rejected, though this certainly leaves unsolved some curious problems as to the relation of his additions to the original text.

But not only do the three hands seen in the manuscripts of *John a Kent*, *Sir Thomas More*, and the *Heaven of the Mind* offer such resemblances as to place beyond possible doubt the fact of their having been written by one and the same person; they also offer such differences as enable us, I think, to place them in a definite order. Two are dated, *John a Kent*, 1596, and the *Heaven of the Mind*, 1602. But the latter resembles *More* a good deal more closely than it does *John a Kent*, while *More* seems intermediate between the other two. I therefore conclude that *More* must have been originally written between 1596 and 1602, say 1598-1600. This, I confess, agrees with what has always been my personal feeling alike on palaeographical and literary grounds, though I have bowed to weightier opinion and to several small items of indirect evidence in accepting an earlier date. It should be observed that if we are now to revise our notions and place *More* at the very close of the century, we shall have to withdraw the suggestion that resemblances between the additional insurrection scene and certain parts of 2 *Henry VI* point to Shakespeare as the author of the former. Whoever wrote the Jack Cade scenes, it was not the Shakespeare of *Hamlet*, 'argue' if the famous piece of patchwork in *More* was written c. 1600, it was not of Shakespeare's botching.

W. W. GREG.

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#### HENRY EVANS AND THE BLACKFRIARS.

It is hardly necessary to call the attention of readers of *The Modern Language Review* to the extremely interesting documents published from the Loseley House archives by Professor Feuillerat of Rennes in the German Shakespeare Society's *Jahrbuch* for 1912, which solve many doubtful points, and raise about as many more, with regard to the early

dramatic history of the Blackfriars. In particular the newly discovered facts dovetail in with the conclusion to be drawn from the entries of payments by the Treasurer of the Chamber published by me in the *Review* for October, 1906, that during the years 1576—80 Richard Farrant, Master of the children of Windsor, was also acting as deputy to William Hunnis, Master of the children of the Chapel Royal, so far as the dramatic activities of the Chapel were concerned. I may take this opportunity of recording a payment overlooked in preparing my paper, which also serves to supplement Prof. Feuillerat's discovery. He has shown that, after Farrant's death in 1580, the leasehold of the Blackfriars passed to Henry Evans ' & frome hym to the Erle of Oxford & from his L. to one Lylye.' We know that Lyly brought Lord Oxford's company, whatever precisely that may have been, to court early in 1584. My overlooked entry shows that, when Lord Oxford's 'boyes' played *Agamemnon and Ulysses* on 27 December of the same year, the payee for their performance was Henry Evans.

E. K. CHAMBERS.

GERRARD'S CROSS.

#### MILTON IN ROME.

In describing Milton's visit to Rome, Mark Pattison writes:—'It was at a concert at the Barberini palace that Milton heard Leonora Baroni sing'; and the same statement is made by other biographers. The musical entertainment given by Cardinal Barberini, of which Milton speaks in his letter to Holstenius, was actually not a concert but an opera, performed in a theatre holding three thousand five hundred persons. The manuscript of this piece was found in the Barberini library by M. Romain Rolland. It is entitled *Chi softe, spera*, and appears to be a work of considerable length. The performance lasted for five hours, and was embellished with lavish spectacular and choral effects. A special feature was the representation in the second act of the 'Fair of Farfa,' where a multitude of actors appeared representing buyers and sellers, passers-by, and lords in carriages. There were carts drawn by oxen, groups of gay young girls, a charlatan vending his wares, dancing, quarrelling and fighting: opera of the comic kind. Milton's admiration of this brilliant spectacle shows how far he was in 1639 from sharing the spirit of Prynne. See *Histoire de l'Opéra en Europe*, by Romain Rolland, p. 160.

In one of the epigrams to Leonora Baroni, Milton indicates that he heard her sing at a concert where her mother accompanied on the harp. It could not have been at the Barberini entertainment.

J. S. SMART.

GLASGOW.

#### A HERRICK READING.

After Professor Moorman's Note in the last number of this *Review* I think it right to withdraw my previous criticism of the reading 'warty incivility,' which is quoted twice in his volume, *Robert Herrick* (pp. 94 and 133). Prof. Moorman shows that there is authority for the reading in the original edition of the *Hesperides*, and that if 'warty' is interpreted as 'rocky,' it suits the context of the poem *To Dean-bourn*. As 'watry' had become the generally accepted reading, he would have been well advised to add in a footnote the interesting explanation that he has now given of his restored text.

But the curious and important fact remains (as I have found in following up the subject) that 'watry' is not merely a correction, right or wrong, by modern editors, but has even earlier textual warrant than 'warty.' In April and July, 1903, Mr A. W. Pollard contributed two articles to *The Library* (vol. IV, pp. 206-12 and 328-331) entitled *A List of Variations in three Copies of the Original Edition of Herrick's Hesperides*. Here he showed that a copy of the original edition of the *Hesperides* belonging to the Rev. C. P. Phinn contained a number of readings differing from those in the two copies in the British Museum. As a result of his examination of the volumes Mr Pollard concluded that the leaves containing pp. 29, 30, 175, 176, 207, 208 in most copies of the *Hesperides* are cancels. Mr Phinn's copy which, on this showing, represents the earliest printed text, reads on p. 29 'watry incivility.' In discussing this variant Mr Pollard remarks (p. 330), 'on the whole "warty" for "watry" seems a true correction, not merely a printer's blunder, despite the fact that on the other side of the leaf [p. 30] the cancel has two obviously wrong readings.'

A cancel which 'has two obviously wrong readings' cannot claim indisputable authority. Dr Henry Bradley has kindly informed me that in the materials on 'warty' collected for the Oxford Dictionary there is nothing that throws light on Herrick's use of the word. He suggests that Herrick may have been imitating some Latin writer, and calls attention to the definition in Cooper's *Thesaurus* (1565) of

*verrucosa loca* (wrongly ascribed to Persius) as 'Rough places full of knappes or hillockes.'

In any case Herrick would never have hesitated to use a word in a novel sense. But while 'warty' is exactly suitable to 'knappes or hillockes,' it seems to me much less appropriate to rocks in rushing water. 'Watry incivility' is almost echoed in 'streams...frantick' in the next two lines, and, as support is given to this reading by the Phinn copy, the question of the correct text must, I think, be considered an open one.

F. S. BOAS.

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#### VOITURE AND STEELE.

So far as I know, attention has not been called to Steele's indebtedness to Voiture for the subject-matter as well as for many details of the *Spectator*, Nos. 78 and 80 (last portion of each).

The letter of Voiture is the famous one on *car*<sup>1</sup>, and is numbered 101 in his Letters (*Oeuvres*, I, p. 293). It is addressed to Mademoiselle de Rambouillet, in reply to one received from her, and is dated 1637 (without month or day).

Steele's letters are dated respectively Wednesday, May 30 and Friday, June 1, 1711. The sub-titles of the portions in question are: *The humble Petition of WHO and WHICH* (No. 78); and *The just Remonstrance of affronted THAT* (No. 80).

The points of resemblance between the letters are evident; the main differences between Voiture and Steele are, aside from the 'galant' attitude of the former, that Voiture writes in his own name, taking up the cudgels for *car*, while Steele makes the words themselves conduct the attack and defence. Steele has also spun out the material into two letters.

MARY VANCE YOUNG.

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#### E. 'GROUSE,' F. 'GREUCE.'

'Of unknown origin' in the *N.E.D.*

F. *greuce* occurs, obviously as an article of food, though with no other clue to its precise meaning, in the following enumeration (in a foot-note on p. 19 of the 1st vol. of the *Inventaires mobiliers et*

<sup>1</sup> For the famous 'affaire du car,' cf. F. Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, t. III, p. 385, also p. 102.

*extraits des comptes des ducs de Bourgogne...* publiés par Bernard Prost, Ministère de l'Instruction publique, 1902):

'I penier d'oïtres,' 'I penier de moules,' 'greuces.'

The date is 1329-30.

Does not *greuce* represent the Latin *gruta*, 'gallina silvestris,' in Ducange?

J. DEROCQUIGNY.

LILLE.

E. 'HATCHMENT,' F. 'HACHEMENT.'

Is *hatchment*, as the *N.E.D.* has it, 'shortened and altered from *achievement*'?

Against this statement three arguments suggest themselves:

(1) The earliest form recorded is not *achievement* but *hatchment*.

(2) In the two first quotations s.v. *achievement* the sense of the word cannot, in that dated 1548 apparently, in that dated 1586 surely, come under the definition 'an escutcheon...granted in memory of some achievement.'

(3) If E. *hatchment* does not represent F. *hachement*, how is the non-adoption of F. *hachement* to be accounted for? Can it have been excluded from the wholesale importation of French heraldic terms? This seems a *prima facie* improbability.

F. *hachement* is synonymous with F. *timbre*, E. *timbre*, i.e. 'crest,' as will be shown by the following quotations from Antoine de la Sale, 1459 (in *Traicté de la Forme et Devis comme on fait les Tournois...* mis en ordre par Bernard Prost, Paris, A. Barraud, 1878):

p. 202. 'et sur leurs heaulmes leurs haichemens naturelz, que aucuns disent tymbres'...(in Godefroy).

p. 216. 'Et car nul ne devoit joster, se il n'avoit son haichement sur son heaume.'—A sentence equivalent to this other one, on p. 217: 'on ne peult joster, qui n'a son tymbre sur son chief'

(The word occurs again on pp. 206, 207, 211 and 216.)

F. *hachement*, *haichement* (see LITTRÉ s.v. *hachement*) is no other than a variant form of *acesmement*, *acement*, *achement* 'parure, ornement,' in Godefroy—not in Cotgrave, who, however, has *achermer*, *achemmer*, to decke,...attire; *achemes*, attires. It came to designate the 'ornements de tête' worn by knights at tournaments or in the field.

This—for anything that can be inferred from such an unexplicit sentence—may be the meaning in the first illustration in the *N.E.D.*:



1548 Hall, *Chron. Hen. V.* 50: 'The Hachementes wer borne onely by capitaynes.'

Something of this sense still lingers in the quotation dated 1586, s.v. *achievement*: 'The creast, tymber, mantell, or worde, bee no part of the coat-armour; they be addicions called atcheaments.'

Those 'addicions' or *atcheaments*—already an extension of the sense—will easily suggest—since they *achieve*, complete, the armorial bearings—the alteration of *hatchment* or *atchement* into *achievement*, a word with an obvious meaning, whereas *hatchment* conveyed none to an English mind, and the next step will be to bring *achievement* to the stage 'achievement of arms,' which, according to Boutell (*Manual of British Archaeology*, p. 160), is 'a complete heraldic composition... [which] includes, with the shield, its accessories.' To the later restriction of *hatchment* to 'a square or lozenge-shaped tablet exhibiting the armorial bearings of a deceased person' we need not advert.

J. DEROCQUIGNY.

LILLE.

E. 'JUNK' or 'RUSH OF THE SEA,' F. 'JONC MARIN.'

In reading the *Marvellous Adventures of Sir John Maundeville Kt.* (Constable, 1895), I happen on the following passage:

p. 19. 'there made they the Crown [of Christ] of Jonkes (or Rushes) of the Sea.'

Another similar quotation from the same work is in the *N.E.D.*, as well as this other one, dated 1526: 'Tough sharpe thornes, called the iunkes of y<sup>e</sup> see'—both under section I, 'a rush.'

Under *sea-rush*, there is this instance: 1712-13... 'Our Saviour himself was to be crown'd with a Crown of Thorns made of y<sup>e</sup> same sea Rushes.' And the word is explained as 'a species of *Juncus*.'

But

(1) is this plant really 'a rush' or 'a species of *juncus*'?

(2) is not *junk* or *rush of the sea* an awkward adaptation of some French expression in Maundeville's original, the later uses of the phrase being mere unintelligent echoes of this translation?

Adoptions of French words, phrases and idioms are not of rare occurrence in Maundeville. In a cursory reading I have gleaned the following:

p. 18. *Eglantine* (the earliest instance in *N.E.D.*) and *albespyne* (sole instance in *N.E.D.*).

p. 27. *Made sign of*, quoted in *N.E.D.* (1† b) 'a show or pretence of something' (the earliest quotation), rendering F. 'fist semblance de.'

p. 28. *The Saturday*, in: 'they accurse all those that abstain them to eat Flesh the Saturday,' F. 'le samedy.'

p. 42. *Foss(e)* of Memnon (the earliest instance of *fosse*): F. 'fosse.'  
ib. *verres*.

p. 48. Those be *at* his wages: F. 'sunt a sez gages.'

p. 52. *Orient*, adj. (*N.E.D.* gives the French original: 'ccc perles d'orient').

p. 101. *prepuce* (the earliest instance in *N.E.D.*).

Maundeville's *junk* or *rush of the sea* in fact renders F. 'jonc marin,' and elsewhere 'jonc de la mer.'

Now E. Rolland (*Flore populaire*, iv. p. 80) gives *jonc marin* as a synonym of 'genêt épineux,' *Ulex europaeus*. He adds (p. 89) the following piece of information which tallies with Maundeville's description of the crown of thorns: 'Les petits garçons qui font leur première communion, le jour de la cérémonie se rendent à l'église, la tête couronnée de cette plante, en mémoire de Jésus-Christ. Pujet, près Fréjus, Var.'

So, instead of being explained as 'a rush' or 'a species of *juncus*,' *junk* or *rush of the sea*, or *sea-rush* should be defined 'furze, gorse or whin.'

J. DEROCQUIGNY.

LILLE.

#### E. 'RELENT,' A.F. 'RELENTER.'

The *N.E.D.* does not know the immediate source of E. *relent*, '1. to melt under the influence of heat.'

The word *releuter* occurs in an Anglo-French text of the 13th century, *La Vision de Tondale* (Tnudgal), textes français, anglo-normand et irlandais, p.p. V. H. Friedel et Kuno Meyer, Paris, Champion, 1907:

Sur ceo feer les almes lez maufez font poser,  
Et en ceo graunt puer les estut arder,  
Et auxi comme la gresez en paeil releuter.

ll. 190—3 (p. 76).

The original Latin, by Marcus, an Irishman, has: 'donec ad modum cremii in sartagine concremati liquescerent.'

J. DEROCQUIGNY.

LILLE.

## 'JONCY.'

In Ascham's letter to Raven of 20 Jan. 1551 (*Works*, ed. Giles, I, Part 2, p. 255) he is made to say 'From Colen...we went to Bonna...the country about Rhene here is plain and ioney.' It is not surprising to read the following note on the passage by Dr A. Katterfeld (*Roger Ascham*, p. 124):—'and ioney?—das Wort ist mir unbekannt.' The word should be, I think, 'ioncy' = 'rushy.' Though the *N. E. D.* has no example of the adjective, it shows that 'junk' or 'jonk' (= 'rush') was in use in English before Ascham's time.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

## HISPANIC 'TOMAR.'

Former *tolle* < *tollit* has become *toglie* in Italian, presumably under the influence of *coglie* < \**colliet* < *colligit*. The imperative *togli* has developed the shorter forms *to'* and *toi*: evidently these may be normal, like *a'* and *ai* beside *agli*. By combining *to'* with pronouns, we get *tomi*, *tomelo*, *togli*, *toglielo*. Thus *togli* may be either one word or two; the difference of meaning is slight. In *tomelo* too the dative need not be very important, and might easily be mistaken for a portion of the verb. Such misunderstandings are seen in our depluralized *bodice* = *bodies*, *lettuce* = French *laitues*; in the double "the" of Swedish *det lilla barnet*, French *le lierre*; in the double "with" of Portuguese *comigo*, Spanish *conmigo*, vulgar Italian *con meco*; in the triple "from" of Spanish *de donde*. Even more remarkable is the addition of a verb-ending to pronouns in dialectal Spanish *siéntensen*<sup>1</sup> and Italian *eglino*. A pronoun has been combined with a verb-ending to form German *-st*<sup>2</sup>, so that *hast du* corresponds to Latin *capis tu tu*. In Scandinavian the passive verb-ending *-s*, cognate with the Romanic pronoun *se*, is used without distinction of person<sup>3</sup>; an older form of the same suffix has become a portion of the verb-stem in English *bask* and *busk*.

Early Spanish has *tuelle* < *tolle*, and *tuelle* < *tollit*, but *tuelgo* (= Italian *tolgo*) in the first person. The *g* must be due to some external analogy; it may have come directly from *cuelgo*<sup>4</sup> (= Italian *colgo*) < *colligo*. Hence it is possible that *tuelle* once had a variant

<sup>1</sup> Menéndez Pidal, *Gramática histórica española*, Madrid 1905, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> Braune, *Althochdeutsche Grammatik*, Halle 1891, p. 222.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the three-personal use of *se* and *voj* in Slavonic.

<sup>4</sup> Cuervo, *Notas á la Gramática de D. Andrés Bello*, Paris 1898, p. 83.

\**toge*, formed in analogy with *coge* < \**collie(t)*; much greater alterations are found in *andove* for \**andé*, *estove* for *estide*, *tove* for \**tengue* (?), due to the influence of *ove* < *habui*.

I have shown in *Modern Philology*, VIII, 594, that λ (palatalized l) changed through ɟ (palatalized d) to dʒ and later ʒ in Spanish. As the older language often lost final *e* where it is now restored by analogy, we may assume, in addition to \**tole* > \**toge* > \**toge*, the variant \**tole* > \**toge* > \**tog* > \**to*. For the lost occlusive, compare *grande* > *grand* > *gran*. It is also possible that, under the influence of *da-gelo* (= Italian *daglielo*) < *da \*li \*ele*, Spanish \**toge-lo* was taken for \**to-gelo* and produced independent \**to*. A like development could have occurred in Portuguese, which has normal *tole* and analogic *tolhe*: here the influence of *colhe* is shown plainly by the peculiar participle *tolheito*, parallel with *colheito* representing *collectu* modified by *colhe*. Through misdivision of *tole-o*, *tolhe-o*, or the earlier forms with *-lo*, the imperative would have become \**to*; compare *dá* beside *dá-lh(e)o* < *da \*li \*elo*. If the foregoing theories of Hispanic \**to* seem insufficient, we can construct another: \**to* might have been developed from \**toge* and *tol(h)e* as an interjectional shortening, like Italian *gua'* for *guarda*<sup>1</sup> and our *kout* < *look out*.

Adding pronouns to Spanish \**to*, we have \**tome* and \**to-melo*, whence by misdivision \**tome-lo*. Considered as a simple imperative, \**tome* would require an infinitive in *-er* or *-ir*; but the formation of *tomar* is not hard to explain. Isolated \**to* could not well be inflected. Hence beside this imperative there would have developed a subjunctive \**to el señor*, \**to vuestra merced*, with the meaning of modern *tome usted*. Likewise (\*)*tome* would be subjunctive as well as imperative, and when the pronominal origin of the ending was forgotten, the subjunctive *tome* would produce the imperative *toma* and the infinitive *tomar*. In the same way Portuguese could have formed *tomar* from the subjunctive use of *tome-(l)o*.

In Spanish there is an interjection *to*, 'con que se llama al perro, y es como síncopa de la palabra *toma*.' If this etymology, proposed by the unnamed compiler of the Academic *Diccionario*, is correct, it supports one explanation of \**to* given above. If not, it is evident that former (\*)*to* may be the same as this *to* and its Portuguese equivalent *tó*.

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<sup>1</sup> Malagòli, *Ortoepia e ortografia italiana moderna*, Milano 1905, p. 127.

## PORTUGUESE SPELLING.

The spelling of Portuguese has long been in much the same condition as that of French: the sound of a word could generally be guessed from its written appearance, but the latter could not be deduced from the former. Among the more wide-spread irregularities were those due to the use of Latin-Greek  $ch = k$ ,  $ph = f$ ,  $th = t$ ,  $y = i$ ; these are now abolished by the action of the Portuguese government, which has recently appointed a spelling-reform commission and approved of its labours. Another sweeping change is the simplifying of double consonants, aside from the cases where they are required by the pronunciation. Thus the general basis of Portuguese spelling becomes nearly the same as that of Spanish; in some points it is even simpler. Medial  $h$  is dropped: *desonesto*, *nilismo*, *veículo*. It may be suspected that this is a first step towards getting rid of initial  $h$ , in accordance with the general Italian practice. Likewise the spelling *quilómetro* is more reasonable, from the Hispanic standpoint, than Spanish *kilómetro*. Of course the use of  $u$  after  $q$  is a waste of energy; but so long as  $qu$  is an established symbol for the sound  $k$ , *kilómetro* is doubly irregular. Perhaps some day it will be discovered that the  $u$  after  $q$  is needless and the example of Antoine Thomas will be followed, *qoi q'il an arrive*.

A welcome feature of the new spelling is the systematic use of accents. If a word is printed properly, its stress can now be known with as much certainty in Portuguese as in Spanish. The system is of course more complicated than that of Spanish, since there are two distinctive varieties of  $a$ ,  $e$ ,  $o$ , besides the nasal vowels. It also has a slightly different basis;  $i$  and  $u$  in hiatus are treated as syllabic vowels, so that *seriam sérios* corresponds to Spanish *sertan serios*. Considered historically, this treatment seems reasonable: stressed  $-ia$  is an ending of every verb in the language, while stressless  $-io$  is mainly bookish, popular words of the *tibio*-type being even rarer than in Spanish (Port. *limpo* = Span. *limpio* < *limpidu*). But the marking of final stressed vowels appears less rational;  $a$ ,  $e$  and  $o$  take an accent, likewise  $i$  and  $u$  after a vowel but not after a consonant: *sui* < *salit*, *saí* < *salite*, *uni* < *unite*. In Spanish and Italian, for words of more than one syllable, it has long been settled that a final stressed vowel must have a written accent, and the same rule was adopted some years ago by the Rumanian Academy<sup>1</sup>. Would it not be better to do this in Portuguese?

<sup>1</sup> Tiktin, *Rumänisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg 1905, p. 17.

It must not be supposed the new spelling is phonetic; there are still plenty of difficulties for the native of Lisbon. By reason of the southern leveling of *em* and *ãe*, *ou* and *ô*, *ch* and *x*, *ç* and *ss*, *z* and *s* (after a vowel), countless historic forms are as arbitrary as our *right* and *write*. But any fixed spelling will be a relief, after the anarchy that has long prevailed: some persons call their nationality *português*, while others have preferred the spelling *portuguez*, avoiding the use of an accent by adopting an unhistoric *z*, which is also unphonetic in certain regions<sup>1</sup>.

Those who are interested in the matter will find the new forms in A. R. Gonçalves Vianna's *Vocabulário ortográfico e remissivo da língua portuguesa* (Lisboa 1912). This work contains, besides the word-list, an excellent account of Portuguese spelling, and an explanation of verb-forms, regular and irregular.

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#### ITALIAN 'X.'

In theory *x* is practically an unknown letter in modern Italian. It is however considered normal by Malagòli in the international prefix *ex*-<sup>2</sup>; and it is used, as in other languages, to evade the statement of a name. In this latter case, and as a mathematic symbol, it is read *is* (or *ics*), according to Petrócchi<sup>3</sup>. As a member of the alphabet, it is named *iccasce* or *iccase*.

I do not know whether Goldoni's dialect plays are fashionable literature nowadays; but readers of modern authors cannot help noticing the Venetian characters in Fogazzaro's writings. One of Fogazzaro's plays is almost entirely in the Venetian dialect<sup>4</sup>. A very common word is *xe* (< *hic est*), meaning 'is.' How is the *x* sounded? I am not aware that any "practical" grammar answers this question, which is nevertheless a practical matter. It has the sound of English *z* or French *z*, which cannot be expressed initially, before a vowel, in Tuscan spelling. This Venetian *x* seems to be the source of Albanian *x* with the same value, according to one of the systems used in the schools<sup>5</sup>.

In the Genoese dialect, *x* is used for a sound like French *j*, and

<sup>1</sup> Vianna, *Exposição da pronúncia normal portuguesa*, Lisboa 1892, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> *Ortoepia e ortografia italiana*, Milano 1905, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Novo dizionario universale della lingua italiana*, II, Milano 1902, p. 1247.

<sup>4</sup> 'El garofolo rosso' in *Scene*, Milano 1903.

<sup>5</sup> Pekmezi, *Grammatik der albanesischen Sprache*, Wien 1908, p. 11.

in Sardinia it seems to mean the same thing. Formerly also in Venetian, *x* was used in this way; from there it passed into temporary use in Hungarian<sup>1</sup> and Croatian<sup>2</sup>.

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#### THE DATE OF D'URFÉ'S 'L'ASTRÉE.'

In the text of Vol. VIII (p. 14) of the *Cambridge History of English Literature* and in the chronological tables of Vols. VI and VIII, the date of Part I of *L'Astrée* is given as 1610. This is an old error which appears in histories of French Literature of fourteen or fifteen years ago, e.g. Petit de Julleville, Vol. IV (1897), Brunetière, *Manuel* (1898), Lanson, 5th ed. (1898). It used to be supposed that Part I of *L'Astrée* was first published with Part II in 1610, the earliest known edition being of that date. But a statement in Bassompierre's memoirs that the book, *qui lors était en vogue*, was read to Henri IV in January, 1609 three nights in succession when he was suffering from an attack of the gout led Brunet naturally to suspect the existence of an earlier edition. His conjecture was confirmed in 1869, when the bookseller Tross discovered a copy of an edition of Part I, dated 1607 (the privilege is of August 18 of that year). This copy was acquired by the late Baron James de Rothschild, and is fully described by M. Emile Picot in 1867 in his admirable catalogue of the Rothschild library (II, 197). A second copy has in recent years found its way into the sale-room (O.-C. Reure, *La vie et les œuvres d'Honoré d'Urfé*, 1910). The correct date of the First Part of *L'Astrée* is now given in histories of French literature, and in M. Lanson's *Manuel bibliographique*. But oddly enough the latter work, which is very imperfect and disappointing, gives 1612 instead of 1610 for the Second Part.

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#### DANTE'S REMARKS ON TRANSLATION IN THE 'CONVIVIO.'

At the conclusion of his exposition of the reasons which decided him to write the commentary on the canzoni of the *Convivio* in Italian and not in Latin, Dante says:—

Sappia ciascuno, che nulla cosa per legame musaico armonizzata si può della uia loquela in altra trasmutare, senza rompere tutta sua dolcezza e armonia. E

<sup>1</sup> Simonyi, *Die ungarische Sprache*, Strassburg 1907, p. 229; now *zs* instead.

<sup>2</sup> Ballhorn, *Alphabete*, Leipzig 1856, p. 44; now *z* as in Bohemian.

questa è la ragione per che Omero non si mutò di Greco in Latino, come l' altre scritture che avemo da loro ; e questa è la ragione per che i versi del Psaltero sono senza dolcezza di musica e d' armonia ; chè essi furono trasmutati d' Ebreo in Greco, e di Greco in Latino, e nella prima trasmutazione tutta quella dolcezza venne meno (1, 7, ll. 91—103).

It has not, so far as I am aware, been observed that these remarks were apparently inspired, directly or indirectly, by a passage in St Jerome's *Praefatio* to the second book of the *Chronica* of Eusebius, a work which must certainly have been familiar to Dante, as being one of the chief text-books of chronology current in his day. St Jerome, who translated (and amplified) the work of Eusebius, expresses himself as follows, in his prefatory address to two friends, as to the difficulties of the task of a translator :—

Vetus iste disertorum mos fuit, ut exercendi ingenii causa Graecos libros Latino sermone absolverent, et, quod plus in se difficultatis habet, poemata illustrium virorum, addita metri necessitate, transferrent. Unde et noster Tullius Platonis integros libros ad verbum interpretatus est : et cum Aratum jam Romanum hexametris versibus edidisset, in Xenophontis *Oeconomico* lusit ; in quo opere ita saepe aureum illud flumen eloquentiae quibusdam scabris et turbulentis obicibus retardatur, ut qui interpretata nesciunt, a Cicerone dicta non credant. Difficile est enim alienas lineas insequentem non alicubi excedere : arduum, ut quae in aliena lingua bene dicta sunt, eundem decorem in translatione conservent. Significatum est aliquid unius verbi proprietate ; non habeo meum quo id efferam ; et dum quaero implere sententiam, longo ambitu vix brevis viae spatia consummo. Accedunt hyperbatorum anfractus, dissimilitudines casuum, varietas figurarum : ipsum postremo suum, et, ut ita dicam, vernaculum linguae genus. Si ad verbum interpretor, absurde resonat : si ob necessitatem aliquid in ordine vel in sermone mutavero, ab interpretis videbor officio recessisse.

Itaque, mi Vincenti charissime, et tu Galiene pars animae meae, obsecro, ut quidquid hoc tumultuarii operis est, amicorum, non iudicum animo relegatis : praesertim cum et notario, ut scitis, velocissime dictaverim, et difficultatem rei etiam divinorum voluminum instrumenta testentur, quae a LXX interpretibus edita, non eundem saporem in Graeco sermone custodiunt. Quamobrem Aquila, et Symmachus, et Theodotio incitati, diversum pene opus in eodem opere prodiderunt : alio nitente verbum de verbo exprimere, alio sensum potius sequi, tertio non multum a veteribus discrepare.... Inde adeo venit, ut sacrae litterae minus comptae, et dure sonantes videantur ; quod isti homines interpretatas eas de Hebraeo nescientes, dum superficiem, non medullam inspiciunt, ante quasi vestem orationis sordidam perhorrescunt, quam pulchrum intrinsecus rerum corpus inveniant. Denique quid Psalterio canorius, quod in morem nostri Flacci, et Graeci Pindari, nunc iambo currit, nunc Alcaico personat, nunc Sapphico tumet, nunc semipede ingreditur ? Quid Deuteronomii et Isaiae cantico pulchrius ? Quid Salomone gravius ? Quid perfectius Job ? Quae omnia hexametris et pentametris versibus, ut Josephus et Origenes scribunt, apud suos composita decurrunt. Haec cum Graece legimus, aliud quiddam sonant, cum Latine, penitus non cohaerent. Quod si cui non videtur linguae gratiam interpretatione mutari, Homerum ad verbum exprimat in Latinum. Plus aliquid dicam, eundem in sua lingua prosae verbis interpretetur, videbit ordinem ridiculum, et poetam eloquentissimum vix loquentem.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

BURNHAM, BUCKS.



## DISCUSSIONS.

### LYDGATE'S 'SERPENT OF DIVISION.'

May I ask space to reply briefly to Professor Atkins' remarks on the date of Lydgate's *Serpent of Division*? The problem is rightly stated by him (in your April number) as consisting in the contradiction between the date given in the last sentence of the version in the Calthorpe MS., 1st Henry VI, and the date in the colophon of the same, 1400. Prof. Atkins' theory of original composition in 1400, and revision in 1422, seems, however, not sufficiently supported by the text.

In the first place, the reliability of the Calthorpe MS. as regards figures is open to suspicion. On p. 62 of my edition, this MS. reads 'twoo' where the others read 'thre.' This is due, no doubt, to the omission by the scribe of a letter 'j' in the number 'ijj.' On the same page, where the other MSS. read 'eijt,' Calthorpe reads 'eche.' There is, therefore, good ground for the supposition that the date 'mccc' at the end of the Calthorpe MS. has suffered in transcription the loss of certain letters.

In the second place, Professor Atkins seems prone to attach too much importance to the word 'remembred' in the final line of Calthorpe's text. The other MSS. read, 'I have it put in remembrance,' a reading with precisely the same meaning. The word 'remembred,' as applied to the translation, does not have our modern sense, of 'recollected,' but means only 'made a matter of record.' The phrase is common in Lydgate. In his *Pater Noster* (page 61 of my edition in the Early English Text Society, Extra Series, 107) speaking of the merits of that prayer, he says, 'Foure be remembrid in especial.' The same meaning occurs in lines 49 and 88 of the same poem, and frequently elsewhere in the volume.

In the third place, the 'modernising' tendency of the Calthorpe MS. to which Professor Atkins refers, I believe to be due, as in other Lydgate MSS., not to a revision by the poet, but to frequency of transcription by scribes of a later generation. This of course is not susceptible of proof, but it is a fact that Lydgate's latest work shows no modernising variations from his earlier work, so far as concerns his speech.

In the fourth place, I did not bring forward the parallel passage from *The Story of Thebes* as a source of *The Serpent*, but as containing the trend of thought shown in the *Serpent*, and therefore likely to be near

it in date. Whether the *Story* or the *Serpent* comes first is immaterial, but the identity of language suggests fairly close dates for both pieces, and it can hardly be a mere coincidence that the one piece of Lydgate's many works containing this close identity of thought can be dated within three years in either way of the *Serpent*.

Finally, in the passage referring to Chaucer, it is inconceivable to me that Lydgate, being so devoted as he was to his master, should within a year of the poet's death have referred to him in such a conventional way as he does, without any reference to his recent death. The absence of such a phrase as 'of late,' and of any reference to the loss sustained by his death, did not perhaps justify me in using the expression 'as of one long dead,' but still they argue that Chaucer's death was at some remove from the date of Lydgate's reference, greater than a twelvemonth.

It seems, then, all things considered, that the chance of error in the number quoted by the scribe in the Calthorpe colophon is sufficient to allow of the original production, as easily as the revision which Professor Atkins suggests, in 1422.

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#### ENGLISH AND FRENCH METRIC.

I will not attempt to reply to all Mr Verrier's reflections on my integrity and competence as a metricist. It is not worth while. A reference to Mr Verrier's note on Professor Saran *re* L. Reinach will enable the reader to form his own opinion of the value of Mr Verrier's animadversions.

Mr Verrier complains of my suggestion that he 'insists on confusing' rising and falling rhythm. His reply affords ample justification of my criticism. The lines analysed (p. 526) are divided by Mr Verrier into their phonetic, *not* their metric constituents, and Mr Verrier is correct in supposing that I shall object that 'metrics and phonetics do not necessarily divide speech into the same groups or in the same way.' Why, even Mr Verrier divides metrically from crest to crest, and here, to suit his polemic, he divides into phonetic groups, and so, even on his own showing, proves nothing. I willingly admit that the six lines classed as rising by Mr Verrier *are* phonetically rising, and the four classed as falling phonetically falling<sup>1</sup>. But that has nothing to do, intrinsically, with their metrical classification. When Mr Verrier retorts, as he does retort and will no doubt again retort, that 'Phonetics

<sup>1</sup> It may, of course, be argued that, on a proper reading, the phonetic constituents would agree more closely with the metric. By a proper reading is meant the reading which renders the full *logos* and *ethos* intended by the poet. On any other reading the speech-material is not that which was chosen by the poet and adapted to his selected metre.

divides...in accordance with what we hear' and that metrics cannot divide otherwise on pain of being 'but arbitrary dogmatism' he ignores *what is absolutely fundamental in all metrical investigation*, namely that a line of verse is a portion of speech-material, with all its phonetic features (corresponding to its *ethos* as well as its *logos*) *adjusted*, without violence, to a fixed and definite metrical scheme. The two entities, metrical scheme and portion of speech-material adjusted thereto, are distinct, and the chief study of the metricist is the manner of adjustment of the latter to the former, the way in which a suitable portion of phonetic liquid is chosen and poured into metrical bottles.

If Mr Verrier denies this, he denies the essential conception of metrical science, and it is impossible to argue with him, any more than it would be possible to argue with a physicist who denied the law of causation or with a mathematician who denied that twice two is four.

Again, Mr Verrier leaves the reader to infer from his remarks on my scansion of French verse that I do not know French. 'As this is a question, not of mere scansion, but of pronunciation, we cannot but be right' (p. 528). To begin with, I did not say 'pronounce' but 'scan.' Mr Verrier misrepresents me when he writes: 'The following alexandrine he wants us to *read* (the italics are mine) in this way' (and he then quotes my *scansion*). Even if I had said 'pronounce' Mr Verrier's aspersions would be unjustified. He has only to consult the French phoneticians (Rousselot, Passy, de Souza, Landry) or even a certain letter (12 Jan. 1750) of Voltaire's to La Clairon, to see that it frequently occurs that the 'accent' (I use the word without prejudice, as the lawyers say) shifts from the last syllable of a word to some preceding syllable, or at least that some preceding syllable acquires weight, under the influence of special emphasis (logical or emotional) or of the general rhythmical flow of the accentual group. I will not deny, and nobody can deny, that the alexandrine quoted falls into *phonetic* (or force or accentual) groups as indicated by Mr Verrier, but I am at liberty to *scan* it otherwise. I am even at liberty to read it with an accent on the second syllable of 'éclatantes,' if this word be emphatic. I do not insist that it is. There is nothing to prevent speech-material of the *phonetic* form:

o - - | o - - | o - - | o - -

being adjusted to the metrical scheme

o - | o - | o - | o - | o - | o -

provided the *French ear* is satisfied with the adjustment and does not lose the iambic rhythm in a series of

cretic, trochee, iamb, cretic, trochee, iamb.

Cretics are frequent in English 'iambic' verse. Many metricists, e.g. Mayor and Professor Saintsbury, accept trochees as well.

To *scan* a French alexandrine as Mr Verrier, Professor Grammont

and the other disciples of Becq de Fouquières scan them is equivalent to scanning Pope's lines (I mark the group-accents)

A máster or a sérvant or a friénd...  
Oh máster of the póet, and the sóng...

or (to take more modern examples), Mr Masefield's lines

Of móckery and surrénder and dismáý...  
The hót-ache and the skín-cracks and the crámp...

to take only one *phonetic* form of line, as

— — — | — — — — | — — —

because, phonetically, at least on a more or less conversational reading, the lines divide in that way! Nobody supposes this to be the *scansion* of an English heroic line. And yet some English Becq de Fouquières (after all Guest was not very different) might write learnedly and unconvincingly on the equivalence of the form

— — — | — — — — | — — —

with another very common (phonetic) form of the heroic verse

— — — — | — — — — | — — —

(A bath of fláme broke róund her as she pássed)

or with a third very common form

— — | — — — — — | — — —

(I thóught you'd had enóugh slops for to-dáy)

and build up a whole scansional system on phonetic divisions that have to do with scansion only as dough has to do with the tins in which the bread is baked. Why Mr Verrier himself scans (I, iv) the line

Le grand feuillage vert autour de moi chantait

iambically. How, on any system whatever, does he propose to assimilate such a line with such a scansion to the, according to him, normal scansion of the alexandrine in four beats? Certainly this line has nothing whatever (on his showing!), save caesura and number of syllables, in common with the line

Le soleil le revêt d'éclatantes couleurs.

Professor Legouis (a Frenchman of complete artistic competence, Mr Verrier will not deny it) comes to my assistance. It is true that (*Défense de la Poésie Française*, pp. 85—86) he postulates 'quatre accents principaux qui lui (the alexandrine) communiquent... une marche souvent anapestique' and declares that these accents constitute 'le rythme fondamental' of the verse. But, in analysing six lines of Boileau,

Le commandeur voulait la scène plus exacte ;  
Le vicomte indigné sortait au second acte ;  
L'un, défenseur zélé des bigots mis en jeu,  
Pour prix de ses bons mots le condamnait au feu ;  
L'autre, fougueux marquis, lui déclarant la guerre,  
Voulait venger la cour immolée au parterre,

after marking the four 'accents dominants' (mainly group-accents) he admits what I claim, that 'entre les syllabes non marquées, comme portant l'accent rythmique, il subsiste des différences extrêmes, les unes étant fortes et les autres faibles'. The distribution of 'fortes' in the lines (p. 85) becomes

3 6 8 10 12  
 3 6 8 10 12  
 1 4 6 9 10 12  
 2 5 6 10 12  
 1 4 6 10 12  
 2 4 6 9 12

Now, why should the 'accents dominants' be considered as *metrically* fundamental? No doubt they are *phonetically* fundamental<sup>2</sup>. And Mr Verrier has himself said (*L'Isochronisme dans le Vers français*, p. 6) 'Ce n'est pas que tout accent coïncide avec un temps marqué, ni que tout temps marqué coïncide avec un accent' (in French as well as in German or English). If then we regard the metrical scheme of these lines as iambic, we should scan, keeping Professor Legouis' pronunciation

υ υ | υ - | υ - | υ - | υ - | υ -  
 υ υ | - υ | υ - | υ - | υ - | υ -  
 - υ | υ - | υ - | υ υ | - - | υ -  
 υ - | υ υ | - - | υ υ | υ - | υ -  
 - υ | υ - | υ - | υ υ | υ - | υ -  
 υ - | υ - | υ - | υ υ | - υ | υ -

The speech-material absolutely fits the metrical-scheme except in fourteen feet out of thirty-six, or bearing in mind the reservation just quoted from Mr Verrier, whereby spondaic and cretic feet are admissible, in five feet out of thirty-six, two of them initial trochees.

Of course all the 'accented' syllables are not equally heavy nor the 'unaccented' equally light. Why should they be? The whole question comes to this: Are only group-accents and one or two very heavy retained word-accents to be regarded as 'metrically valid,' or shall all accents be so regarded, both group, word, secondary, rhythmical and oratorical (or 'shifted')?

Since Professor Legouis admits the existence of an accent on 'plus' in 'plus exacte,' on 'se-' in 'au second acte,' on 'mis' in 'mis en jeu,' on '-seur' in 'défenseur zélé,' on '-lait' in 'voulait venger,' why should not these 'accents' be regarded as capable of exteriorizing the metrical scheme? And if these, why not the still lighter accents, which Professor Legouis does not mark, but which I fancy he would recognize, e.g. on the first syllable of 'défenseur,' etc., and why not the oratorical accents on the first syllable of emphatic dissyllables and the first

<sup>1</sup> The more 'artistic' or 'oratorical' the reading, the more will these secondary differences of weight become prominent.

<sup>2</sup> And in a conversational reading possibly the only ones of importance.

syllable beginning with a consonant of emphatic polysyllables (I am aware that this rule is at best approximative, but I cannot here enter into detail)? Several trochees would disappear from our scansion.

The four-beat scansion favoured by Mr Verrier is prosaic just because it omits all that distinguishes an artistic emotional delivery from a pedestrian conversational reading. The four-beat scansion takes no account, metrically, of most 'accents' other than group-accents and the more important retained word-accents and possibly a casual secondary or rhythmical or oratorical accent when it happens to suit the purpose of the four-beat scansionist. The iambic scansion adds nothing and omits nothing of the full emotional and logical value of the portion of speech material under consideration. With the normal four *phonetic* beats of the classical alexandrine or with the normal three *phonetic* beats of the romantic alexandrine are interwoven, in ever varied pattern and infinite beauty, the six beats of the *metre*. Take away from the alexandrine its sixfold metrical division and you strip it of almost all its possibilities as a complex and wonderfully balanced art-form. Shall we read Pope's line:

Must rise from individual to the whole

as if it were a phrase shot out on the steps of a tramcar, with only the group-accents heavy, and then declare that the scansion is

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and that people who scan or read otherwise don't know English?

I do not propose to take up any of the numerous other points of difference between Mr Verrier and myself. As long as we are at variance on first principles it can be of no use to recriminate on one another in reference to minor matters of divergence, however important. On one point and on one point only do I accept Mr Verrier's correction. I should have quoted an English alexandrine not a fourteener (p. 237 and p. 528). But the argument is in no wise affected, since both have iambic scheme with alternating adjustment of speech-material to metre. In conclusion let me say that I regret that Mr Verrier should have supposed that I undervalued the work done by him. I did nothing of the kind. But it seemed better to me to waste no valuable space on merely bandying compliments.

T. B. RUDMOSE-BROWN.

DUBLIN.

## REVIEWS.

*The Cambridge History of English Literature.* Edited by A. W. WARD and A. R. WALLER. Vol. VII. Cavalier and Puritan. Cambridge: University Press. 1911. 8vo. x + 553 pp.

No volume yet published of the *Cambridge History* surpasses the one before us in variety of interest and of matter. The editors, when they first embarked upon their great enterprise, announced their intention of making 'provision for treating certain subjects more or less allied to literature pure or proper,' as, for example, 'the literature of science and philosophy, of politics and economics,' 'the work of schools, universities and libraries,' newspapers, magazines, domestic letters, and so forth—in fact, 'the whole range of letters in its widest acceptance, from "The Cambridge Platonists" to "the fraternity of vagabonds."' In no section of the work is this promise more generously fulfilled than in the present volume, and some of the best and most instructive contributions to it are those which deal with subjects not usually treated in histories of 'literature pure or proper.' There are no better chapters, for example, in the book than that by Mr J. B. Williams on 'The Beginnings of English Journalism,' or Professor Foster Watson's on 'Scholars and Scholarship,' or Dr Ward's on 'Historical and Political Writings'; nor would it be easy to find in any history of philosophy a more lucid and able summary of the work of 'Hobbes and Contemporary Philosophy' than that given here by Professor Sorley. It will thus be seen that the volume contains much that cannot properly be labelled either 'Cavalier' or 'Puritan,' although no better sub-title, perhaps, could have been given to it as a whole.

All the poetry of the period with the exception of Marvell's is dealt with in the first five chapters. Marvell finds a somewhat uneasy place in a chapter mainly devoted to Bunyan. Its author, Dr John Brown, who gives us a sound if not a particularly stimulating appreciation of Bunyan, is indeed 'conscious of making a great transition' in passing from him to Marvell. Marvell deserves, on the whole, a fuller and more sympathetic treatment as a poet than he gets from Dr Brown. One misses, for example, a direct reference to two of his longer poems—*Upon the Hill and Grove at Billborow* and *Upon Appleton House*—which are quite as well worth quoting from, in illustration of his love of nature, as the more familiar lyrics cited here. Marvell's place as a poet is, as

Dr Brown feels, with Herrick and the earlier seventeenth century lyrists, and Herrick is appropriately the poet who leads the way in this volume. No one has a better claim to write of him than Dr Moorman, and this he does clearly and with excellent judgment. As Dr Moorman points out, Herrick is something more, and other, than the mere 'cavalier lyrist' he is so often taken to be; some of his most characteristic songs are such as 'would have found attentive ears among the contemporaries of Marlowe, Breton and Shakespeare,' while others recall 'that which was still more remote from the sophisticated tastes of the cavalier lyrists—the folk-song of the cornfield or the chimney corner.' Herrick's *Noble Numbers* written, as he tells us, by way of reparation for his

unbaptised rhymes  
Writ in my wild unhallow'd times,

do not save him from being, in Dr Moorman's words, 'the most pagan of English poets.' Other singers, much less prodigal of 'wanton' wit than Herrick, felt themselves constrained to tender the same sort of penitential offering to the Heavenly Muse—Habington was one, who 'leaves the theme of earthly love to "the soft silken youths at Court,"' and is full of self-accusation that he should ever have handled the theme, however purely' (p. 45). These are the men who cause most of the difficulty in attempting to divide the poets of this time into two rigorously defined classes of 'Cavalier' and 'Puritan.' Carew, Suckling and Lovelace are, doubtless, all entitled to parade as out-and-out 'cavalier lyrists,' but how are we to classify poets like Habington or Vaughan? They have affinities with both the sacred and the profane 'wits,' and the title 'The Sacred Poets' which Mr Hutchinson gives to the second chapter in this volume, is applicable in an exclusive sense only to two among the group with which he deals—viz. Herbert and Traherne. Henry Vaughan has left behind him sufficient 'secular' verse to show that he could have held his own, at least, with the best of the courtly wits. But he became, in his own words, 'one of the many converts gained by the holy life and verse' of George Herbert, and it was Herbert's avowed ambition to challenge the profane poets on their own ground. 'Cannot thy Dove,' he asks, 'outstrip their Cupid easily in flight?' Mr Hutchinson writes well and judiciously of Herbert, but he might, in our opinion, have been more generous in his appreciation of the rare poetical qualities of Vaughan. The Silurist, despite what Mr Hutchinson calls his 'defective workmanship,' saw visions and dreamt dreams, in his lonely communings with nature on the Breconshire hills, of a kind that visited no other poet of his time—boasting as he does that he had 'pierc'd through all the store' of Nature, and that he

broke up some seals which none had touch'd before.

Why Mr Hutchinson should say that 'his chosen name, Silurist, expresses his intimate love of Welsh mountains, etc.' is not quite clear; what the name is, almost certainly, meant to express is the poet's connection with an ancient family of Vaughans who dwelt in south-east



Wales, once occupied by the tribe known as Silures. It is a pity that his brother, Thomas Vaughan, a poet of some potentiality if not of much actual performance, and 'a noted son of the fire and an experimental philosopher' (to quote Anthony à Wood), should receive so perfunctory a notice in this volume. Mr Hutchinson dismisses him in a sentence, and Mr Routh gives him no more than two in his account of the Rosicrucians; but he was, even after his death, of sufficient consequence as a cabalistic writer to come under the lash of Swift in the *Tale of a Tub*. As against this, and other possible slight omissions of the kind, it is pleasant to see Thomas Traherne at last given his due station, both as poet and prose-writer, in a standard history of English literature. In his chapter on 'Writers of the Couplet' Mr Hamilton Thompson surveys a fairly familiar field with a clear critical eye, and, among others, those great names of their time, Waller and Cowley, get from him their just dues.

Professor Saintsbury is in one of his own particular preserves in writing of 'The Lesser Caroline Poets,' and, as one might expect, he finds plenty of good sport there, and succeeds in communicating much of his sporting ardour to the reader. It is somewhat of a puzzle, however, to discover the critical purpose of the final paragraph on 'what might have been' in the case of some of these poets; and one wonders the more why it should have been written at all when on the very opposite page—in the opening passages of his chapter on Milton—Professor Saintsbury commends David Masson for having written a biography 'without that undue expatiation into "may-have-beens" and "probablys" and "perhappes" which, despite the temptation to it which exists in some cases, is irritating to the critically minded and dangerously misleading to the uncritical.' Professor Saintsbury himself, in dealing with Milton, makes little, if any, effort to resist this temptation, plentifully studded as his chapter is with conjectures and reservations. Here is one signal example. 'An Aspasia-Hypatia-Lucretia-Griselda, with any naughtiness in the first left out and certain points in Solomon's pattern woman added might have met Milton's views; but this blend has not been commonly quoted in the marriage market.' This expression of opinion, and its form, go to show that the chapter on Milton, whatever else may be said about it, is the liveliest in the book. It bears the marks of all the writer's well-known idiosyncrasies of style and critical judgment. Many things in it are admirably said; other things—well, not so admirably. As a whole, the study of Milton which Professor Saintsbury here gives us is disproportionate. About a third of it is given to biography, and much of that is trivial and unnecessary. Although Professor Saintsbury pronounces 'the Milton legend and controversy' 'tedious and idle like all controversial legends and to be kept down as much as possible,' he himself in this chapter is at some pains to keep it up. Antipathy to Milton's political opinions is even allowed to raise its head here and there, as when we read of 'the peculiar arrogance—the morose determination to be different, the singular want of adaptability in politics and social matters generally which has been

admitted even by sympathisers with his political and religious views.' Poor Mark Pattison 'catches it' once or twice, apparently because of 'his liberalism and his Milton-worship.' Professor Saintsbury is, less irritating when he gives us purely literary criticism, and one can only wish that he had given us more of it in this chapter in preference to discussion of so much 'gossip' (to use his own word) and insignificant personal matters. *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* deserved a more liberal treatment—although much of what is here said of them is finely said. The prose works, again, are somewhat perfunctorily dealt with. Perhaps the best feature of the chapter is the discussion of Milton's versification and style.

The chapters on the prose writers, and on things that scarcely belong to 'literature pure and proper,' are, on the whole, of greater interest and novelty than those on the poets, and form much the more valuable part of the volume, regarded as an embodiment of the results of recent research. It would be presumptuous to attempt a 'review' of them here—nothing more than a brief allusion to each can well be given. Professor Saintsbury writes on four 'Antiquaries'—to wit, Sir Thomas Browne, Fuller, Walton and Urquhart—with all the knowledge, zest and intrepidity begotten of his multitudinous reading, and he is here at his best. Nothing, perhaps, that Dr Ward has contributed to this History is more admirable in presentment—clear, concise and, 'without o'erflowing, full' of rich information—than his double chapter on 'Historical and Political Writings.' Clarendon is inevitably the most imposing figure in his gallery, but the lover of 'mere literature' will, perhaps, derive quite as much pleasure from what he has to say about such typically seventeenth-century people as James Howell and Lucy Hutchinson. One of the best-written and most scholarly chapters in the volume is that on 'Hobbes and Contemporary Philosophy' by Professor Sorley. It may be that the philosophy which he passes under review has but a remote interest for the modern reader, but the literary quality of the writings of Hobbes, at least, still compels our admiration, and Professor Sorley, in a fine paragraph, claims for Hobbes, in common with the other greatest lights of English philosophy, a place 'amongst the masters of language, wherever language is looked upon as conveying a meaning.' Hobbes differs from Bacon, Berkeley and Hume, 'and in his own way is supreme.' 'There is no excess of imagery or allusion, though both are at hand when wanted. There is epigram; but epigram is not multiplied for its own sake. There is satire; but it is always kept in restraint. His work is never embellished with ornament; every ornament is structural and belongs to the building. There is never a word too many, and the right word is always chosen. His materials are of the simplest; and they have been formed into a living whole, guided by a great thought and fired by the passion of a great cause.' Even thus, one is tempted to say, as one thinks of much that this volume contains, should literary criticism be written, if 'language is looked upon as conveying a meaning.' The literary criticism of this

period, by the way, is the theme of an excellent chapter by Professor Spingarn, and it will possibly be news to those who know Rymer only by notorious examples of his 'exaggerated animus against Elizabethan tragedy' to hear that in his *View of Tragedy* 'real learning was placed at the service of criticism, and the first connected account of the rise of modern literatures attempted.' Professor Foster Watson's chapter on 'Scholars and Scholarship' has already been mentioned as one of the most interesting in the book, and it finds a fitting pendant in Mr Bass Mullinger's account of 'The English Grammar Schools.' Mr J. B. Williams deals well with a subject which he has made his own in his crowded little chapter on 'The Beginnings of Journalism,' and the volume is rounded off with a chapter—not perhaps very happily entitled—on 'The Advent of Popular Thought in Modern Literature,' by Professor H. V. Routh. Mr Routh has worked his way through a wilderness of pamphlets on all sorts of odd subjects, and gives us among other things a very full account of the witchcraft controversy, which he regards, 'together with the civil war pamphlets and the puritan tirades, as an inevitable phase in the evolution of English modern thought.' The bibliography and the index are both on the generous scale to which we have been accustomed in previous volumes.

W. LEWIS JONES.

BANGOR.

*Poets and Poetry.* By JOHN BAILEY. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1911. 8vo. 217 pp.

To write a critical review of essays which are chiefly criticisms of critical editions of poets or critics would suggest an intolerable remoteness from *Poets and Poetry*. It is Mr Bailey's first distinction that he never fails to lead his reader back to the fountain-head. His criticism becomes not the shadow of a shadow, but a new light by which to see once more the inner meaning of the best things in our literature.

His first essay on the Function of Poetry with its lively insistence on the two sides of the Horatian maxim strikes the keynote of the volume. He notes the modern tendency to give the *prodesse* more than its due, or at least to forget the equal claims of the *delectare*. 'Poets ought surely not to forget that it is their business to win and charm the world: and they need not be quite so scornful as Browning was of the power of tearing an idle man away from his cigar or game of dominoes.' He ends by a fine statement of the organic and spiritual conception of poetry, which Bergson has sown anew in modern thought. He describes the illuminating and enlarging effect of poetry and ends with a sentence worth quoting. 'What comes to us through poetry comes with a higher power of life about it than when it reaches us in any other way. We love more, we hate, we pity, we wonder, we even understand and know more. For the simple truth is that we live more; wherever the breath of poetry passes, it leaves behind it the breath of life.'

The essay on Wordsworth's Creed springs from a criticism of Professor Raleigh's book and in its statement of Wordsworth's mystical faith and vision adds something of value to what is present but not fully developed in the book. We are surprised by an incidental remark that suggests a heresy in so sound a Wordsworthian as Mr Bailey. It is in the essay on Keats, where in insisting that Keats could never have been anything but a poet, he says that Wordsworth might conceivably have been a clergyman. We believe that there was nothing he was more certain not to be. During the four years after taking his degree, when he should have been entering upon a profession, his guardians persistently urged him to take orders, and Wordsworth's reply (not to them) was the remark, 'All professions are attended with great inconveniences, but that of the priesthood with most.' His stubborn independence of spirit and his passion for wandering, born with him and not dying till his death, would sooner have made him a pedlar than a parson.

The essay on Meredith's Poetry, though it sets out to praise and recommend, is disappointing through what we feel to be two important misapprehensions. On the question of Meredith's obscurity he asks, 'Has he ever soothed himself with the deceitful consolation that great utterances are necessarily obscure?' Nothing could be more out of key with the passionate sincerity of Meredith. His poetry is hard to understand partly because thought is hard, partly because so rare a combination of keen intellect and swift imagination leads to a rapidity and richness in expression that ordinary minds are too slow to follow. We admit that his obscurity is a defect, but the defect of so great and unique a quality needs special understanding. In the second place Mr Bailey insists, we think unfairly, that Meredith's message is for the strong not the weak, for the intellect not the emotions. 'He is too strong to help the weak.' His poetic strength lies 'not in heart but in head, not in sympathy but in will.' 'Of mere Earth or mere Brain—the only stuff Meredith would employ—no figure of Love can be woven.' The best answer to these statements is to be found in the lives of those 'weak' men and women whom Meredith has helped by his strength, and in poems such as *Earth and a Wedded Woman* or *Modern Love* where the deepest and simplest human sympathies are drawn upon, and where the key to tragedy and the hope of life are alike found in a vital conception of the mystery of love.

The essay on Spenser is a fine vindication of the spiritual quality of Spenser's poetry. We wish Mr Bailey had gone a step further and revealed—what is more often ignored—its essentially human quality. Spenser's hold upon the heart of life, his knowledge of men and women, his love of children, his tender insight into human weakness and his impulsive sympathy with human passion guide his portraiture and narrative in the *Faerie Queene* no less than do his taste for romance and his yearning for the ideal.

The essay on Shelley is in part a critique upon Mr Clutton Brock's *Shelley: The Man and the Poet*. Mr Bailey gives ungrudging praise to the book, and declares that the author's statement 'I have written about

Shelley as a middle-aged man for other middle-aged men' is no confession of unfitness for his task. We will admit that at this distance of time it is possible to judge Shelley the man from the middle-aged standpoint. But it is surely impossible now or ever to judge Shelley the poet from it. When we read Shelley's poetry as it should be read, with mind, heart and imagination, the middle-aged point of view has ceased to exist. It is the fault of Mr Clutton Brock's book that, whilst it gives a sane and clear-sighted view of Shelley's life and actions, it fails to do common justice to his poetry.

Mr Bailey writes good criticism on Chaucer and Sidney, Scott and Keats. He is never didactic nor dryly academic, and his style, if it tends to be leisurely in the conversational manner, is always alive and graceful. There is hardly one of his essays that does not freshen and illuminate some treasure of our literature, which time or custom, fashion or chance, has dimmed or cheapened for us.

HELEN DARBISHIRE.

OXFORD.

*New Poems by James I of England.* Edited with Introduction and Notes by ALLAN F. WESTCOTT. New York: The Columbia University Press. (London: Frowde.) 1911. 8vo. xci + 121 pp.

This volume contains fifty-seven poems of James I from a manuscript in the British Museum, acquired in 1841 at the sale of Archbishop Tenison's manuscripts. Twenty-six of the pieces have never been previously published and nine sonnets which appeared anonymously in Vol. xv of the Publications of the Percy Society from a different manuscript now appear for the first time under the name of the author. Of the others eight were included in *Lusus Regius*, edited from an Oxford manuscript by Mr R. S. Rait in 1901; and several were published by the king himself; but the editor claims that even for these the Museum manuscript contains 'the text to which the king gave his final sanction.' For such a decided conclusion as to the king's purpose there is hardly sufficient evidence, but, in any case, it was, for various reasons, clearly the editor's duty to publish the full contents of the manuscript. The notes are thoroughly well done, and the poems are prefaced by instructive dissertations, on the king and his tutors, his study of poetry under Montgomerie, other poets in the Scottish court, his verse and criticism, his patronage of literature in England, and poetry in the English court.

If James lacked poetic afflatus, he was not unskilled in the technique of verse. From an early period he had practised the art under the direction of Alexander Montgomerie who was a specially accomplished metrist; he had also doubtless perused the published and much manuscript verse of the older Scottish poets, and there is further, abundant proof of his wide acquaintanceship with earlier and later French poetry. The poetic tradition in which he was educated was one notable for its clear and terse style, and the special attention it devoted

to form. He shows no trace of the influence of the looser contemporary English school. Most of his verse belongs to his earlier manhood; its language, tone and method is mainly that of the old 'makaris,' though like Montgomerie he had a partiality for the sonnet, of which the earlier 'makaris' knew nothing. With him and Montgomerie the old Scottish school properly ends. He did his best by precept, example and patronage to fan the dying embers of poetry in Scotland; but he could not rekindle them. He had no divine fire of his own, and the kirk, while sufficiently damping, for a time, the sentiments and emotions from which poetry emanates, frowned on every form of verse except that concerned with anti-Popish or 'spiritual and godly' themes.

Apart from its technical accomplishment the verse of James gives evidence of a certain external refinement, largely imitative and derived from a wide familiarity with poetic literature. Occasionally he attains to a pleasing melodiousness or an imposing rhetorical pomp, and happy phrases and turns of expression are not uncommon. Mr Westcott, not unjustly, remarks of two of his sonnets here published that they are worthy of a place 'in even a limited anthology of the sonnets of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century'; and if he rather exaggerates their intrinsic merits, their technical excellence is considerable. But generally the difficulty of James was to keep from dropping down to prosy commonplace or sinking into ludicrous ineptitude. His inspiration was fitful and momentary: it had no sustaining power. Nor could his sense of fitness be long relied on. In addition to the generally commonplace character of its sentiments and its lack of imagination and true emotional warmth, much of his verse is blemished by a fatal tincture of the grotesque.

But if James had but small claims to consideration as a poet, he had a genuine and enlightened interest in the art, and after his accession to the English throne did not a little to further its interests in England. Indeed it may be said that historians, occupied mainly with the ecclesiastical and constitutional squabbles of the period, have too much overlooked the fostering influence exercised by James and succeeding Stewart sovereigns on literature and art. But for them there might for a time have been almost as dreary a blank in English literature as there was, for a considerable period, in the literature of Scotland. As regards James himself it may also be affirmed that his defects and eccentricities are often so magnified as largely to obscure his considerable abilities and his varied accomplishments. In some respects he was an exceptionally clever man; and if the higher qualities of statesmanship be denied him, his pedantry was modified by great practical shrewdness and amazing political dexterity. Mr Westcott is of opinion that he did not conduct his government so skilfully as his arguments, but something must be allowed for the immensity of his difficulties. In any case, while one of the most learned men of his time, he was also a most ingenious and formidable controversialist in ecclesiastical and constitutional disputes, which, if they have now lost much of their importance, were then deemed vital.

Mr Westcott touches, however, but cursorily on the controversial writings of James: he is concerned mainly with his poetic criticism and performances and his relations with the English poets of the period. In discussing his early training he seems rather to overlook the influence of Buchanan in creating his abiding literary enthusiasm. The literary genius of Buchanan might well produce a lasting impression on a precociously intelligent boy such as James. Probably we do not err in tracing to him the vigorous humanist tendencies of James, while his strong theological bent he probably owed largely to the indoctrination of Peter Young, Buchanan's tutorial assistant, who had been a pupil of Calvin. Mr Westcott surmises that 'in the forming of his literary tastes and of his character in general, the older teacher probably did not have so large a share as is commonly supposed'; but he adduces no sufficient reason for this opinion. True from about 1579 the superintendence of Buchanan began, on account of his imperfect health, to be intermittent, but by this time the precocious James was thirteen years of age and quite a marvel of learning and accomplishments. While, however, the literary influence of Buchanan is manifest even in the Scottish poems of James, he did not essay to publish what Latin verse he may have written; and while the poetic repute of several of his royal ancestors may have tended to foster his Scottish poetic proclivities, they received their early nourishment and direction mainly from Alexander Montgomerie.

Mr Westcott goes fully into the question of the relations of James with Montgomerie; and he also chronicles various facts illustrative of the intercourse of James with the English poets of the period and their close connection with the English court. He raises doubts as to the correctness of Ben Jonson's statement that the King expressed the view that 'Sir P. Sidney was no poet.' Henry Leigh reported that James 'commended Sir Philip Sidney for the best and sweetest writer that ever he knew,' a view also largely corroborated by James's epitaph on Sidney here published. Mr Westcott also makes out a fair case for the theory that James exercised a considerable and beneficial influence on the literary tendencies of the period, and adduces plausible evidence 'intended chiefly to support two conclusions: (1) that during James's reign there was a well-defined sentiment at court in favour of a smooth, clear style in poetry (and also in prose); and (2) that the writers who anticipated the manner and matter of late classicism came directly under its influence'; and while not venturing to affirm that 'James himself was responsible for these changes save as an instrument, or as one who adopted and spread abroad the theories he had been trained to accept,' he, at the same time, reminds us that 'his place made his views very influential while his natural gifts were not contemptible.' These seem fairly sound conclusions, though there were stronger and higher influences at work than merely royal precept.

T. F. HENDERSON.

*Widsith: A Study in Old English Heroic Legend.* By R. W. CHAMBERS.  
Cambridge: University Press. 1912. 8vo. ix + 263 pp.

English, or rather Teutonic Heroic Poetry is at last receiving from English scholars that meed of attention which has long been accorded to it by German and Scandinavian writers, and it augurs well for the future of Old English studies in this country that the Cambridge Press should in the same year issue Mr Chadwick's *Heroic Age*, with its exhaustive study of the Heroic Age of the Teutonic Peoples, as forming part of a still larger theme, and Mr Chambers's scholarly work on *Widsith*.

The store of literature that has accumulated around the heroic themes catalogued in *Widsith* is vast, whether it takes the form of periodical articles or learned monographs or references in works of a more general character. So numerous are the facts, explanations, and theories brought forward in this literature that Mr Chambers rightly says there does not seem to be room for new views on any point, but he has done us the eminent service of bringing those views together, comparing and discussing them, and he has with acute critical judgment, supported by sound scholarship, seen his way again and again to a clear issue through a host of conflicting views. If some of the author's critical *dicta* had been better observed in the past 'much throwing about of brains' would have been saved, not only in the matter of *Widsith* but in that of the whole of Old English literature. 'In investigating the date of the poem, we have no right to reject a passage as interpolated on the sole ground that it does not agree with our view of the date: for to do this is to argue in a circle' (p. 149). 'We only escape from one difficulty into another, if we explain an inconsistent text by assuming an irrational interpolator' (p. 178). Interesting too is the defence of the very definiteness of the theories of critics of the 'dissecting school.' 'It is not sufficiently realised that this definiteness of theory is the only alternative to a vagueness and confused thinking which must ensue, if we argue about interpolations without defining to ourselves their exact scope. It is therefore the duty of a critic who believes a poem or play to be the work of several hands, to form a hard and definite theory, consistent with the facts he has noted. The law of chance is against his theory being right in every detail. But a critic who is quite clear in his own mind as to what he is trying to prove may often prove his general theory, even though we are in doubt as to many of the details. If he confine himself to generalities he will prove nothing' (p. 137).

Before passing to the discussion of details, one other feature of general excellence should be noted, viz., the way in which the author amid the discussion of many difficult and intricate problems preserves the fine flavour of literature. He has many illuminating literary parallels and comments to give us, as for example when he quotes from Racine's preface to *Bajazet* the words:



'On peut dire que le respect que l'on a pour les héros augmente à mesure qu'ils s'éloignent de nous. L'éloignement des pays répare, en quelque sorte, la trop grande proximité des temps, car le peuple ne met guère la différence entre ce qui est, si j'ose ainsi parler, à mille ans de lui, et ce qui en est à mille lieues.'

in his comment on the fine disregard for questions of time and place often shown in early Heroic poetry.

The first three chapters of the book deal with the stories known to Widsith. Perhaps the most important point here is the author's attempt to show that Ealhild was the wife not of Eadgils but of Eormanric, and that she has taken the place of the Swanhild of the other versions of Eormanric's story. He brings forward some five points in support of his theory but the last, as he himself suggests, is the only one of great and, as it seems to the present writer, convincing weight, viz., that Ealhild accompanied Widsith to the house of Eormanric. Two explanations have been offered of this journey, one that she went as a hostage, the other as wife. The hostage-theory seems to be impossible for 'if she is the wife of Eadgils, and Widsith escorted her as a hostage to the court of Eormanric, how does she come to be in Eadgils' hall, when he returns home, to present him with an armlet?' We are left to presume that she was Eormanric's wife. That she has replaced Swanhilda and that to her name the poet attached the stories of that princess is more doubtful. The examples of name-change adduced in support of this theory are unconvincing. Such parallels as Hild for Swanhild or Hild(ico) for Grimhild are not parallels at all and such pairs as Hrothgar—Hroar (Hrothhere), Eanmund—Homöthus (Eymothr) are far easier of explanation than the substitution of Ealhild for a name so completely unlike it as Swanhild. In addition to the Ealhild identification two other points in these chapters may be mentioned, viz., the strong and convincing appeal made for the identification of the Theodoric who is represented as a hero at Eormanric's court with Theodoric of Verona rather than with Theodoric the Frank, who is out of place there, and the final explosion of the theory that the *citharædus* whom Clovis the Frank asked as a gift from Theodoric the Great was a Gothic minstrel and that the request is proof of the first spreading of epic poetry from the Goths to the Franks. The minstrel was sent to the Franks to replace barbaric by civilised music and the selection of him was deputed to Boethius the Patrician.

In Chapter V, in various appendices, and in incidental references throughout the book the author deals with the difficult problems of geography and history raised by a study of *Widsith*. This includes a full discussion of the voyage of Ohthere found in the Old English *Orosius*. The present writer, while admitting that he should not in a previous article in this *Review* have 'apologised' for taking the 'Denmark' on Ohthere's left as Southern Sweden, is not sure that the author in his account of that voyage has yet finally removed all difficulties. The form 'Sillende' is against identification with Zealand and it seems unnatural in sailing from Skiringssalr to Hedeby to go right round by the Sound and thread one's way between Zealand and

Laaland and Falster, rather than take the more direct route through the Great Belt, which would be quite consistent with Ohthere's statements. It would be interesting to know if we have any evidence as to the route used by medieval sailors when taking this very common journey. The account of the gradual and peaceful settling of Angel by the Danes is ingenious but not quite convincing. It is doubtful if a historical parallel could be found for such a statement as that 'the remaining Angles would see with satisfaction stalwart Danes coming, not to plunder, but to settle and to take up land in neighbourhoods which had been left naked and defenceless,' and it is certainly contradictory of our general ideas as to the relations of nations with one another at this or any time. This idea of a friendly settlement can hardly be supported by an allusion to the absence of any account of struggles between Angles and Danes in Old English poetry for the connexion between England and the continent seems to have been almost entirely severed immediately after the settlement.

The author does not seem to have definitely made up his mind as to the value of one piece of evidence very commonly used for determining the currency of any particular saga, viz., that of place and personal names. At times, as in the reference to the traitor Bikki in the Eormanric story, he takes the presence of the name Becca in place-names like 'Beccanleah' as evidence for familiarity with that story, while elsewhere he suggests that we must beware of assuming that Englishmen with the name Theodoric were so named after either the Gothic or the Frankish hero. They may have been so named without any thought of a hero at all. This latter view seems the truer one, whether it is a question of a personal name pure and simple or of a place-name derived from a personal name. We must not assume that the names of great heroes were not borne by humble folk before ever they were attached to heroes or even that, when they were used after those heroes were already familiar figures, they were used for that reason. These names may well have been given as we now give a child the name Alfred, not out of reverence for the great king but because of personal preferences or family tradition. A strong case for the influence of heroic legend can only be made out when two or more names from the same story occur together, whether in place-names, as in the well-known 'Beowan-hamm' and 'Grendles-mere' of the Wiltshire charter, or in a genealogy, as in the case of Theodric and Theodhere, the two sons of Ida of Bernicia, corresponding to the brothers Diether and Dietrich von Bern.

In addition to the chapters already mentioned we have others dealing with past critics of *Widsith*, its language and metre, and one embodying the author's conclusions. Finally we have the text of the poem, with full collation of the work of previous editors, commentary and appendices with full discussions of the thorniest problems of the book. Perhaps in the last part of the book there is too great wealth of comment and discussion for the ordinary reader but the lover of heroic legend will feel that it is a case of 'God's plenty.'

The whole volume is printed with extraordinary care, and our

sincerest thanks are due for one of the finest works of Old English scholarship which has been produced in recent years.

ALLEN MAWER.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

*The English Moral Plays.* By ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON. (Extract from *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, vol. XIV). New Haven. 1910. 8vo. iv + 121 pp.

Students of the drama are already indebted to Mr Thompson for a valuable account of the relations between the stage and puritanism. The present study deals with a cognate theme. Mr Thompson sets himself to track the various trends of medieval thought and literary expression, which coalesced in the production of that curious dramatic *genre*, the allegorical morality. It is his primary object to lay more stress than has been laid by his predecessors upon the homiletic factor in the origin of the morality; in fact to suggest the same kind of affiliation between this and the medieval sermon, as has long been established between the miracle-play and the medieval liturgy. It was not, however, quite the same case. The evolution of the miracle-play was a pioneer process, half-unconscious; the morality did not come into existence at all until the miracle-play had already set up a dramaturgic tradition, and the work of its founders was in adaptation, not discovery. But Mr Thompson's well-informed account of *homilaria* and *exempla* and of the use of dialogue by medieval preachers is a useful contribution to the history of the subject. In his later chapters he surveys successively the influence of the themes represented by the *Psychomachia* and *Hamartigenia* of Prudentius, of the Creed and Pater-noster plays, of the *débats*, of the Antichrist legend, of the Dance of Death, and of the Counsel of the Virtues, and indicates the transformation and final disintegration of the morality in contact with the influences of the Reformation and of humanism.

E. K. CHAMBERS.

GERRARD'S CROSS.

*A History of French Literature.* By C. H. CONRAD WRIGHT. New York: Oxford University Press. 1912. 8vo. xiv + 964 pp.

A common fault of general histories of literature is that they are not definitely planned to meet the needs of a particular class of readers. Their authors waver in their aim between the serious student and the reader who is merely interested, and in their efforts to provide for both fail to satisfy either. Mr Wright's volume is no doubt aimed in the first place at the serious student, but unfortunately he has suffered his vision to be distracted by the intrusion of the general

reader. His own term for this attractive but elusive person is the 'inquisitive foreigner,' and it is doubtless to satisfy this inquisitiveness, which must be much more common in America than in England, that he omits no name that has ever made a figure in literature. A paragraph such as that at the end of the chapter on Rabelais, which sweeps up Des Périers, Bouchet, Du Fail and Béroalde de Verville into a sort of dust-heap, is of no use to the serious student, whatever satisfaction it may give to the 'inquisitive foreigner.' There is a similar dust-heap at the end of the chapter on Racine, but it is when we come to the Nineteenth century that they abound. On p. 681 seven poets are swept up into eleven lines, among them being Mme Desbordes-Valmore who is far more than a 'tearful female sentimentalist,' Barbier and Brizeux. At the close of the chapter on Fiction of the latter part of the Nineteenth century, ten novelists, hardly one of whom need have been mentioned at all, are dismissed in little more than a page. On p. 788 a number of minor dramatists are treated with equal summariness. Mr Wright even crowds his pages with dead names. Surely Louise Colet has no place in literature, and who has heard of Mme Blanchecotte? Occasionally, as on p. 675, names are merely strung together like onions. Finally chapter XVI of Part V is one large dust-heap from which only two men, Renouvier and Brunetière, stand out for particular treatment.

There are other chapters which would be greatly improved by the omission of some names and a fuller treatment and better grouping of others. Such is the omnibus-chapter in Part III, which embraces Men of the World, Scholars, Journalists, and Moralists—a comprehensive heading indeed—and from which possibly *Ménage* and *Cotin*, and certainly the *Mazarinades*, *Loret*, and *Cortinelli* might have been omitted, so as to allow fuller treatment of *La Bruyère* and *Saint-Simon*. Such, too, is the chapter on miscellaneous dramatic forms in Part IV. Here, while the eight immediate successors of *Molière* might all have been left out, with the possible exception of *Baron*, a much more illuminating account might have been given of the interesting group, consisting of *Dancourt*, *Dufresny*<sup>1</sup>, *Regnard*, and *Lesage*, which produced comedies during the transitional period between *Les Caractères* (1688) and *Les lettres persanes* (1721). Especially some notice should have been taken of the influence which *La Bruyère* had on them all. *Lesage's Turcaret* is declared to be 'one of the masterpieces of the century,' but no attempt is made to account for this pre-eminence. There is little fault to find with the treatment of *Marivaux*, save for the paragraph in which he is coupled (inevitably) with *Watteau*, for the only essential point of resemblance between the dramatist and the great painter is that in their purity of mind they stand apart from their age. The account of the *comédie larmoyante* and the *drame bourgeois* is satisfactory, but 'crude realism' is hardly the term to apply to that ridiculous melodrama, *Lillo's George Barnwell*, and it is a curious omission to

<sup>1</sup> *Dancourt* and *Dufresny* lack Christian names, and no date is given for *Dufresny*.

speak of Sedaine's *le Philosophe sans le savoir* as the best example—as it certainly is—of the *drame bourgeois* without an attempt to characterise it. The three pages given to the *Théâtre de la Foire* and the comic opera might have been considerably shortened, and more informing than a list of Favart's seven best plays would have been a remark that *Les trois sultanes* is the one by which he is best known, and the only one, I believe, which has been revived in modern times. The chapter ends with the bare mention of Piron's *la Métromanie* and Gresset's *le Méchant*, both of which ought to have found a place earlier in the chapter, between Destouches and Nivelle de la Chaussée. The reader should also have been informed that they were the last comedies of any merit to be written in verse for many a long year. *Le Méchant*, moreover, is very well written and, though it has been overrated, is certainly worth reading. But instead of saying anything about it Mr Wright tells us that Gray admired Gresset's play *Sidnei* (*sic*)<sup>1</sup>.

I have made these criticisms, ungracious though they may seem, on a single chapter, not with the object of belittling Mr Wright's knowledge of his subject, which is exceptionally wide and accurate, but in order to suggest the defects which are inherent in a history of literature written on these ambitious lines. Mr Wright recognises that specialisation in every period is impossible for one man, but it is only the specialist, or at least the man who has thought out a topic for himself, who can be of any real help to the serious student.

But there is a way in which the writer of a general history of literature may help the student, and that is by enabling him to understand the development of literature. The student can get his facts and dates from a dictionary or a bibliography, but a continuous history should help him to co-ordinate his facts, to see his authors in their relations to one another and to their social environment. By dividing French literature merely into centuries Mr Wright has missed his opportunity. It is no doubt more or less true, as other writers before Mr Wright have pointed out, that 'in France, the end of the century often seems to coincide with a change in the national spirit, and in the literary tendencies.' But literary tendencies change more frequently than once in a century, rather, once in a generation; and a history of literature which is worthy of the name should take account of these shorter periods of change. In such a history Brébeuf (who, by the way, is known by his hymns rather than by his translation of the *Pharsalia*), Benserade and Segrais, all writers who belong essentially to the period before 1660, would not be sandwiched between La Fontaine and La Fare. As a rule, however, Mr Wright marshals his authors in an orderly sequence, and the chief defect of his arrangement is that it fails to bring out the importance and interest of transitional periods. It is also a mistake to treat the Eighteenth century as a whole, without taking account of the differences between its earlier phase (1721—1750) and that which preceded the Revolution.

<sup>1</sup> Gray also says that *le Méchant* is 'one of the very best Dramas I ever met with' (Gray to Wharton, June 5, 1748).

Mr Wright's introductory and general chapters are among the best in his book, and his claim that 'the relations have been emphasised of literature and social environment,' is thoroughly justified. The chapters on Humanism (II), the Pléiade and its Theories (VI), the New Philosophy and the New Humanism (VIII) in Part II, the earlier chapters in Part III and Part IV, and the two chapters in Part V on the Trend of Thought (IV and V), which are based on M. Faguet's admirable *Politiques et Moralistes du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, are all excellent. Best perhaps of all is the chapter on the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century (XII), with its well-informed and sagacious handling of Sainte-Beuve, Taine, and Renan. Another good chapter is that on Philosophy and Descartes in Part III. It is clear that Mr Wright is more interested in the history of thought and social forces than in literary form. For instance, in the interesting chapter on Romanticism he dwells more on its social manifestations than on its literary characteristics, and in the chapter on Diderot and the Encyclopædia the part which treats of Diderot's purely literary work—he says strangely that his chief merit rests to-day on his *Salons*—is decidedly inferior to that which deals with the Encyclopædia.

Mr Wright's handling of the chief names of French literature is sane and judicious, but it is neither sympathetic nor illuminating. He is more ready with criticism than with praise, and he does not succeed in bringing out the qualities in each writer which constitute his real claim to greatness. With regard to Molière, for instance, he does not do justice either to his wonderful range of comic power, or to his mastery of dramatic dialogue, or to the admirable construction of his plays—a merit which is too often overlooked—or to his truth to nature, or to the astonishing boldness and prescience of his social satire. 'It was the tragedy of life amid its comedy that he tried to show in his three great plays,' says Mr Wright. Rather he tried to show the comedy of life amid its tragedy. Or, as M. Lemaitre puts it, 'if he happens to be tragic, it is in his own despite and from the nature of things.' Mr Wright notes the difficulty that the foreign reader finds in appreciating Racine, and he seems to share this difficulty himself. He is short on Bossuet, and he does not do justice to the complex character of Fénelon. Though he realizes the great influence exercised by Chateaubriand, he does not sufficiently point out his marvellous power of literary presentation, and to say that he is 'one of the worst liars and plagiarists in literature' is crude and misleading. Victor Hugo fares worse, for it is only after six pages of more or less adverse criticism that we are told that 'unfavorable criticism must cease when we consider him as an epic writer.'

The well-informed chapter on Realist and Naturalist fiction begins with a good account of the whole movement, followed by a sound appreciation of Flaubert, and a criticism of the brothers de Goncourt, which is severe but not unjust. Then comes Zola who is refreshingly described as 'one of the dullest writers in French literature.' A due tribute is paid to the artistic impassivity of Maupassant and to the

human pathos of Daudet, while Ferdinand Fabre, a true realist, who is too little read, is rightly commended as 'one of the most noteworthy authors of his generation.' But from this point the chapter, except for a page and more devoted to that curious person, Barbey d'Aureville, tails off into a bare list of authors and their works.

With great courage Mr Wright has brought his survey down to the Twentieth century, which he treats in two chapters, entitled respectively, *The Tendencies*, and *The Writers*. The latter chapter provides us with a convenient 'Who's Who' of living men of letters. The chapter on *The Tendencies*, dealing as it does with the Dreyfus case, Pragmatism, Bergson, Modernism, the scientific spirit in history and literary criticism, politics, literature and the drama, offers plenty of scope for controversy. Generally, I should say that Mr Wright's view is far too pessimistic, but I have not nearly sufficient knowledge to criticise it in detail. The attack on *fichomanie* deserves a passing notice. 'The French doctorate dissertations,' says Mr Wright, 'are becoming burdened with undigested and indigestible material.' There is just an element of truth in this, in so far as these dissertations might often be presented in a more thoroughly digested form. But, though one may recognise a danger, one cannot sufficiently admire the industry, the thoroughness, the acuteness, the intelligent sympathy that modern French students of literature bring to their work. Certainly English literature has much to be grateful for in the work of such men as Feuillerat, Legouis, Angellier, and Huchon.

So far as I have noticed, Mr Wright's book is commendably free from slips and positive errors. But the letter of Henri IV on Plutarch, from which he quotes on p. 208, has long been shown to be spurious. De Thou's History was surely never called *Thuana*, which is the name for his Table-talk. The Saturdays of Mdlle de Scudéry can hardly be said to have rivalled the salon of Mme de Rambouillet, for they did not begin till after the Fronde, when Mme de Rambouillet had practically retired from the field. Certain authors call for a rather fuller treatment, as, for instance, Des Périers, Du Bellay, Massillon, Buffon, and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, and I should have liked a more appreciative notice of the conversations in the *Heptaméron* and of the *Satire Ménippée*. Even in Mr Wright's volume you cannot have everything, and I miss, amid so many books which no one wants to read, those memoirs which everyone reads with pleasure. Where are Mme de Caylus, Mme d'Épinay, Mme de Rémusat, and Marbot? Would any one suspect from the bare mention of the memoirs of Louis Racine, Marmontel, and Mme de Staal-Delaunay, what a fund of anecdote and agreeable instruction they contain?

Finally I must give a word of commendation to the Bibliography. Section I, which gives the general bibliography of the subject, will be found especially useful, for it is comprehensive and accurate and shows judgment as well as learning. Section II gives select bibliographies for each chapter; they are well chosen and are up to date, and I have only one general criticism to make, and that is that some indication

might have been given as to the relative importance of the authorities. For instance, the student might be told which of the four most recent works on Balzac were the most important for his life, and which for criticism of his writings. Similarly, with regard to Molière. In the bibliography of Part II, chapter II (Growth of Humanism) I note seven works that are out of date and practically useless: and I miss Mr P. S. Allen's great edition of Erasmus' *Letters*, now in course of publication by the Clarendon Press.

If Mr Wright has come short of complete success, it is because he has attempted an impossible task. It is no longer possible for a single man to write a history of a great literature, such as that of France, that will satisfy the requirements of a serious student. This is not merely because with the growth of knowledge the subject has increased in magnitude, but also because the standard of knowledge has become higher. The real student is no longer content with second-hand information in his teachers. But histories of literature of a less ambitious type are still possible. It is still possible—if you have the gifts of an Andrew Lang—to write a history, instinct with personality, which will at once charm the mature reader and stimulate the young beginner. It is still possible, if you are content to forego all literary laurels, to provide the serious student with a business-like record of facts and authorities. It is even possible to write a history of literature which shall be of service to the student, and not without interest to the mere lover of the subject. But he who attempts this must confine himself to what is significant, he must resolutely discard unimportant names, he must pay close attention to environment and other influences, and he must be content to indicate the merits of great authors rather than attempt any formal criticism of them.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

CAMBRIDGE.

Mr Tilley assures me that, not being a specialist in Old French literature, he cannot undertake to review the mediæval section of Mr Wright's book; and I have (however reluctantly) to take his word for it.

Mr Wright, too, assures me, in common with all his readers, that his work does not pretend 'to specialisation in every period—a thing which is impossible for one man now that we are, of necessity, either mediævalists or moderns....The author does not aspire, as some do, to the merit of an absolutely independent judgment on every topic. On the contrary, he considers it the duty of the composer of a synthesis to rely, to a reasonable degree, on those who have spent months or years on individual writers whom he must perforce treat summarily. He sets himself down unhesitatingly as a "pickpocket of another's wit": the authorities from whom he has readily drawn will, it is hoped, be accounted for in the bibliography.'



The bibliography is, indeed, drawn up with great care<sup>1</sup>: the Middle Ages alone fill eight closely-printed pages. With regard to the body of the book, this period occupies 122 pages out of 878—that is to say, four centuries (roughly) are dealt with in a quarter of the work. I do not quarrel with this arrangement; the proportion is the same as in the great history edited by Petit de Julleville.

After carefully reading these 122 pages, it is clear to me that Mr Wright must be ranked among the 'moderns,' and that he has 'readily drawn' from some at least of the authorities quoted in the bibliography. Fortunately he has had sound advisers, and there are few actual blunders: the names of Professors Grandgent and Weeks (in the Preface) are a guarantee for this. But, save perhaps in the chapter dealing with philosophy, I can discover but few traces of first-hand knowledge.

The *genres* are dealt with in separate chapters—which is probably the most satisfactory course to adopt in the case of a literature that is largely anonymous. The origins are briefly treated—three times the scanty details are eked out with references to Voretzsch, though it should be added that a few lines are devoted to the theories of M. Bédier. A particularly unimaginative introductory account of the epic (8 pp.) ends with a dry analysis of three of the poems—the *Roland*, *Aliscans* and *Huon de Bordeaux* (5 pp.), heralded by the words: 'The French epic may perhaps best be understood by a more detailed study of three of its finest examples.'

Under 'Romance' I find that the tales of Marie de France 'are stories of love among lords and ladies, a love more refined than in the rough passions of the *chansons de geste* or the violent frenzy of the *Tristan* legend.' Quite so. But what is the unfortunate beginner to make of the sentence immediately following: 'They tell of the married woman who loves a knight and tells her lord that she goes to listen to a nightingale; whereupon the cruel husband snares one of these birds and throws the innocent and bleeding thing at his wife, who then sends it to her lover in token that they must no longer meet.' Take the account of the *Tristan* poems of Beroul and Thomas. Surely everyone

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it would have been better to confine Section I (General Indications) to works of a general kind covering the whole period; as it is, there are necessarily numerous repetitions in the second section, entitled 'systematic bibliography.' As the list does not aim at completeness, no purpose is served by pointing out omissions. Still, Morf's admirable account of Romance literature should certainly have been included. There is a general tendency to neglect works that would make instant appeal—thus, Ker's *Dark Ages* would obviously delight many readers for whom Gröber's monumental work in the *Grundriss* is totally unsuited. Again, there are but few references to English versions of Old French texts. We hope one day to publish a composite review of these translations, the number of which has risen in a striking degree during the last fifteen years. Finally, Mr Wright's observations on the books quoted are not always happy. G. Paris' *Esquisse* is obviously 'a different work from' *La litt. française au moyen âge*; it would have been more useful to point out that the treatment in the one is chronological, in the other according to *genres*, so that the two books supplement each other. Darmesteter's *Historical Grammar* (which should have been quoted in Hartog's English version) is 'a readable study'; and so on. The titles are included of certain books that have been announced to appear—a useful feature.

knows that 'the story is one of the strongest examples of passionate and romantic love in literature.' But it is very difficult indeed for the uninitiated to discover and understand without aid the undoubted beauties of these particular poems; and no aid is forthcoming. Later on we are told that 'another form of the same *motif* [that of *Floire et Blanchefleur*<sup>1</sup>] is one of the masterpieces of medieval literature, the "chante-fable" *Aucassin et Nicolette*, of the twelfth century or in the present form *perhaps* of the thirteenth, in prose interspersed with songs.' Not a word to show why it is a masterpiece. Of the Grail we learn that 'by an accretion of symbolism and idealism it has remained in literature until the days of R. S. Hawker, Tennyson and Wagner.' With all respect for the Cornish poet, we can hardly think that he ought to be brought into this company.

When we come to the lyrics things are not much better. The atmosphere of poems like *Belle Yolans en ses chambres seoit* recalls to our author the pieces of Thomas Haynes Bayly. The *pastourelle* is 'perhaps the most attractive form of all.' Perhaps it is; but is it helpful to be told that the knight woos the shepherdess 'in the strain of: "Where are you going, my pretty maid?"' We are grateful to Mr Wright for including the Goliardic poetry, with a mention of John Addington Symonds' beautiful book. Indeed, it is an excellent feature of the entire medieval section that Latin literature is called in wherever it is required.

The chapter on 'history, biography and chronicles' contains matter that obviously belongs elsewhere—say to the section following, on 'fable literature and short stories' (though in that case 'legends' should perhaps be added to the title)<sup>2</sup>. Thus the legends of the Virgin cannot properly be classed either as history or biography or chronicles<sup>3</sup>. Mr Wright has scarcely caught the spirit of these wonderful little poems: he speaks of 'the rather touching story of the *Tombeor Notre Dame*' and the man's 'unseemly tricks'. The modern parallel in this case is

<sup>1</sup> Mr Wright says that this 'has been called the "Paul and Virginia" of the Middle Ages.' Whoever called it that understood neither of the works. I shall have occasion to quote further parallels, many of which strike me as unhappy. The truth of the matter is that, while it may occasionally be useful to contrast medieval and modern works, very little is gained by comparing them, save in cases of obvious imitation.

<sup>2</sup> I have found the following a convenient classification for Old French narrative literature. (1) National Epic. (2) Epic of Antiquity. (3) Arthurian Epic and Celtic Romance. (4) Narrative literature exclusive of the epic: (a) the *Rose* (and allegorical literature); (b) the *Renart* (and beast literature); (c) religious legends; (d) *tableaux*; (e) other tales and romances. The chronicles in verse and prose are perhaps best treated separately or classed under didactic literature.

<sup>3</sup> No one will be satisfied with this arrangement. The British Museum authorities, probably in deference to public opinion, adopted the other extreme, and omitted all these legends from their Catalogue of Romances.

<sup>4</sup> Let him read Tobler's account of this 'Kleine Legende, die man noch heute nicht ohne lächelnde Rührung liest, so schlicht und treuherzig erzählt sie ein unbekannter Dichter einem lateinischen Buche nach' (in *Spielmannsleben im alten Frankreich*, now happily rescued from comparative neglect and reprinted, together with much other valuable matter, in the volume containing the fifth series of *Vermischte Beiträge*, Leipzig, 1912). It is of interest to note that the same *motif* has been handled by two modern masters: by Gottfried Keller in his poem *Der Narr des Grafen von Zimmern*; and by

Massenet's opera *Le Jongleur de Nostre Dame*. It is true that the librettist has done his work with some skill, but surely Anatole France deserved precedence. An able critic might have contrasted the exquisite sincerity of the medieval artist with the no less exquisite (and probably largely unconscious) irony of the great modern writer<sup>1</sup>. Garnier's *S. Thomas* duly appears in this chapter. We learn that the author was 'a wandering scholar and contemporary of Chrétien de Troyes [which does not help us much], who tried to give an impartial yet vivid and dramatic narrative of his hero's life and death.' Scarcely an adequate account of a really great work!

Coming to the short stories Mr Wright asks: 'Have the *fabliaux* any merit at all? The single one of realistic observation, though, let us hope, as much overdone as the realism of the modern naturalistic school.' Surely no 'mediævalist' would ever have written this; and many 'moderns' would hesitate to subscribe to the latter portion of the sentence. Old French literature, like the literature and art of every age and country, has to be studied historically. *Auberee* is a masterpiece no less than the *Celestina*, though both may be 'unpleasant.'

When we reach the Drama, we get what may be called the 'box-office' point of view. 'The great period of the theatre in France does not come until the later Middle Ages: the fifteenth century is the time of its greatest vogue'; or again 'the fifteenth century is the period of the greatest splendour of the French theatre.' The trouble, of course, is that the really 'great period' comes before the fifteenth century. A play is not necessarily good because it runs into thousands of lines or because it is popular. Though Mr Wright gives a fair account of the earlier pieces he does not seem to realise the simple beauty of such things as the *Adam*, or the power and originality of men like Jean Bodel and Adam de la Halle.

A writer dealing with allegory is a pretty safe guide if he is sound on the *Rose*. Though Mr Wright says many things that are undoubtedly true about this extraordinary work, his account lacks enthusiasm and is not likely to win it any fresh readers. 'In spite of the characteristic mediæval redundancy of treatment, the love poem of Guillaume de Lorris contains many an attractive passage'; in the hands of Jean de Meung 'it became a poem of satire of the ideas of his time and a polemical criticism of important topics then under discussion, with violent satire of the clergy and of women.' Bald statements such as these surely need development; a few happily chosen examples, if

Arnold Böcklin in the painting which depicts an aged hermit playing his fiddle before a rude image of the Virgin Mary, while little angels watch him, clapping their hands and laughing for joy.

<sup>1</sup> The Vollmöller-Humperdinck-Reinhardt production of *The Miracle* has familiarised a large public with the legend which, in its original Old French form, is perhaps the most beautiful of them all; the story deserved mention if only for the reason that two modern poets of distinction have revived the theme: John Davidson (*The Ballad of a Nun*) and Maeterlinck (*Sœur Béatrice*). The current number of the *Odd Volume* contains a rendering (the first in English) of the Old French legend by Mr Mason.

nothing else, would serve to carry conviction. The space that might have been devoted to these is taken up with futile points of contact between the two writers; whereas our critic, who was obviously in a hurry, would have been far better occupied in showing how profoundly they differ.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are tackled (save for the Drama which is treated elsewhere) in 13 pages, of which more are devoted to Christine de Pisan (2½ pp.) than to Villon (2 pp.)—the latter one of the few really great lyric poets France has produced, Charles d'Orleans has to be content with 1½ pages, but it is some satisfaction to learn that his poems 'are the work of a dilettante of genius'; which is, after all, more than can be said for those of Christine, with all her endearing virtues and undoubted gifts. 'There is historical sentiment' in the *Ballade des dames des temps judis* (which 'ranks among the most famous and most translated poems of French literature'); if so, it is a great lyric in spite of that circumstance. Mr Wright is on firmer ground when he admires the 'true religious feeling in the poem for his mother to Notre Dame'.

I trust I have not been unjust to this section of Mr Wright's book. I do not see that he has any sympathy with the Middle Ages, or that he understands them. If he has read the works he writes about—and there is no reason why he should not have done so, seeing that the leading examples only are dealt with—he has not carried any very definite impression away with him, and consequently he has not succeeded in making any very definite impression on his readers. These pages are obviously intended for beginners; and beginners, like children, should have only of the very best, by reason of their helplessness. The two books of Gaston Paris and his various essays remain the best introduction to the study of Old French literature.

H. OELSNER.

OXFORD.

*Victor Hugo, His Life and Work.* By A. F. DAVIDSON. London: Eveleigh Nash. 1912. 8vo. xiii + 351 pp.

Le regretté M. Davidson est mort avant d'avoir pu mettre la dernière main à cette monographie sur V. Hugo. Le manuscrit a été publié par les soins de M. Francis Gribble, qui n'y apporte que les corrections et additions strictement indispensables; elles sont d'ailleurs de peu d'importance.

Les 83 années de la vie de V. Hugo sont divisées ici en 21 périodes, ou tableaux, des diverses circonstances qu'ont traversées l'homme privé, l'homme de lettres et l'homme politique. On le suit pas à pas dans sa destinée; on déménage avec lui d'une résidence à l'autre; on le regarde

<sup>1</sup> This 'has been compared with Heine's *Wallfahrt nach Kevlaar*.' I fail to see that any useful purpose is served by this parallel.

vivre sa journée, on entend ses propos, privés ou publics; on voit s'additionner un à un les volumes de son œuvre et l'on perçoit l'écho du bruit qu'a fait en son temps chacun d'eux. Il y a là toute une moisson de petits faits authentiques, concrets, significatifs, pittoresques et amusants qui vous rendent le personnage vivant et familier, sans lui donner cependant sa physionomie vraie; en d'autres termes cette collection de détails réels ne crée pas une vérité d'ensemble, et la chronique des faits, gestes et paroles d'un *individu*, par certains côtés exceptionnel, par d'autres participant des défauts et travers de la commune humanité, n'est pas l'histoire, la véritable analyse psychologique d'une personnalité unique comme l'a été celle de V. Hugo.

M. Francis Gribble, dans une note-préface, présente l'ouvrage de M. Davidson comme "the most complete and at the same time the most impartial English study of V. Hugo." Le superlatif est relatif, évidemment.

Je voudrais expliquer en peu de mots ce qu'a d'un peu spécieux l'impartialité de M. D.—Sans doute il n'entonne ni dithyrambe ni réquisitoire; mais les nombreuses anecdotes, historiettes, exemples, qui révèlent les motifs et mobiles intéressés, dissimulés derrière les déclarations de parade, qui mettent en vedette les ridicules du bourgeois-gentil-homme-réformateur-apôtre-héros et quasi-demi-dieu, tiennent trop de place à côté de la simple et uniforme affirmation que V. Hugo avait du génie. M. Davidson les raconte alertement, avec humeur et une certaine complaisance, quitte à s'excuser ensuite, à l'occasion, de la façon que voici: "But why linger over these trifling details? Simply to postpone the inevitable truism that *Les Misérables* is a work of genius." Truisme, si l'on veut, c'est se contenter aisément que de dessiner d'un trait si maigre et si court les grands, beaux et bons côtés de V. Hugo, quand on insiste autant sur les autres. Quiconque a eu déjà un commerce direct avec l'œuvre elle-même, et c'est le cas de MM. Davidson et Gribble, ne se méprendra pas sur l'importance réelle de la partie anecdotique, mais les autres, tant de lecteurs des pays de langue anglaise qui, négligence ou faute de loisir, n'auront rien lu de V. Hugo avant d'aborder cette biographie, et qui s'en tiendront à elle? Ils seront incapables de juger équitablement ce qui ne leur aura pas été analysé et expliqué: la grandeur de l'œuvre et le développement d'un génie lyrique, épique et oratoire. Voilà en quoi l'étude de M. Davidson semble ne pas mériter d'être louée comme complète et impartiale. Il s'est tenu plus près d'un Edmond Biré que d'un Renouvier, d'un Brunetière, d'un Ernest Dupuy, qui, sans négliger de marquer les manifestations extérieures d'une activité littéraire et les circonstances, *causes occasionnelles* de telle ou telle production, ont cherché en outre à pénétrer les *raisons internes* du développement de l'œuvre de Hugo dans les divers genres, et de l'évolution de sa manière, à analyser ses puissances de conception, d'élaboration, d'expression, à discerner ce qu'il a reçu et acquis de ce qu'il a transformé et créé; la question de l'information, de la culture qu'un Hugo avait à son actif a plus d'importance que le chapitre de ses déplacements ou de ses polémiques personnelles.

M. Davidson aimait Mérimée, il sympathisait davantage avec son tempérament; il voulait écrire sa biographie; il a été détourné de ce projet et a entrepris d'écrire celle de Hugo, qu'il semble bien ne pas aimer foncièrement: ne se plaisant pas avec le génie de V. Hugo, il a pris son plaisir dans le récit des aventures et incidents de cette étonnante destinée; il en a fait une *Chronique biographique* de V. Hugo, adroite, amusante et instructive, dont on souhaiterait la traduction en français et en allemand, pour l'agrément du public de plusieurs autres pays<sup>1</sup>.

HENRI CHATELAIN.

BIRMINGHAM.

*Charles de Sainte-Marthe (1512—1555).* By CAROLINE RUNTZ-REES. New York: Columbia University Press. 1910. 16mo. xiv + 664 pp.

Monographie abondante, bien informée, où l'auteur ne prétend pas réhabiliter cet écrivain de quatrième ordre, poète pauvre (les nombreuses citations au cours du texte et les extraits de *La Poesie Française* publiés en appendice en font foi), humble disciple de Marot, admirateur de Saint-Gelais et de Sahel, prosateur moins médiocre, en français, dans les *Deux Oraisons Funèbres* qu'il nous a laissées, de style plus simple en latin que beaucoup de ses contemporains; il nous intéresse par la part qu'il a prise dès le début dans le "mouvement pétrarquiste" et dans le "mouvement platonicien" de la première moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Homme d'étude, il a absorbé la culture de son temps; avec son instruction considérable et son originalité minime, il sert de repoussoir aux grands noms du siècle; leurs personnalités en prennent plus de relief. Pour l'historien de la langue, la comparaison est amusante de sa prose avec celle des documents officiels qui l'avoisinent dans l'*Appendice*; elle est instructive quand on rapproche de ces textes celui de l'*Institution Chrestienne* de 1541.

Miss C. Runtz-Rees n'a pas pu toujours secourir aux documents et textes originaux, elle a dû citer l'Oraison Funèbre de la Reine de Navarre d'après la réimpression de Leroux de Lincy et Montaiglon. Etant données la valeur de l'auteur et l'importance de son œuvre, on n'a pas lieu de regretter ici l'absence d'un appareil minutieusement critique; on doit être reconnaissant à Miss C. Runtz-Rees d'avoir pris tant de peine, et d'avoir montré, par ce qu'elle a fait ici, quel parti elle eût pu tirer d'un meilleur sujet, de matériaux et d'instruments de travail plus accessibles<sup>2</sup>.

HENRI CHATELAIN.

BIRMINGHAM.

<sup>1</sup> Quelques erreurs typographiques: p. 147, l. 9, lire *Mascarille*; p. 159, l. 10, lire *statesman*; p. 162, dernier quart, lire *Septembr. 4, 1843*; p. 183, l. 20, lire *alliance*; p. 209, dernier quart, lire *Juliette*; p. 216, bas, lire *bric-à-brac*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Pour l'orthographe et la ponctuation des textes cités, le système de l'éditeur, si l'on peut appliquer le mot système à sa combinaison-compromis, laisse assez à désirer; c'est d'autant plus regrettable qu'on voudrait, ayant les *Extraits* à l'appendice, n'avoir pas à recourir, pour ces mêmes textes, aux œuvres de l'auteur.

## MINOR NOTICES.

An edition by Mr Nicol Smith is certain to be scholarly, and the volume entitled *Jeffrey's Literary Criticism* (Oxford, Frowde, 1910) is no exception to the rule. The introductory essay which prefaces it is pleasantly written, and lays stress upon points which are undoubtedly of value in estimating Jeffrey's literary criticism, and which do not always receive due attention. 'He skimmed along the surface of life doing a vast amount of work of one kind or another, and finding pleasure all the way, and from the vantage-ground of success he showed much personal kindness, but perhaps too little sympathy with disquietude of thought.' His nimbleness of mind combined with absolute honesty of judgment made his criticisms extraordinarily effective. His essays have not the insight or power of Coleridge's, they cannot rank as creative literature, but they are almost perfect examples of journalism, and of journalism at its very best. No one nowadays would want to sit down to a careful and detailed study of Jeffrey's 200 contributions to the *Edinburgh Review*, but it is of real value to have the best of them collected into a single volume, that we may see for ourselves how the giants of the early nineteenth century appeared in the eyes of an exceedingly able contemporary.

G. E. H.

Among the publications of the University of Lund for the year 1911 is the text of *The Recluse*, a fourteenth century version of the *Ancien Rivle* edited by Joel Pålsson. This version was first discovered by Miss A. C. Paues in a manuscript in the Pepysian library of Magdalene College, having been taken by Pepys himself to be a copy of some of 'Wicklef's' Sermons. The text is to be followed by a volume containing a survey of the phonology and inflections, notes and glossary. Comment on the work may be reserved until that volume appears, but in the meantime a cordial welcome may be given to the exceedingly careful work of another of those Swedish scholars who are now doing so much for Middle English studies.

A. M.

We welcome a new edition of Professor Jespersen's excellent *Growth and Structure of the English Language* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1912), to which since its first publication the Volney prize of the Institut de France has been awarded. The author says that he has here and there made slight alterations or additions, but that in the main the work remains unchanged. We have noted several cases in which sentences which were not quite clear in expression have been rewritten: one example is in § 107. Again, some felicitous illustrations have been added, among them (§ 147) the paraphrase of 'A rolling stone gathers no moss,' into

Cryptogamous concretion never grows  
On mineral fragments that decline repose.

In general it may be said that there is no survey of the growth of the English language which more fully appreciates its variety and its vitality, and is more free from any pedantic idea of limiting its evolution by grammatical rules. If Professor Jespersen is sometimes a little 'previous,' and occasionally accepts or recommends words and expressions which have not yet established themselves in use, this is only what might have been expected from his openness of mind and liberality.

G. C. M.

We have before us the first of three volumes which are to contain all Manzoni's letters that are still in existence (*Carteggio di Alessandro Manzoni, 1803—1821, a cura di Giov. Sforza e Giuseppe Gallavresi, Milano, Hoepli, 1912*). It will be easier to value the net results of this publication when it is complete. It certainly widens our knowledge of Manzoni's character and vicissitudes. Straightforward, well-balanced and genially strong-willed as the poet was, his fame suffered much at the hands both of hero-worshippers and detractors. But with the passing of time his fame as a man and as an artist soared higher and higher. The printing of his letters is thus merely the payment of a tribute which posterity owed him. His nervous shyness would no doubt have caused him to resent the prying of the public into his private thoughts, but with the modern conception of the rights of posterity the wishes of great men are seldom considered. And Manzoni's life-story, with his deep religious crisis and his quiet but unflinching patriotism, has been told in so many different ways and looked upon from so many different standpoints, that none who is interested in Italian literature or in humanity at large will deprive himself of the pleasure of a complete insight into Manzoni's soul such as these letters provide. The letters here published are numerous, not a few almost irrelevant; but some are of supreme interest, and most are filled with the charm of this noble master's personality. Such patience of research has, during a long course of years, been bestowed upon the collection of the letters that very few, if any, can have escaped notice; the text has been collated, whenever possible, with the originals; and the editors have succeeded in explaining almost every reference, however cursory or obscure, so that the notes form a valuable guide to our knowledge of the literary circles of Lombardy and Paris.

C. F.



## NEW PUBLICATIONS.

September—November, 1912.

### GENERAL.

- BULTHAUPT, H., *Literarische Vorträge, aus dem Nachlass ausgewählt und durchgesehen von H. Kraeger.* Oldenburg, Schulze. 4 M.
- RANK, O., *Das Inzest-Motiv in Dichtung und Sage.* Vienna, F. Deuticke. 17 kr. 50.
- SKEAT, W. W., *The Science of Etymology.* Oxford, Clarendon Press. 4s. 6d. net.

### ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

#### Italian.

- BARETTI, G., *La scelta delle lettere familiari, a cura di L. Piccioni.* (Scrittori d'Italia, xxvi.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.
- BARTOLUCCI, L., *Appunti di letteratura italiana.* I. *Le origini.* Rocca S. Casciano, L. Cappelli.
- BERCHET, G., *Opere, a cura di E. Bellorini.* II. *Scritti critici e letterari.* (Scrittori d'Italia, xxvii.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.
- CARDUCCI, G., *Cantilene e ballate, strambotti e madrigali nei sec. XIII e XIV.* Sesto S. Giovanni, Madella. 2 L.
- CATERINA DA SIENA, SANTA. *Libro della divina dottrina, volgarmente detto Dialogo della divina provvidenza.* Nuova ediz. secondo un inedito codice senese, a cura di M. Fiorilli. (Scrittori d'Italia, xxxiv.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.
- CESAREO, G. A., *La poesia di G. Pascoli.* Bologna, Zanichelli. 1 L.
- CROCE, B., *Scritti di storia letteraria e politica.* II. *La rivoluzione napoletana del 1799.* Bari, Laterza. 7 L.
- D'ANCONA, A., *Scritti danteschi.* Florence, Sansoni. 5 L.
- DANTE ALIGHIERI, *La divine comédie. Texte italien. Trad. introd. et notes par E. de Laminne.* Paris, Perrin. 7 fr. 50.
- DONATI, A., *Poeti minori del Settecento* (Savioli, Pompei, Paradisi, Cerretti e altri). (Scrittori d'Italia, xxxiii.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.
- FILOMUSI, G. L., *Novissimi studii su Dante.* Siena, G. Bentivoglio. 3 L.
- FLAMINI, F., *Antologia della critica e dell'erudizione coordinata allo studio della storia letteraria italiana.* Naples, F. Perrella. 4 L.
- FRANCESCO DA BARBERINO. *I documenti d'amore secondo i manoscritti originali a cura di F. Egidi.* Fasc. x. Rome, E. Loescher. 5 L.

- GARGIULO, A., Gabriele D' Annunzio. Studio critico. (Collezione Studi e ritratti, I.) Naples, Perrella. 4 L.
- GUIDICIONI, G., e COPPETTA BECCUTI, Rime a cura di E. Chiorboli. (Scrittori d' Italia, XXXV.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.
- MARCHINI, C. O., Goldoni e la commedia dell' arte. Naples, Perrella. 3 L.
- MAROTTA, G., L' ideale mariano e la poesia in Italia nei secoli XIII, XIV e XV. Saggio storico-critico di letteratura religiosa. Mortara, A. Cortellezzi. 3 L.
- MATTII, N., Teologia e Dante Alighieri. Montegiorgio, Finucci. 3 L.
- McKENZIE, K., Concordanza delle Rime di F. Petrarca. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 30s. net.
- MONACI, E., Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli. Fasc. III. Città di Castello, S. Lapi. 6 L.
- PERSICO, T., Gli scrittori politici napoletani dal 1400 al 1700. (Nuova biblioteca di letteratura, storia ed arte, VI.) Naples, Perrella. 5 L.
- PERTICONE, G., L' opera di G. Carducci. Saggio critico. Catania, N. Giannotta. L. 2.
- PELLIZZARI, A., G. Chiarini: la vita e l' opera letteraria, con documenti inediti. (Collezione Studi e ritratti, II.) Naples, Perrella. 3 L.
- RAND, E. K. and E. H. WILKINS, Concordance to the Latin works of Dante. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 30s. net.
- SEGARIZZI, A., Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato. Vol. I. (Scrittori d' Italia, XXXVI.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.
- TASSONI, A., La secchia rapita, con commento di P. Papini. Florence, Sansoni. 5 L.
- TORRACA, F., Studi danteschi. (Nuova biblioteca di letteratura, storia ed arte, VII.) Naples, Perrella. 5 L.
- VERDE, R., Studi sull' imitazione spagnuola nel teatro italiano del seicento. I. G. A. Cicognini. Catania, N. Giannotta. 2 L. 50.
- ZINGARELLI, N., Le opere di G. Boccaccio scelte ed illustrate. Naples, Perrella. 3 L.
- ZONTA, G., Trattati d' amore del cinquecento. (Scrittori d' Italia, XXXVII.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.

### Spanish.

- CERVANTES, M. DE, El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha. iv. Edición y Notas de F. Rodriguez Marín. Madrid, Ediciones de 'La Lectura.' (Paris, Champion.)
- LOPE DE VEGA, L'Étoile de Séville, étude et version française intégrale, par C. Le Senne et G. de Saix. Paris, E. Sansot. 5 fr.
- LOPE DE VEGA, Las Burlas Veras. Comedia Famosa. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by S. L. Millard Rosenberg. (Publications of the University of Pennsylvania. Romance Languages, Extra Series, No. 2.) Philadelphia.

### Provençal.

- LAVAUD, R., Les troubadours cantaliens, XII<sup>e</sup>—XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Notes complémentaires critiques et explicatives sur les textes publiés dans l'ouvrage du Duc de La Salle de Rochemaure. Aurillac, Imp. Moderne. 4 fr. 50.

**French.***(a) General.*

ROUSTAN, M., *La littérature française par la dissertation. Tome iv. Le moyen âge et le xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle.* Paris, Delaplane. 3 fr.

SMITH, M. S. C., *The spirit of French letters.* London, Macmillan. 6s. 6d. net.

*(b) Old French.*

KARL, L., *Un moraliste bourbonnais du xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle et son œuvre. Le roman de Mardevie et les mélancolies de Jean Dupin.* Paris, H. Champion. 2 fr. 50.

Lancelot del Lac, *Der altfranzösische Prosaroman von.* II. Branche: *Les enfances Lancelot* (II. Teil). III. Branche: *La doloireuse garde* (I. Teil). Versuch einer kritischen Ausgabe von H. Bubinger. (Marburger Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie, VIII. Heft.) Marburg, A. Ebel. 5 M. 50.

MICHAUT, G., *Aucassin et Nicolette, chant-fable du xii<sup>e</sup> siècle, mise en français moderne.* Préface de J. Bédier. Nouv. édition. Paris, Fontemoing. 2 fr. 50.

*(c) Modern French.*

BALZAC, H. DE, *La comédie humaine. Texte révisé et annoté par M. Bouteron et H. Longnon.* Tome IV. Paris, L. Conard. 9 fr.

BERTRAND, L., *Gustave Flaubert, avec des fragments inédits.* Paris, Mercure de France. 3 fr. 50.

BOSSUET, *Correspondance, nouvelle édition, augmentée de lettres inédites, publ. par Ch. Urbain et E. Levesque.* Tome IV. Paris, Hachette. 7 fr. 50.

CAPPONI, G., *J. J. Rousseau e la rivoluzione francese: saggio.* (Biblioteca di filosofia e di pedagogia.) Genoa, Formiggini. 4 L.

CHATEAUBRIAND, *Correspondance générale, publ. par L. Thomas.* Tome II. Paris, H. Champion. 10 fr.

DESCHARMES, R., et R. DUMESNIL, *Autour de Flaubert, études historiques et documentaires, suivies d'une biographie chronologique, d'un essai bibliographique des ouvrages et articles relatifs à Flaubert.* 2 vols. Paris, Mercure de France. 7 fr.

FLAKE, O., *Der französische Roman und die Novelle.* (Aus Natur und Geisteswelt, 377.) Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 1 M.

GIRAUD, V., *Maîtres d'autrefois et d'aujourd'hui, essais d'histoire morale et littéraire.* Paris, Hachette. 3 fr. 50.

GRAN, G., *Jean Jacques Rousseau.* Edinburgh, W. Blackwood. 12s. 6d. net.

LEDOS, E. G., *Catalogue des ouvrages de J. J. Rousseau, conservés dans les grandes bibliothèques de Paris.* Paris, H. Champion. 2 fr.

REIK, TH., *Flaubert und seine 'Versuchung des hl. Antonius.'* Ein Beitrag zur Künstlerpsychologie. Minden, J. C. C. Bruns. 3 M.

REYNIER, G., *Les origines du roman réaliste.* Paris, Hachette. 3 fr. 50.

ROLLAND, J., *Les comédies politiques de Scribe.* Paris, E. Sansot. 3 fr. 50.

SÉCHÉ, L., *Le cénacle de Joseph Delorme (1827-30).* Tome I. Victor Hugo et les poètes. Tome II. Victor Hugo et les artistes. Paris, Mercure de France. Each vol. 3 fr. 50.

SMITH, H. E., *The Literary Criticism of Pierre Bayle.* (Johns Hopkins Univ. Diss.) Albany, N.Y., Brandon Printing Co.

## GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

## Scandinavian.

- AASEN, I., *Skrifter i Samling, trykt og utrykt.* 13.—18. Hefte. Kristiania, Gyldendal. Each 50 ö.
- BJÖRNSSON, B., *Artikler og taler.* Udgivet af Chr. Collin og H. Eitrem. 1.—2. Hefte. Kristiania, Gyldendal. Each 30 ö.
- BOETTCHER, F., *La femme dans le théâtre d'Ibsen.* Paris, F. Alcan. 4 fr.
- Gamalnorske Bokverk, utgjevne av Det norske samlaget (Landsmaalslaget).  
 X. *Soga um Öyrbyggjerne umsett fraa gamalnorsk ved J. Sverdrup.*  
 XII. *Sverresoga fraa gamalnorsk ved H. Koht.* Kristiania, Det norske Samlaget. 75 ö. and 40 ö.
- HOLBERG, L., *Samlede populære Skrifter.* 12 Bind. Copenhagen, Madsen Lind. 3 kr. 10.
- JAKOBSEN, J., *Etymologisk Ordbog over det norrøne Sprog fraa Shetland.* 3. Hæfte. Copenhagen, Prior. 5 Kr.
- KIERKEGAARD, S., *Papirer.* Udgave af P. A. Heiberg og V. Kuhr. iv. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 9 Kr. 75.
- KNUDSEN, CHR., *Dansk (og norsk-islandsk) Litteratur för 1500.* Svendborg, P. Brandt. 1 Kr. 25.
- LYTH, P. G., *Tegnér's erotik och därmed sammanhängande själskriser.* En förstudie. Stockholm, Skoglund. 1 Kr. 50.
- MORTENSEN, J., *Clas Livijns lyriska skriftställarskap.* (Uppsala universitets Aarsskrift, 1913, I.) Uppsala, Akad. bokh. 3 Kr. 60.
- OLSVIG, V., *L. Holbergs unge Dage.* Med forskjellige Bidrag til det historiske Tidsbillede. Kristiania, Gyldendal. 10 Kr.
- POESTION, J. C., *Steingrímur Thorsteinsson, ein isländischer Dichter und Kulturbringer.* Munich, G. Müller. 3 M. 50.
- RÖNNING, F., N. F. S. Grundtvig. III, 2. Copenhagen, Schönberg. 3 Kr.
- ROSENBERG, P. A., *Herman Bang.* (Mennesker i Litteraturens, Kunstens og Videnskabens Tjeneste, VII.) Copenhagen, Schönberg. 1 Kr. 50.
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## FRIEDRICH HEBBEL.

GERMANY owes the peculiar position she occupies in the history of the modern drama and theatre to her failures rather than to her successes. The pioneer, the innovator in the theatre never enjoys success, not, at least, if his innovations are of the kind that matters. The stage is too essentially a democratic institution to tolerate writers who do not adapt themselves to the tastes and understanding of the many; and the gifted German dramatists of the nineteenth century have been in too many cases unfortunate, wrong-headed poets, restless geniuses, who were never content merely to win the popular ear, but who rather courted failure by clinging obstinately to impracticable ideals. Of these unsuccessful dramatic geniuses who have given motor force to the modern drama, one of the least successful in his lifetime, and yet perhaps the most original of modern Europe, is Christian Friedrich Hebbel, whose hundredth birthday has just been celebrated throughout Germany. We do not propose to claim for Hebbel a place in the very front rank of dramatic poets; we would not even place him on the same level with the three or four acknowledged masters of the German drama; and his work has never been really popular on the German stage. But within the past ten years attention has been concentrated on him in Germany to an extraordinary degree. Professor R. M. Werner, the chief authority on Hebbel, has given us an admirable 'historical-critical' edition of his works, diaries and letters, which might well serve as a model of how a nineteenth-century poet should be edited, an edition which is at present being reprinted in a somewhat modified form in honour of the centenary of the poet's birth<sup>1</sup>; and a vast literature, which it is difficult to keep pace with, has grown

<sup>1</sup> *Friedrich Hebbels Sämtliche Werke*. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe besorgt von Richard Maria Werner. 16 vols. Berlin, B. Behr, 1912-13. Professor Werner's biography of Hebbel, which was first published in 1905, has just appeared in a second edition (Berlin, E. Hofmann).

up round Hebbel<sup>1</sup>. There are excellent monographs on him in French<sup>2</sup>, and even in Danish and Italian<sup>3</sup>. To set against this we can point to nothing on Hebbel in English except a few exclusively academic studies<sup>4</sup>. But Hebbel is a power that must be reckoned with. He has, if we are not mistaken, meant more for the higher drama of Europe than any other German dramatist—more than Schiller or Goethe, more than Kleist or Grillparzer; and his plays are fraught with deeper significance for the theatre of the twentieth century than they were for that of his own time. It is from this point of view that we propose to examine his work in the following pages.

In Hebbel's childhood and youth there is something that reminds the English reader of the stubborn determination amidst untoward conditions, which distinguished the lives of so many Scotchmen of the last century who fought their way to the front. He was born in the town—it had then something over twelve hundred inhabitants—of Wesselburen in Holstein on the 18th of March, 1813, about a month later than Otto Ludwig and two months before Richard Wagner. Hebbel's father was a mason, and the family never rose above a hand-to-mouth existence; but schooling the boy had of a kind, and a warm-hearted teacher helped him as best he could. Young Hebbel was not unhappy, but the poverty and cares of the household imprinted themselves deeply on his impressionable mind and gave him that melancholy earnestness which clung to him through all his life. The father, however, threw a shadow over the child's life; every childish pleasure was met with a frown; he did not approve of the boy's modest schooling, opposed his love of books and only desired to see him old enough to place stone on stone like himself. 'My father really hated me,' wrote Hebbel in later years, 'and I could not love him either; at bottom, a well-intentioned, kindly man, poverty had taken the place of his soul.' In 1827 he died, leaving the family in deeper need than before, but the boy was at least free to face the world in his own way.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. H. Wütschke, *Hebbel-Bibliographie. Ein Versuch.* (Veröffentlichungen der deutschen bibliographischen Gesellschaft, Vol. vi.) Berlin, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> The most recent is the exhaustive monograph by André Tibal, *Hebbel, sa vie et ses œuvres de 1813 à 1845.* Paris, Hachette, 1911. Hebbel's *Maria Magdalene* was performed in Paris a few months ago—as far as we are aware, the first of the poet's dramas to be seen on the non-German stage—in the translation of M. Paul Bastier.

<sup>3</sup> C. Behrens, *Friedrich Hebbel, hans Liv og Digtning*, Copenhagen, Salmonsens, 1905; A. Farinelli, *Hebbel e suoi Drammi.* Bari, G. Laterza, 1912.

<sup>4</sup> We think especially of the valuable study by Miss Annina Periam of *Hebbel's Nibelungen* in the *Columbia University Germanic Studies*, New York, 1906. To Professor A. Gubelmann's recent *Studies in the Lyric Poems of Friedrich Hebbel*, New Haven, Conn. 1912, we hope to return.

His teacher obtained for him a modest post with the parish clerk of Wesslburen, and here Hebbel remained for the next eight years of his life. In these years he read much—as much, at least, as the resources of Wesslburen could afford him—and since his fourteenth year he had written verses which found acceptance in a local newspaper. By the time, however, that he had reached the age of eighteen or nineteen, he began to chafe against the bars of his cage; he looked anxiously for some means of escape from the narrow world in which he was imprisoned. Meanwhile the acquaintance with Uhland's poetry brought him another step forward; he even wrote to Uhland, without, however, getting any real help or encouragement. At last, the editress of a Hamburg newspaper, to which Hebbel had, for some years, sent contributions in prose and verse, interested herself in him, with the result that on March 1, 1835, the young poet was at last able to turn his back on his birthplace, which he did not see again except for a brief visit in 1836.

The year Hebbel spent in Hamburg was one of varied experiences and not much happiness; he took lessons in Latin, with a view to equipping himself for a university career, but his studies did not make progress. More important was a friendship, which soon ripened into a closer intimacy, with Elise Lensing, a woman three years his senior, who, in the ensuing period of poverty and despair, proved to Hebbel a veritable guardian angel. Notwithstanding the extremely precarious state of his means and the insufficiency of his preparation, he set out at Easter, 1836, for Heidelberg, where, although not permitted to matriculate, he bravely began the study of law. The subject had not much attraction for him, and he found the pinch of poverty harder to bear among his student friends than it had been in Hamburg; he managed, however, to get through the term on 120 marks. It gradually became clear to him that he must give up the study of law; he resolved, consequently, to throw all his energy into finding a means of subsistence with his pen, and in September—the faithful Elise having succeeded in getting together a hundred talers for him—he started out for Munich, which, he believed, would afford him a better footing for a literary career. After a visit to Strassburg, he crossed the Black Forest to Stuttgart where he duly presented himself to influential literary men such as Gustav Schwab and Hermann Hauff, the editor of Cotta's *Morgenblatt*. The latter accepted Hebbel's offer to contribute to the journal periodical letters from Munich. With Uhland, whom he also visited, in Tübingen, he was disappointed, but, on the whole, this journey was

the happiest experience of his student-days, and he arrived in Munich on September 30, in the best of spirits.

And now began two and a half years of what might be called his real apprenticeship to literature. He made up for the lack of a proper education by wide reading and concentrated study—and that amidst almost incredible privations. A fellow-student, Emil Rousseau, whose early death in these years was a severe blow to him, and Josepha Schwarz, the daughter of a joiner in whose house he lodged, were the only real friends he possessed in Munich. For the rest, he lived in books and laid great plans for a literary career. He was too busily engaged absorbing to have much time for work of his own—a few stories written at the time show the influence of Jean Paul and Hoffmann—but before he left Munich it had become clear to him that his true calling was the drama. In March 1839, before the winter was over, Hebbel set out on foot for Hamburg; he made the journey through snow and storm, clad so miserably that it was hardly possible for him to command civil attention at the inns by the way; his sole companion was a little dog which, when its feet had become sore, he carried, sheltering it under his coat from the inclemency of the weather. There are no more profoundly touching pages in Hebbel's Diary than the record of this journey. On March 30, he met Elise, the only human being who stood in any way near to him, at Harburg, and the following day he reached Hamburg, which Elise was to make a home for him during the next four years. It was a period of restless fermentation that lay before him, of alternating hopes and disappointments, of new friendships, and wearing frictions with the literary and journalistic world; and in these years Hebbel laid the foundation of his reputation with two dramas, *Judith* and *Genoveva*.

Hebbel's *Judith*, like Schiller's *Räuber* in its day, was one of those incisive works that mark an epoch in literature. The future historian of the European drama might do worse than open the second great section of the nineteenth century with this tragedy; for it stands on the boundary line between Romanticism and modern realism. How Hebbel lighted upon the theme is not quite clear; possibly Gutzkow's *König Saul* stimulated his ambition to prove his mettle in a similar field. But it was characteristic of his genius that he should have selected a theme which, although a favourite with painters, had been sedulously avoided by every great dramatist in Europe. Schiller's remark about the story of Mary Stuart, that, as it had never been dramatised by any great poet, it must contain some serious flaw, might

be applied with more justification to *Judith*. For what the *Apocrypha* tells of the heroine of Bethulia is really only an anecdote and not even a tragic one. She goes forth, filled with the spirit of God, from the besieged town to the camp of Holofernes, refuses to touch meat or drink in a mystic belief in God's secret purposes with her, and takes advantage of Holofernes' drunken sleep to strike off his head. Hebbel felt instinctively that he could do nothing with this kind of heroism, and he proceeded to invent a psychological background for the story. Although a widow, Hebbel's Judith is only a widow in name, for a mysterious vision had interposed between her and her husband Manasse, and she had never really been his wife. This ambiguous state of his heroine was precisely what Hebbel, by a process of reasoning not easy to follow, needed to give the story a satisfactory dramatic conflict. Like Schiller's Maid of Orleans, whose success against the English depended on her ability to resist the lure of earthly love, Judith goes forth to free her people from the enemy's yoke. Decked out as a bride, she enters the camp of Holofernes; he is at once captivated by her, and she is also not insensible to the fascination of this overbearing type of manhood. The barbarian, rejoicing in the plenitude of his brutal strength, treats his prey with a superior, contemptuous condescension, even laughs in her face when she tells him she has come to slay him. He drags her into his tent and treats her as if she were no better than a bartered slave. Judith's outraged personality is aroused: the wrong that has been committed against her womanhood must be avenged. Not as the God-inspired patriot, but as the woman whose dignity and individuality have been shamefully trampled upon, she slays Holofernes. She returns to Bethulia, unable to share in her people's rejoicing; and the only reward she asks from her priests is that they will promise to kill her if she so desires it; for she will not be the mother of a son of Holofernes.

With its juvenile excesses and exaggerations, its stormy, unmeasured language and superhuman characters, *Judith* lies outside the sympathies of the modern reader, but it possesses merits which are not to be overlooked. The scenes, for instance, in which the people of Bethulia appear on the stage are among the most masterly presentations of the 'crowd' in modern literature; and not since the 'Storm and Stress' of the eighteenth century had such an incisive, nervous prose—a prose of brutal, outspoken force, as well as significant meaning—been heard in German theatres. It is to Judith herself, however, we must look for the peculiarly revolutionary character of Hebbel's first tragedy. The

various types in which womanly heroism had been embodied by dramatic poets in the past were, it might fairly be said, constructed out of universally human qualities; the mainsprings of their tragic guilt or tragic struggle—their passions, their virtues and vices, their baseness or nobility of soul—were common to both sexes. Now Hebbel's *Judith* is a dramatic heroine who is heroic through her womanhood alone, who rises to greatness by virtue of her sex. This is what makes her so significant an innovation in the dramatic literature of the first half of the nineteenth century. The poet has here, in an entirely new way, attempted to tap the headsprings of individuality, to get at the secret of personality. We have only to compare this *Judith* with the heroines of European tragedy in the preceding age and of Hebbel's own time, of Voltaire and Schiller, of Victor Hugo and Grillparzer, of Kleist and Grabbe, to realise the novelty of Hebbel's art; not since the naïver drama of our Elizabethans, had so original an effort been made to lay bare the hidden springs of human motive and action.

Like all innovators, however, Hebbel was only the spokesman of ideas which had been long in silent preparation. The origins of this new type of dramatic heroine may be traced in two literary movements which met together in that 'Young German School' from which Hebbel himself sprang. One of these was indigenous in Germany: the pronounced individualism of the Romanticists; while the other found its way into Germany from France and was a product of rationalism rather than romanticism, namely the emancipatory movement which is reflected in the novels of George Sand<sup>1</sup> and, to a certain extent, in those of Balzac. The Young Germans responded with alacrity to every hint that came from Paris, and they at once proceeded to graft this French conception of the emancipated, individualised woman on to the older German tradition, as it appears, for instance, in Friedrich Schlegel's unsavoury novel, *Lucinde*. Thus arose books like Gutzkow's *Wally die Zweiflerin*, Laube's *Das junge Europa* and Mundt's *Madonna*. But so effectually did Hebbel supersede the theoretic and anaemic creations of these writers that his *Judith* ultimately appeared as a direct challenge to the Young German attitude to women.

Whether it be that the first flush of success engenders foolhardiness, or whether, in the art of the drama, it is the second step and not that first which costs, the fact remains that Hebbel's second tragedy *Genoveva* did not meet with the success of *Judith*. But there is

<sup>1</sup> How deeply George Sand's novels impressed her German contemporaries is to be read out of Theodor Mundt's *Geschichte der Literatur der Gegenwart*, Berlin, 1842.



genuine poetry in this play—it is in verse, not in prose as *Judith* had been—and poetry of the same elemental kind as is to be found in its predecessor. Like *Judith*, it penetrates deep into the heart of things; it ignores the well-worn conventions of good and evil, and attempts to build up the moral world anew. Golo, not Genoveva, is the chief figure of Hebbel's tragedy, and this Golo is Hebbel's self. The dark-dyed evil-doer of the popular story has here become a Hamlet of passion; and the tragedy a study of an upright man of noble instincts, who is ruined by a passion that he is not strong enough to fight against. Thus *Genoveva* is an intimately personal drama, perhaps the most complete 'confession'—to use Goethe's word—that Hebbel has given us outside his diaries.

His next tragedy, *Maria Magdalene*, is connected by many threads both with *Judith* and *Genoveva*; it is a repetition of the sex-tragedy in a modern *milieu*. Here again a woman's fate conditioned by her own personal attitude to life rather than by her surroundings, occupies the centre of the picture. *Maria Magdalene* is a 'tragedy of common life,' and sought to revive a form of drama in which the German poets of the eighteenth century had attained high distinction. It was written for the most part in Paris, whither Hebbel had gone in the autumn of 1843 with the help of a pension granted him for two years by the king of Denmark: as a native of Holstein, he was by birth a Danish subject. It was characteristic of Hebbel that in Paris, a city which was at that time the Mecca of German writers, he should have been insensible to his surroundings, and have turned with preference to reminiscences of his early home life and his student days in Munich. *Maria Magdalene* is Hebbel's most naturalistic drama; the background, the characters, many of the incidents, are reproduced with close faithfulness to real life. Only the inner, spiritual conflict is bound up with, and perhaps one might add distorted by, Hebbel's unrealistic ethics. The first performance of *Maria Magdalene* in Leipzig in 1846 brought him, however, his only emphatic popular success.

It would be unfair to reduce *Maria Magdalene* to a dry synopsis of its plot; for the subjects of all 'tragedies of common life' are of necessity commonplace and melodramatic, and everything depends on the treatment. Hebbel has not succeeded in reconciling us to his melodrama; he has been too unsparing with death, and has not enveloped his heroine sufficiently with the persuasive power of sympathy to help us over the crux of the action—the crux which gives the play its scarcely justifiable title. Klara sacrifices coldly and voluntarily

her good name to a vague ideal of duty; she yields to her suitor Leonhard in order that she may feel better shielded against the temptation to return to an old love; and when Leonhard abandons her, her only way out of the dilemma is suicide. The heroine of the older domestic tragedy had met her fate because she was unable to reconcile passion and filial duty; the tragedy of Klara's life is a purely inward conflict between herself and a self-imposed ideal of morality. *Maria Magdalene* is thus, no less than the tragedy of *Judith*, the tragedy of the woman's individuality, the revolt of the individual against a tyrannical convention that would ignore or destroy it.

From Paris, Hebbel turned his steps to Rome and Naples, where he spent more than a year, which, as far as productive work was concerned, was unfruitful. His pension was not large enough, considering his obligations to Elise in Hamburg, to raise him very far above material want, and his belief that it might be renewed at the end of the second year was not fulfilled. In December 1845, once more broken in hopes, bankrupt in pocket and soul, Hebbel turned his steps to Vienna. Here he had the good fortune to meet with admiring friends and patrons; more than this, he found in Christine Enghaus, a prominent actress of the Hofburgtheater, a companion for the rest of his life, who brought peace to his tortured soul. To the objective onlooker this marriage—it took place on May 26, 1846—may have been, as poor Elise said, a 'deadly sin'; Elise, who had given him her last penny, had borne him children, had toiled for him, while he was drinking in new experiences and impressions in France and Italy, had every reason to curse Hebbel for his cruel abandonment of her. That he had never really loved her, as he insisted, was but a poor exoneration. And yet his marriage is one of those steps upon which the ordinary mortal may not sit in judgment in cold blood. Hebbel had been treated harshly by life; it had placed every possible obstacle in his way, and in its terrible school, he had learned to press ruthlessly forward. They are cruel words we find in Hebbel's Diary under the date of February 21, 1845: 'Shake everything off that hems you in your development, even if it be a human being who loves you; for what destroys you, can help no one else,' but for one whose conscience has imposed upon him a mission and a task in the world, they contain a deep truth. It is enough for us that this step, after years of struggle and privation, at last brought tranquillity into Hebbel's life, and gave us masterpieces like *Herodes und Mariamne*, *Agnes Bernauer*, *Gyges und sein Ring* and *Die Nibelungen*. Even on the purely human side, the fact that

Elise Lensing subsequently spent months under the Hebbels' roof in Vienna as a guest shows that the tragedy in her life was not wholly untempered.

Of all the subjects that Hebbel touched, none was so much the common property of the dramatists of Europe as the story of Herod and Mariamne; from Ludovico Dolce in the sixteenth century onwards, poets have returned again and again to the fascinating story which Josephus relates in the fifteenth book of his *Jewish Antiquities*. It was a theme peculiarly congenial to Hebbel's problem-loving genius. According to his wont, he aimed at making out of it a purely personal tragedy; he subordinated the political and historical elements of the story to the psychological. Hebbel's Herod is less the scheming despot, than the incarnation of a superhuman passion, which stretches out its greedy arms even beyond the grave. The ruthless tyrant has found in his love for Mariamne the one bright point in a life of turbulent unrest, and he guards that love with a jealousy that is stronger than life itself. Hebbel's play is, in fact, a tragedy of posthumous jealousy; Mariamne must die because Herod cannot brook the thought that she might become the wife of another. No less exceptional is Mariamne herself; the last of a great race, proud beyond all measure, she too loves with a passion that sees in death no barrier; for this great love is the only tie that binds her to life.

The first note of the tragedy is struck with Mariamne's cold distrust on learning that her brother had been drowned by her husband's orders. Herod is embittered and demands from her an oath that she will voluntarily follow him in death. This oath Mariamne refuses to take, not because she desires to outlive the man she loves, but because her pride is wounded that he should think a binding promise necessary. Herod fails to understand her refusal; a blinding jealousy takes possession of him—he pictures the Roman Emperor himself as his successor in his wife's affection—this is the motive for the order he leaves that, in the event of his not returning, Mariamne is to be put to death. When she learns of this injunction, she is stung to the quick, but she reflects that the order may have been given in a moment of passion. Herod returns after the appointed time and, finding Mariamne still alive, has his brother-in-law Joseph, who is responsible for the order not being carried out, executed. A second time Herod is obliged to leave Judaea, and his wife welcomes the journey, for now she confidently believes, her husband will trust her

to die of her own accord, should he not return. When she learns that the order has been repeated, that she has again been placed 'under the sword,' the last hope is crushed out of her; the veil falls from her eyes and she sees herself the wife of a heartless egoist; she is alone in the world, she has no further claim on life. Her first thought is to kill herself, but then a plan of more exquisite revenge flashes upon her. She orders for the very day on which the definite news of Herod is expected, a festival to be arranged. If he does return, he shall at least find her bedecked with jewels, dancing and rejoicing in his death. And the great moment of her triumph does come. Amidst all the gaiety, the sinister figure of Herod suddenly appears in the ball room. 'Der Tod!' she cries—words that have an unforgettable ring—

Der Tod! Der Tod! Der Tod ist unter uns!  
Unangemeldet, wie er immer kommt!

Mariamne is thrown into prison and subsequently executed. Only when it is too late, does Herod learn of her innocence; his despair knows no bounds, and just at this moment comes the news of the Wise Men of the East who seek the new-born King of the Jews. His love, his wife, is gone—only his throne remains. That must be defended at all costs, and, as the drama closes, he issues orders for the Slaughter of the Innocents.

Regarded as a contribution to the literature of the theatre this subtlest and most enigmatic of all the dramatisations of the Jewish story labours under serious disadvantages. German critics have attempted to explain its want of stage-effectiveness by the incompatibility between historical fact and the psychological interpretation of it, by the want of harmony between the story and its grandiose spiritual background, that is to say, the passing of the old heathen world and the coming of Christianity. With more justice we might object that for a tragedy of superhuman love, there is so strangely little love in the play. Love is described, reflected upon, analysed; but it never rises up before us, real and plastic, as in *Romeo and Juliet*, in Grillparzer's *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* or Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*; we are obliged to take the poet's word for it that Herod and Mariamne love each other with a love that passes ordinary comprehension. It is only the metaphysics of passion which Hebbel gives us, the philosophical essence of love.

If, however, we once succeed in penetrating the somewhat forbidding shell, we find in *Herodes und Mariamne* a dramatic poem which embodies, as no other work of its kind, the intimate relationship

of two people bound to each other by the closest ties; *Herodes und Mariamne* is a tragedy of marriage, the tragedy of the frictions and misunderstandings, the distrusts and jealousies, the defiant pride and humiliating debasement, which can arise in every union between two sensitive souls. The unpardonable crime which Herod has committed against Mariamne is that he has degraded her, as she says, to a mere thing, to a possession; he has refused to acknowledge her rights as a human being. 'Du hast in mir,' she says,

Du hast in mir die Menschheit  
Geschändet, meinen Schmerz muss jeder teilen,  
Der Mensch ist, wie ich selbst, er braucht mir nicht  
Verwandt, er braucht nicht Weib zu sein, wie ich....  
Doch ein Leben  
Hat jedermann und keiner will das Leben  
Sich nehmen lassen, als von Gott allein,  
Der es gegeben hat! Solch einen Frevel  
Verdammt das ganze menschliche Geschlecht,  
Verdammt das Schicksal, das ihn zwar beginnen,  
Doch nicht gelingen liess, verdammt du selbst!  
Und wenn der Mensch, in mir so tief durch dich  
Gekränkt ist, sprich, was soll das Weib empfinden,  
Wie steh' ich jetzt zu dir und du zu mir!

The drama thus resolves itself, like *Judith*, but in a subtler, more modern form, into a tragedy of individualism. But is it, modern, one is tempted to ask, to involve historical characters in such unrealistic, artificial relations to each other? Is it modern to ask an audience to interest itself in men and women who always act as exceptions, who never feel or think what ordinary mortals would feel or think in the given circumstances? In these matters Hebbel reminds us of the power which Spinoza exerts as a thinker. Just as Spinoza's metaphysics is irrefutable, is a system of indisputable logical reasoning, as soon as one has admitted its first axioms, so there is no escape from Hebbel's psychological reasoning. We may rub our eyes, insist that we are only dreaming, we may appeal to common sense and smile at Hebbel's ingenious perversions of the most obvious experiences of life; but the fact remains that even a drama like *Herodes und Mariamne* is, as Hebbel himself said, 'a drama of the strictest necessity.' Only when our memory for details slackens, when the fine touches and the psychological premises are forgotten, does our common sense break rudely in, and the old conventional types of a Judith, a Genoveva, a Mariamne, assert themselves and blot out the delicate, iridescent creations of Hebbel's imagination.

It is impossible here to do more than hint at the range of Hebbel's

work in his ripest years. We have selected *Herodes und Mariamne* for more detailed notice, not because it is the best specimen of his workmanship, but because it illustrates that aspect of Hebbel's poetic creed which proved of greatest moment for the subsequent history of the drama, his plea for the rights of personality. But in every field he entered, he left the drama in a different condition from that in which he found it. His historical tragedy, *Agnes Bernauer* (1852), for instance, is in its way no less original than *Herodes und Mariamne*. The faithful dramatisation of history as such had little charm for Hebbel; he cared nothing for the humdrum sequence of causes and effects which the poet is only called upon to interpret. What interested him was the strange and unexpected; the themes he chose were those in which man attempted, by force or violence, to hold back the wheel of time, endeavoured to upset the order of the world, or to shake society out of its sleep of tradition. Tragedy meant in his eyes the consequence of some superhuman attempt to bring the established order of things out of its course. It is not the fate of Agnes Bernauer, as history relates it, that attracted Hebbel, but rather the opportunity, afforded by that fate, of illustrating an idea which he had long ruminated on, the tragic fate of beauty that is doomed to destruction merely because it is beautiful. That and the no less fascinating problem of the relation of the individual to the state, are the ruling ideas of the play. From the theoretical and aesthetic point of view, however, its most striking feature is Hebbel's wilful repudiation of the factor of sympathy, a repudiation which, no doubt, has militated against the success of the tragedy on the stage. *Agnes Bernauer* is in this respect a protest against a convention which has been responsible for quite as much spurious historical drama as that other convention, the love-interest, against which Voltaire protested in the eighteenth century.

*Gyges und sein Ring*, which appeared in 1856, is, to our thinking, Hebbel's masterpiece; it is, at least, his nearest approach to the suave, mellow classicism of which Grillparzer was then the first living master. The old anecdote of Herodotus, according to which King Candaules of Lydia insists on showing his lance-bearer Gyges Rhodope, his queen, in her naked beauty, in order to convince him that she is the fairest of women, was a subject exactly made for Hebbel's hand. In its original form the story was, of course, unpalatable to modern tastes; and Hebbel was not the man to introduce that touch of French piquancy with which Gautier, and Lafontaine before him, had

modernised it. Hebbel at once grasped the possibility of serious poetic symbolism in the theme; of employing it to illustrate his favourite thesis of the rights of personality. His Rhodope is a dreamy oriental, who has hitherto been shielded from all touch of the outside world, and is suddenly awakened by an unjustifiable intrusion on her privacy. She is another Judith or Genoveva, another Klara or Mariamne, but more finely delineated and with something of that facile grace of the women of the Spanish drama, at that time so popular on the Viennese stage. At bottom, all these heroines of Hebbel's are involved in a life and death struggle—spiritual rather than material—for their rights as individual members of the human race; and, one and all, they assert themselves by virtue of a common humanity, but a humanity that takes account of sex and personality. Well might one of Hebbel's critics say to him after this tragedy: 'Women should crown you as a modern "Frauenlob."'

And yet it must be confessed, there still clings to *Gyges* a distracting unnaturalness, an overwrought ingenuity; we are still pulled up unpleasantly by the absence of the common-sense outlook on life. Nowhere in his work has Hebbel shown himself such a master of dramatic construction as in this play, nowhere has he woven the armour of his logic more closely, nor revealed such insight into the ideal aspects of his problem. But the quality of felicitous poetic expression is strangely deficient. Hardly a line of Hebbel's verse—and we are thinking of his poetry as a whole—lingers in the memory, not one cadence haunts us: we miss in him the power of converting the common thoughts of common life into unforgettable music. There is, paradoxical as it may seem in so subtle a writer, a want of ideas in Hebbel's verse; he shows extraordinary ingenuity; he thinks strange, unusual thoughts, and he clothes them in striking metaphors and similes; but these remain the laborious work of the intellect, they are not the spontaneous intuition of the inspired poet. Hebbel has little sense for the lyric beauty of words, and he was equally deficient in what in Schiller often proved so admirable a surrogate, a grandiose theatrical rhetoric.

We believe the view is generally shared by Hebbel's countrymen that his last completed work, the trilogy of *Die Nibelungen*, is his masterpiece. But we doubt if this opinion can be maintained. Not but that he has shown remarkable skill in throwing the national epic of the Germans into dramatic form. There is a necessary drawing-together of events widely separated in time, there is an occasional

tactful alteration in the course of the story to suit dramatic needs or to avoid situations in the epic which might to-day appear merely repulsive; but in no essential has Hebbel departed from the original. He has woven his own modern fabric on to the rugged framework of the mediaeval poem; he has avoided scrupulously any subtle modernisation of its characters; their motives remain as clear and simple as in the epic itself, and rarely are we disturbed by Hebbelian paradoxes even in the dialogue. He has not, in other words, made a 'modern' drama out of the subject, such as Wagner did in his *Ring des Nibelungen*. He has not aimed at producing a drama embodying the thought and feeling of the middle of the nineteenth century; nor has he, like Gerhart Hauptmann in his *Der arme Heinrich*, attempted to bring the mediaeval milieu within the ken of the modern imagination with the aid of poetic mysticism. Thus the trilogy necessarily stands further away from us to-day than do Hebbel's other works. But Hebbel's Kriemhild is, none the less, one of the most majestic heroines of the modern theatre; he has succeeded—and it was no mean achievement—in creating out of the mediaeval barbarian of the later books of the *Nibelungenlied*, a humanly comprehensible, even sympathetic and lovable woman.

Of Hebbel's comedies we have left ourselves no room to speak; but it was a domain in which—in spite of his suggestive theories—he had virtually no success, either on the stage or off it. Hebbel was almost entirely destitute of humour. With less justification, we have said nothing of his lyric poetry, which, as might have been expected from such a writer, possesses an originality all its own. His *Tagebücher*, or Diaries, one of the most candid confessions of the intellectual life in modern literature, might provide material for an essay in themselves. But Hebbel the tragic poet necessarily stands in the foreground; and it is only now, when he has been fifty years dead—he died on December 13, 1863—that we have begun to realise how much he really meant for the drama of Europe in these fifty years. If the German drama has, in recent years, attained a pre-eminence over that of the rest of the continent, this has been in no small measure due to the fact that it has drawn its germinating ideas from Hebbel. Plays, for instance, like Sudermann's *Die Ehre* and *Heimat*, which depict the clashing of irreconcilable convictions vital to the social life of the individuals concerned, clearly point to Hebbel as their predecessor; and that power which the young writers of to-day in Germany possess in so high a degree, of rendering their immediate



and special conflict symbolic of a wider movement in human ideas, has also been learned from the older poet, whose tragedies are all provided with a suggestive spiritual background. The dependence of Sudermann's *Johannes* ('John the Baptist') on Hebbel's *Herodes und Mariamne* is, for instance, too obvious to need remarking. The indebtedness of the modern drama to Hebbel is not restricted to Germany. Ibsen, in the early days of German enthusiasm for his work, once expressed his surprise to a German critic that he should be hailed as an innovator and pioneer in a land that possessed a dramatic poet of the originality of Hebbel. How far Ibsen was himself influenced by his German predecessor we will not here attempt to estimate; but it is clear that his later social dramas belong to the same trend of ideas in dramatic literature as the series of Hebbel's tragedies from *Judith* to *Herodes* and *Gyges*. The central thesis of Ibsen's most characteristic works, the rights of the individual—we think especially of dramas like *A Doll's House*, *The Lady from the Sea*, *John Gabriel Borkman*—are analogous to those of Hebbel's tragedies. Even writers amongst the Latin peoples have succumbed to the influence of this great dialectician of the drama; D'Annunzio in Italy has turned to him as to a congenial spirit; and Maeterlinck—the Maeterlinck of *Pelléas et Mélisande* and *Monna Vanna*—is undoubtedly indebted to him.

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## NOTES ON 'SIR GAWAYNE AND THE GREEN KNIGHT.'

THE following notes are offered upon four passages in *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight*.

(1) l. 681:

Hadet wyth an aluisch mon, for angarde; pryde.

Cf. *Winnere and Wastour*, 267:

In outrage, in vnthrift, in angarte pryde:

and *Destruction of Troy*, 9745:

If vs auntrid, Vlixes, thurgh angard of pride...

*Angarde*; is apparently the genitive singular of a sb. *angard(e)* = 'arrogance.' The etymology is uncertain, and there appears to be confusion with other words in some of the passages where *angard*, or one of its allied forms, occurs: these are especially frequent in the northern half of England, and notably in alliterative verse.

(i) The *N.E.D.* says: 'It looks like a perversion of O.N. *ágjarn*, ambitious, insolent, *ágirnd*, ambition, insolence; cf. also Mod. Icel. *gort*, brag, vainglorious boast, not in O.N. and of unknown origin.'

May we connect *gort* and *-gart* in such forms as *ouergart*, below? Perhaps the M.E. forms with *aug-*, *awg-*, may be more particularly related to *ágjarn*, etc.

(ii) I suggest that the form *angard(e)* came originally from the  
einz-}
O.F. *ang(u)arde* < Late Latin *antegard(i)a*: and *anz-* } *garde* < \**antius-garda*.

Ducange, s.v. *Antegarda*, and *-ia*, says: 'Prima acies': and quotes from *Gesta Ludov. VII. Reg. Franc.* XII: 'Mos erat in exercitu, quod unus de magnis Baronibus faciebat quotidie Antegardam, et alius retrogardam, cum sufficiente numero militum': again, from a c. 1230 document, settling the controversy between the Counts Thibaut de

Champagne and Fernand of Flanders 'de Antegarda and Retrogarda in exercitu domini Regis faciendis' (*Tabularium Campaniae*, in Camera Comput., Paris: f. 279); cf. La Curne de Ste. Palaye, vol. I, s.v. *Angarde*: 'Avant-garde: Éminence, hauteur, donjon, tour, lieu élevé.' (It is used literally in the first sense in the *Chanson de Roland*.) The word was capable of metaphorical use in O.F. and A.F.; cf. *Anc. Poet. fr.* MSS. a. 1300: III, 970 (La C. de Ste. P.):

Cuers de feme peut voler  
Quand il velt: si va et vient;  
Nule clés ne le ditient.  
Cuers est montis ens l'angarde,  
D'illoc porvoit et esgarde  
Par où cors puist eschaper.

There *angarde* = a watch-tower (metaph.): cf. Gower, *Mir. de l'Omme*, 16593 (ed. Macaulay):

De quoy le cuer font enticer  
Au fol penser deinz son *einzgarde*

(explained by the editor as 'inner guard, stronghold').

Godefroy gives, s.v. *Angarde*: 'Hauteur, éminence, lieu d'observation; défense avancée sur une éminence à la différence de la bretèche qui était construite en rase campagne.' His examples also contain metaphorical applications. We have only to consider the modern metaphorical meaning of F. *hauteur*, to see that an extension of the meaning of *angarde* to 'pride' would be possible: other circumstances may have contributed to this meaning.

It seems possible, that, from the importance attached in the days of chivalry to the honour of being in, or leading, the vanguard, and from the pride or exultation of those so chosen, the word might have come to mean 'pride' and the like, either generally, or perhaps at first from a particular passage, in which the word was used in a transferred sense of the pride of the *avant-garde*, and was then slightly misunderstood.

Secondly, the frequent use of *angarde* in the sense of a tower, or eminence of some kind, would contribute to extend the metaphorical meaning from a watch-tower or elevation of the mind, to pride or exultation. It may be fanciful, but the idea recalls 'a falcon towering in her pride of place'.<sup>1</sup>

(iii) In many M.E. passages there is apparently confusion with 'anger,' 'angered' (pp.), and so forth. Cf. *Destr. Troy*, 5113:

And angert vs all angeredly sore.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Godefroy s.v. *angarder* (vb.): 'servir d'avant-garde; guider, conduire': cf. 'L'étoile des mages anvardoit les trois roys ensi que ung chien qui anvarde son maistre.' (xv<sup>e</sup> s. Valence, ap. la Fons. Gloss. MS. Bibl. Amiens.)

The adverb *angerdly* is the most frequent form in the *Destr. Tr.*, there being at least 42 instances of *angerdly*, three of *angarely*, and two of *angurdly*: the other instances are of the verb or substantive.<sup>1</sup>

I imagine that there existed in E.M.E. two totally distinct words, *ouergart* and *angard*; of which the former was a compound of *ouer* and *gart*, perhaps the same as Mod. Icel. *gort* = 'pride'; and the latter derived as above. These were confused through scribal errors and likeness in meaning<sup>2</sup>.

(iv) Cf. Björkman, *Scandinavian Loan- Words*, 34 and n., and 227 s.v. *ange* (*Orrm.* 11904, etc.) = 'trouble, affliction, anguish' (w. O.N. *-art* of neut. adj. or adv.; or O.F. *-ard*)?

(v) Other important forms of *angard*, or of words confused with it, are (cf. *N.E.D.*):

*Metr. Hom.*, l. 49: '*Ongart* and rosing to forsake.'

*Cursor M.*, l. 478: Cott. MS. *ouengart*, F. *awgart*, G. and Tr. *pride*; l. 7318: Cott. *ougard*, F. *awgarde*, G. and Tr. *enuy*. The *aw*-forms of F. may be compared to the O.F. *augarde* recorded by Ste. Palaye from *Lanc. du Lac*, II, 23<sup>vo</sup>; they may all have arisen from the frequent scribal confusion between *u* and *n*. The *ougard* of Cott. 7318 may easily be a contamination of <sup>-u-</sup>*awgard* and <sup>-en-</sup>*ou(er)gart*, *o'ergart*, as also may *ongart* be of the latter and *angard*.

(2) ll. 966 f.

Hir body watȝ schort & pik,  
Hir buttokeȝ bay & brode.

The word *bay* here is of doubtful meaning and origin. Professor Napier has observed that it cannot be from O.E. *būgan*, as Morris said: and that in M.E. *bay* usually means 'bay-coloured.' Can there be any connection with

(a) *bay* as in 'bay-window' (a word recorded by the *N.E.D.* as occurring in 1428)? The meaning would then be (1) 'jutting out,' (2) 'rounded.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ll. 5113, 6401—2, 6861, 6874, 6998, 7105—6, 7215, 7314, 7441, 7466, 7476, 7502, 7682, 7742, 7748, 7760—1, 7766, 7774, 7796, 7994, 8198, 8261, 8342, 8472, 8565, 8672, 9745, 10063, 10145, 10201, 10537—8, 10692—5, 10723, 10760, 11046, 11332, 11385, 11471, 11571, 11831, 12003, 12036, 12042, 12171, 12264, 13060, 13066, 13260.

<sup>2</sup> Other references are as follows: *Wars Alex.* (Sk., E.E.T.S.), 717 Ashm. and Dubl. and 772 A., D. (perhaps also \*832 Dubl. and 733 A. and D.); *Orrmulum*, 8163 and 15770 (sb. *ouergart*); *St Marherete*, 1611 (sb. *ouergart*); *Poems Edw. II*, 391, *Pol. Songs* (Camden) 341 (adj. *ouergart*); *Castle of Love*, 993 '*ouergart proud*' (adv.); *Will. of Palerme*, 1069, MS. '*ouer gart gret ost*' (cf. M.'s n.); *Rel. Antig.* ii, 226, '*ouergord agast*'; (as an adv. here, and in *Destruction of Troy*, it seems to mean little more than 'excessively, very'); *Sc. Leg. St.* xxx (Theodora) 215: '*Na ogart na pryd*'; so also xl (Ninian) 1334, and Henry, *Wallace*, x, 155. Cf. EDD. s.vv. *Ogersfull* adj. and *Ugersfow* (exviii).

(b) O.F. *baée*, *baie*, *beée* < Lat. \**badāta* = 'gaping, open': cf. frequent O.F. phrase *gueule baie* (or *beé*) = 'open mouth(-ed).'

(c) F. *baie* < Lat. (Isidore) *baia*; cf. *N.E.D.* s.v. (2), 'rounded projection of the land into the sea.'

(3) ll. 1439 f.

On þe sellokest swyn swenged out pere,  
Long sythen [woned] fro þe sounder þat wiȝt for-olde.

MS. Long sythen for þe sounder, etc. Morris by conjecture read 'woned,' and 'severed' is suggested in the notes of the 1897 edition.

We probably need an *s*-word, for the sake of alliteration. *Severed* makes perfectly good sense; but perhaps it would be better to suppose the loss of a more technical sporting term. I propose *syng[u]ler*, or *sengler*<sup>1</sup>, i.e. 'solitary,' 'separate': cp. O.F. *sengler*, F. *sanglier*: cf. the passage quoted by Morris from the *Boke of St Alban's*:

From the sounder of the swyne thenne departyth he;  
A *synguler* is he soo, for alone he woll go.

See also *N.E.D.* s.vv. *Sanglier* and *Singular*, and *Morte A.* 3124: 'a bare synglere.'

Our author seems always to prefer the technical terms of hunting to less precise words.

(4) ll. 1729—32:

& ȝe he lad hem, bi-lag[gid] mon, þe lorde & his meyny,  
On þis maner bi þe mountes, quyle myd, ouer, vnder,  
Whyle þe hende knyȝt at home holsumly slepeȝ,  
With-inne þe comly cortynes, on þe colde morne...

The punctuation in l. 1730 makes the line almost unintelligible, and any translation forced: as it stands, we must insert 'quyle' with 'ouer' and 'vnder,' and translate: 'now in the midst, now over (= up), now under (= down)': and suppose that 'quyle' was left out *metri gratia* (!) before the second and third terms. ('Quyle' could hardly be correlative with 'Whyle' in 1731, and not to be translated into N.E.)

I propose to read, in 1730:

...quyle myd ouer vnder

i.e. 'till midoverundern,' i.e. about 10.30 a.m., if we suppose 'undern' here to have its usual and earlier meaning of 9 a.m. (or, if 'under(n)' here means noon, 12 m., then about 1.30; but this is improbable in

<sup>1</sup> Or possibly *sengel* (= *single*), meaning 'separate.'

view of Gawayne's being still in bed, and of the early habits of the time).

The *N.E.D.* gives the following relevant passages, s.v. *Midoverundern*:

a. 1300. *E. E. Ps.* xxxvi, 6, He sal lede þi rihtwisnes als liht, And þi dome als midoverunder briht (Vulgate 'tamquam meridiem,' and one text of the above translation reads 'mid ouer-none,' while Wyclif has 'mydday': *Vesp. Ps.* 'on midne deg').

a. 1400—50. *Wars of Alexander* (Sk.), 3853, þus raȝt he fra þis reuir be many ruȝe waies To it was meten to þe merè to myd-ouir-vndorne (Lat. 'circa horam vndecimam,' i.e. about 4.30 p.m.—5 p.m. Skeat takes the M.E. to mean about 10.30 a.m.). See also *Midouernoon* in *N.E.D.*

I think there is no doubt that we should read 'myd ouer vnder' (I have not yet been able to see the MS., but I suppose that the words are written separately, from Morris's punctuation): what precise time is meant is doubtful, since we may suppose that as the time of 'undern' varied, so would that of 'midoverundern.'

For 'quyle' in the sense proposed see l. 936.

CYRIL BRETT.

CARDIFF.

## FIELDING'S 'CHAMPION' AND CAPTAIN HERCULES VINEGAR.

LITTLE attention seems to have been given to Captain Hercules Vinegar of Hockley in the Hole, the pseudo-editor of the *Champion*, to which Henry Fielding is known to have contributed for several years. The following will show that Vinegar was not a fictitious personage created for the occasion, but was an actual man who had received considerable advertisement as a prize-ring 'champion' in and about London.

The first *Champion*<sup>1</sup>, that of November 15, 1739, begins thus: 'It is sufficiently known<sup>2</sup> that some Years since, to the great Terror of the small Vulgar, I entered upon the Title of *Captain*; this I did without the Consent of any one Person living, or without any other Commission or Authority than what I immediately derived from myself. I have now determin'd to lay aside the Sword, which, without Vanity, I may boast to have us'd with some Success, (though few Captains now living, can say the like) and take up the Pen in its Stead, with a Design to do as much Execution with the one, as I have already done with the other; or, in other Words, to tickle now, as I before bruised Men into good Manners.'

<sup>1</sup> It is an odd coincidence that just before (November 15, 1739) the first issue of the *Champion* appeared, all London was wrought up by a contest for the election of a Lord Mayor, in which Sir George Champion was one of the candidates. The matter came to a vote on September 29, 1739, and Champion was defeated. See *Gentleman's Magazine*, September, 1739, pp. 494—5, October, pp. 548—51, November, pp. 594—5; *London Magazine*, September, 1739, p. 465, October, pp. 499—505. Pamphlets in the contest were issued, as is shown by the Register of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, October, 1739, items 4, 6, 7, 8, 9; and the *London Magazine* booklist for October, p. 450, items 24 and 25.

<sup>2</sup> The first issue of the *Champion* was advertised in the *Daily Post* and the *London Daily Post* of November 12 and 13, 1739: 'On Thursday next will be publish'd for the first Time, | (To be continued every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday | Morning) | THE CHAMPION; or, BRITISH MERCURY. | By the celebrated Capt. HERCULES VINEGAR, of | Hockley in the Hole. | Containing Essays on various Subjects, and the | freshest Advices, both Foreign and Domestick. | —Quod optanti Divum promittere nemo | Auderet Volvenda dies en attulit. Virg. | Printed for T. Cooper at the Globe in Pater-noster-Row.' The advertisements in both papers of November 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, put the same stress on the 'celebrated Capt. HERCULES VINEGAR, of Hockley in the Hole.'

In the paper of November 17, 1739, Vinegar declares: 'As for myself, I am so far from desiring to derive any Honour from my Ancestors, that I have retired to so obscure a Place as *Hockley in the Hole*, where my humble Habitation often reminds me, that *Hercules* himself was no more than a Descendant of *Adam*.'

In the paper of December 4, 1739, among other complaints Vinegar's 'Bookseller, *A. Moore*, of — near *St. Paul's*' 'humbly hopes to be pardon'd when he represents to your Mightiness that some dislike the word *Champion*, some *Hercules Vinegar*, and some *Hockley in the Hole*....'

In the paper of December 4, Paul Serious objects: 'But why *Champion* and *Vinegar*, and Stuff? If you will not acquaint us with your own Name, why not subscribe *Alg. Sidney*, or *Osborne*, or *Walsingham*<sup>1</sup>, or some other grave Man's which might avoid the least Appearance of a Jest.' In reply to these letters Vinegar declares on December 4: 'I am a Person of more Consequence than I appear to be, and may have dated these Papers from *Hockley in the Hole*, as a Propitiation to that beautiful Goddess of Envy, whom I have before-mentioned...that the Humbleness of my Situation might lessen the Malevolence which might attend my Abilities; nay, perhaps, I may have deeper Reasons still, which, as I shall not yet discover, it will be in vain for any one, who can't cast a Figure, to trouble his Head about.'

Going farther, Fielding decided to sever connection with Hockley. In the paper of December 11 is a letter from Vinegar which, without any direct statement of the fact that it implies, is headed: '*From my Dining Room in Pall-Mall, Dec. 10th, being the first Night of my Arrival from Hockley in the Hole*.' A letter to the authors of the *Gazetteer* in the issue of December 25 says: 'Since I had left *Hockley in the Hole*, and you in full Possession of the *Bear Garden* there, I did not expect to have heard any more of you.'

The *Index to the Times* of December 13 (the only Index bearing either of Fielding's signatures) opens: 'As the Play-House, since some ingenious, young Gentlemen have turned it into a *Bear Garden*, falls naturally within my Province, I shall think proper to animadvert on such Occurrences there, as occasionally happen....'

On January 10, 1740, in a letter attacking Vinegar but really aimed at Walpole (a fact confirmed by the note at the end signed \*\*, i.e. Ralph) Fielding writes: 'Who are you? that have set yourself up for a Dictator in this Manner? That you come from *Hockley in the Hole* must be

<sup>1</sup> The *noms de guerre* of well-known political writers of the day.



confest, and do you think your creeping nearer the Court will alter the Manners of *Hockley*, into those of St. *James's*; when it is notorious, that none but your old *Hockleyan* Acquaintance resort to you, Fellows who were never seen in a polite Part of the Town 'till your Arrival there?'

In the paper of January 15 on Authority, Fielding remarks that often 'we owe Esteem and Contempt, to accidental, indirect, and sometimes ridiculous Circumstances; of which I shall give this flagrant Instance, that 'till my Removal to a polite Part of the Town, the World paid very little Respect to those excellent Discourses with which I obliged them, possessing themselves with an Opinion, that nothing worth their reading, could possibly come from *Hockley in the Hole*.'

In the paper of January 26 Vinegar is addressed: 'You have lately surpriz'd the World by two very elaborate, (not to say dull) Essays upon Virtue. Who would have expected, or who indeed can bear such pious and moral Declamations from the Mouth of Capt. *Vinegar*?

*Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes.*

It would have been much more consonant with your former Character, to have taken the other Side, and have given a final Kick to this Lady....'

From this date, with exception of passages in the papers of March 25 and April 1 quoted below, nothing more is said of Hockley. With exception of what is in these two passages, Captain Vinegar might be any reformer of contemporary conditions, and might dwell anywhere. Indeed, the fiction of the Vinegar family is not well sustained in the *Champion*; and that of the Captain is practically lost, the papers being written as a rule without regard to his individuality. The papers that I have quoted are all signed C or L (Fielding's signature), except those of November 15 and 17 which I show in an article to appear in *Englische Studien* to be probably by Fielding. It seems that Fielding alone of the writers in the *Champion* from the beginning up to June 19, 1740, made any pretence of keeping up the Vinegar idea beyond so far as to address Hercules Vinegar as editor<sup>1</sup>. That in the papers of March 25 and April 1 Fielding again took up the notion and dealt with it more definitely than at any time before, may be accounted for by the facts that (as he declares on June 12) the *Champion* was now in good standing, and that it need not fear the ill effects that it seems to have suffered through association with Hockley and a former superintendent or champion there.

<sup>1</sup> An odd slip occurs in a note in the paper of January 5 following the essay signed C (Fielding). The note is addressed to 'Mr. Champion' and is signed 'Hercules Vinegar'!

On March 25 a letter protesting against the themes of the *Champion* articles concludes: 'Prithee, don't puzzle us with a Parcel of damned Wit and Morality, but let us now and then hear a Word or two from the Amphitheatres, where I should be very glad to meet you when there is a good Battle; you will, likewise, be welcome at my House any Morning you please, and, if you have not quite forsaken your old Exercises, I will take a Bout or two with you at Broad-sword and Quarter-staff, to convince you how much I am, *Dear HERCULES, Thine Sincerely,* TOM TOWNLY.' Though this paper is not signed, in *Englische Studien* I shall show it to be probably Fielding's.

The paper of April 1, signed C, is a letter from *Vander Bruin*, who is concerned about the amusements of England, and declares that the theatres are not worthy of discussion by persons of worth and that Vinegar has 'for this Reason entirely relinquished the Theatres to the most inimitable *Laureat*.' 'But tho' this should be the Case with the Dramatic World, yet, methinks, those gymnastic Encounters, those ruder Exercises which so particularly distinguish the martial Genius of this Kingdom, the Care of which formerly belonged to you, should still engage your Attention, and come under your Notice; for, tho' you have changed your Lodging [i.e. from Hockley to Pall Mall], I presume you still frequent the Arena at *Tottenham*, and your once celebrated Retirement at *Hockley in the Hole*, where I do not doubt but proper Deference is yet paid to you by the Combatants....' The writer points his appeal by stating that he is 'at length reduced to get [his] Livelihood by a Shew,' and continues: 'In short, Sir, I have at present by me two very fine He-Bears, both *Brothers* of the same Litter, which I shall shortly have baited at your Theatre-Royal, otherwise called His Majesty's Bear-Garden in *Hockley in the Hole*.' He says later: 'Besides the Expectation of an advanced Price, I have another Reason for removing to the Bear-Garden, which your Predecessors and your self have brought under such good Order and Regulation;....' His bears have not been fairly treated by the spectators. 'This is a Behaviour, which I am sure all such true Lovers of Sport and Encouragers of fair Play as yourself must detest,...<sup>1</sup>'

<sup>1</sup> This letter from *Vander Bruin* concerning the *Brother Bears* is really a veiled political attack. The Great Bear is Robert Walpole. See the following passages in the 1741 and 1743 reprinted *Champion* where the idea is continued: II, 87, par. 1; 96, par. 1; 196, par. 4; 204—5.—The opening of the letter refers to the periodicals *Common-Sense* and the *Craftsman*. In *Common-Sense*, Nov. 12, 1737, is a letter from *Van Bruin*, who as a comic dramatist has been ruined by the Licensing Act, protesting against the Act that caused Fielding's retirement from dramatic writing, and commending (with satirical suggestion) his Siberian Bear. This Bear satire occurs again in *Common-Sense*, Sept. 23, 1738, in an attack on

From all this it appears that to Fielding Captain Hercules Vinegar was a well-known retired prize-ring champion who had formerly exhibited at Hockley in the Hole and in the Arena at Tottenham<sup>1</sup>, and had been a sort of director of great efficiency at His Majesty's Bear-Garden<sup>2</sup>. That Captain Vinegar's former association with such a profession was not necessarily so largely detrimental to his high personal excellence and standing in the community as we to-day would suppose, is shown by the esteem in which John Broughton was held from the date of his defeat (1750) until he died in 1789 worth £7000. Further, it should be borne in mind that prize-fighters in the eighteenth century contended with the cudgel, the sword, and the quarter-staff as well as with the fists, one bout often succeeding the other—as witness the exploits of the great Figg<sup>3</sup>. Often the prize-fighter and also the official now styled 'referee,' were in the eighteenth century styled 'Captain' or 'The Captain'.

'Captain Hercules Vinegar' was the pseudonym of a prize-ring 'champion' of considerable notoriety at least in and about the year 1731.

In his *Pugilistica*<sup>5</sup> (i. 10—11) Henry Downes Miles notes: 'Besides this nobly patronised amphitheatre of Fig, there were several booths, and rings strongly supported. That in Smithfield, we have it upon good authority, was presided over by one "Mr. Andrew Johnson," asserted to be an uncle of the great lexicographer. There was also that in Moorfields, called at times "the booth," at others "the ring." The "ring" was kept by an eccentric character known as "Old Vinegar," the "booth" by Rimmington, whose sobriquet was "Long Charles"....' Boulton in his *Amusements of Old London* (ii. 74) remarks: 'Besides Mr. Figg's establishment there were others conducted on quite similar lines, though with less success, at Smithfield, Moorfields and St. George's Fields. A Mr. Andrew Johnson, who was

Walpole under guise of a record of a manuscript in prose and verse that purports to be an ancient assault on Robert Dudley.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Great Booth of George Taylor in Tottenham Court Road, whose great ornament at this time was the incomparable John Broughton.

<sup>2</sup> '...near Clerkenwell Green' in Ray Street, formerly Hockley in the Hole. Pinks, *History of Clerkenwell*, 2nd edit., London, 1881, pp. 157—8.—Hockley was celebrated for its bear-baiting and prize-fights, and had a very unsavoury reputation. Pinks, Index, s.v., Hockley-in-the-Hole; Boulton, *Amusements of Old London*, ii. 79 ff.; Thornbury's *London*, ii. (see Index).

<sup>3</sup> E.g., see Boulton, *op. cit.* ii. 70, where is quoted an advertisement of 'a grand parade by the valiant Figg, who will exhibit his knowledge in various combats with the foil, back-sword, cudgel, and fist.'

<sup>4</sup> Fred Henning, *Fights for the Championship*, London, reprinted from the *Victuallers' Gazette*, i. 46.

<sup>5</sup> *Pugilistica: Being One Hundred and Forty-Four Years of the History of British Boxing*. London, Weldon & Co., 9, Southampton Street, Strand, W.C.

said to be an uncle of the great Doctor, presided at Smithfield; a man nicknamed "Old Vinegar" at Moorfields; and a gentleman named Remington, called Long Charles by his clients, was the patron of another establishment known as the Ring.' Apparently Boulton got this matter from Miles' work. I have not succeeded in tracing Miles' original. The copies of Captain John Godfrey's book<sup>1</sup> in the British Museum I have had carefully searched without eliciting material concerning Vinegar.

The following advertisements (with one exception noted below not yet reprinted, I believe) show something of Vinegar's activity in 1731.

The *Daily Post*, March 16 and 17, 1731, announces for the 17th 'At Mr. Figg's<sup>2</sup> Great-Room At his House the Sign of the City of Oxford, in Oxford Road' a battle between Andrew Mac-Colley and John Wells. The notice concludes 'N.B. The Boxes will be set at Two and the Champions mount at Four precisely. There will also be good Diversion with Capt. Vinegar's Company, by way of Introduction to a good Summer's Proceedings.'

The *Daily Post*, March 27, 29, 30, 31, announces for the 31st at 'Mr. Figg's Great Room' a contest between William 'Sherlock and Edward Sutton. The notice ends: 'Capt. Vinegar will entertain the Company with his usual Diversion of Cudgel-playing.'

The *Daily Journal* of March 30 gives notice of Bear-fighting, etc. 'At Mr. Stokes's Amphitheatre,' that ends: 'N.B. There will also be good Diversion of Cudgel-playing, &c. Captain Vinegar being just crept out of his Bottle, where he has been stopt up all Winter, and looking plagu Sower and Mothery.'

<sup>1</sup> *A Treatise upon the Useful Art of Self Defense*, London, 1740. A later edition appeared 1747.

<sup>2</sup> Figg's School is mentioned with praise in Fielding's signed paper of January 29, 1740, as a place where one 'will meet with the best and properest Company.'—Imitative of the style of the advertisements of sporting events such as Vinegar and Figg were interested in, are the notices in the *Champion's* 'Index to the Times' of April 19, 1740.

In the 'Index to the Times' of the *Champion* of March 4, 1740 (in which, by the way, Jonathan Wyld is by name referred to by Fielding) is an elaborate puff of Captain Miller's 'Book of the Ancient and noble Science of the Sword' just 'on the Point of issuing from the Press.' The puff hits at the war with Spain, and is a letter signed by 'TIM. BUCK, junior.' The Captain Miller here referred to was probably the James Miller whom Steele saw contend at the Bear-Garden in Hockley-in-the-Hole in 1712 (see *Spectator*, No. 436; Pinks, *op. cit.* pp. 160 ff.; Boulton, *op. cit.* i. 19 ff.; Castle, *Schools and Masters of Fence*, pp. 204—5). Miller's opponent and conqueror in that contest was Timothy Buck of Claremarket, apparently the 'senior' of the supposed writer of the puff-letter. Miller's book is listed by Egerton Castle (*Schools and Masters of Fence*, London, 1885, p. xlviii; *Fencing, Boxing, Wrestling*, Badminton Library, London, 1893, Bibliography) as published 1738: 'A Treatise on fencing by Captain J. Miller, in the shape of an album of fifteen copper-plates engraved by Scotin, with one column of text.' If Castle is right, the publication announced in the *Champion* would appear to be a reprint. Miller fought for the Government in 1745 and legitimately obtained the title 'Captain.'

The *Daily Journal* of April 20 announces for the 21st 'At Mr. Figg's Great-Room' a contest between Rowland Bennet and Edward Sutton. This statement is made: 'Note, It will be a general Field-Day, with Capt. Vinegar, and his Forces, who will pass thro [sic] an extraordinary Exercise on this Occasion, and give uncommon Satisfaction.'

The *Daily Journal* for April 27 announces for the 28th at Figg's another contest between Bennet and Sutton. The notice ends: 'Captain Vinegar will attend as usual, and entertain the Company with some new Improvements of the Leather Bottle, having lately discover'd a far more easy and concise Way of breaking Loggerheads than formerly &c.' This same matter (except '&c.') appears in the *Daily Post* of April 28.

The *Daily Journal* of May 4 and the *Daily Post* of May 5 announce for the 5th at Figg's a contest between Michael Buttler and Edward Sutton. The notice ends: 'Note, Attendance will be given at Three, and the Masters mount at Six precisely. And as great Quarrels have arose amongst the Gentlemen of the Sword, concerning Mr. Mac Guire's Nose<sup>1</sup>, as well as Mr. Sutton's, Capt. Vinegar and his Company, are to fight at Blunts for both: So that there will be good Diversion.'

The *Daily Post* of May 10 announces for Wednesday the 12th at Figg's a battle between William Gill and Felix Macguire. The notice ends: 'There will be the usual Diversion before the Masters mount by Captain Vinegar's Company.'

The *Daily Post* of May 17 and 19 announce for the 19th at Figg's a battle between Felix Macguire and Edward Sutton. The notice ends: 'Note, A general Court Martial will be held to divert Company before the Masters mount, by Captain Vinegar and other Field Officers, for the Trial of some new-listed Recruits and old Offenders, on Neglect of Duty, and for disobeying Orders on Wednesday last.'

The *Daily Post* of May 24th announces for that date at 'Mr. Stokes's Amphitheatre in Islington Road' a battle between Thomas Terriwest and Thomas Sibliss. The notice concludes: 'And for the Diversion of the Spectators, before they [the Masters] mount, Capt. Vinegar will present them with a new Tragi-comi-pastoral Farce of one Act, call'd, Flesh no Fence against a Flail; or, The Art of beating Linnen on the Skin: Wherein several Loggerheads will go near to be broken, and the Best come off with dry Blows.' The same matter is in the notice in the *Daily Journal* of the same date. A part of this paragraph about

<sup>1</sup> The *Gentleman's Magazine* 'Monthly Intelligencer' for April, 1731, page 172, reads: 'Wednesday, April 14. Mr Macguire, a Prize-fighter, had his Noise [sic] cut clear from his Face by Mr Sutton, at Mr Figg's Amphitheatre.'

## 172 *Fielding's 'Champion' and Captain Hercules Vinegar*

Vinegar is printed in Pinks, *History of Clerkenwell*, edit. 2, London, 1881, p. 487.

These seem to be all the notices of Vinegar to be obtained from the *Daily Post*, the *Daily Journal*, and the *Daily Courier*, from January 1 to September 1, 1731<sup>1</sup>. I have had the *Daily Post* and *London Daily Post* from January to November 1739<sup>2</sup> inclusive searched in vain for notices of Vinegar<sup>3</sup>.

The use of Vinegar as editor of the *Champion* is of some little importance. Certainly in view of the humorous treatment of Vinegar in the advertisements, Paul Serious, the *Champion's* correspondent of December 4, 1739, had reason to protest ironically (see above): 'If you will not acquaint us with your own Name, why not subscribe *Alg. Sidney*, or *Osborne*, or *Walsingham*, or some other grave Man's which might avoid the least Appearance of a Jest.' In 1737 Fielding gave up the regular composition of farces and satirical plays. Yet in November, 1739, by his<sup>4</sup> very choice of title and editor for the *Champion*, he gave to the periodical at the outset a farcical colour of which he himself a number of times reminded his readers in the passages that I have quoted. The situation is odd in face of the fact that many of Fielding's own papers in the *Champion* were evidently written very seriously and were intended to be taken seriously. As I have said, Fielding's collaborators in November 1730—June 1740 did not deal with the Vinegar fiction.

JOHN EDWIN WELLS.

BELOIT, WISCONSIN, U.S.A.

<sup>1</sup> The following issues seem to be missing in the British Museum: *Daily Post*, Jan. 1; Apr. 30; Aug. 17;—*Daily Courier*, the whole of April.

<sup>2</sup> The following issues seem not to be in the British Museum: *Daily Post*, Jan. 15; Mar. 10, 12; May 1—7; July 30; Aug. 28; Sept. 10; Oct. 1, 3, 16, 17, 24, 27; Nov. 23, 24;—*London Daily Post*, Jan. 15; Mar. 10; May 1—7; July 30; Sept. 10; Oct. 1, 17; Nov. 23, 24.

<sup>3</sup> In *Notes and Queries*, 1883, Sixth Series, Vol. vii. pages 406—7, Mr Austin Dobson inquired concerning a pamphlet ascribed to Vinegar. In the *New York Nation* of January 16, 1913, pp. 53—4, I discuss this pamphlet, which was advertised in the *Grub Street Journal* of July 29, 1731; and which was noticed as follows in the *Daily Post* of July 24, 1731: 'This Day is publish'd, An Answer to one Part of a late infamous LIBEL, reflecting on Captain Vinegar and the late worthy Jonathan Wilde. In a Letter to Mr. James F-gg, the supposed Author thereof. In which Letter the Character and Conduct of the Gentleman, alias Captain Hercules Vinegar, are fully vindicated. By Hercules Vinegar of Hockley in the Hole, Esq.; Sold by A. Dodd at the Peacock without Temple-Bar. Pr. 6d.'

It is of interest to note that in Chapter II of *Jonathan Wild* the 1743 editions state of the hero's father: '*Jonathan married Elizabeth, daughter of Ralph Hollow, esq.*' In the 1754 edition Fielding altered this to read: '*daughter of Scragg Hollow, of Hockley-in-the-Hole, Esq.*'

Well known is the use of Vinegar's name as pseudonym by the authors of the 1742 attacks on Pope, *The Cudgel; or a Crab-tree Lecture*, and *Blast upon Blast, and Lick for Lick*.

<sup>4</sup> In my article on the *Champion*, to appear in *Englische Studien*, I show that Fielding wrote, or had a chief part in writing, the first four papers of the *Champion*, issues not hitherto claimed for him.

## VICTOR HUGO'S USE OF 'LES DÉLICES DE LA GRANDE BRETAGNE' IN 'L'HOMME QUI RIT.'

WITH the *Homme qui rit* Victor Hugo intended to begin a set of social studies. 'Le vrai titre de ce livre serait l'Aristocratie,' he writes in his preface to the book, and in a letter to his publisher Lacroix, dated December, 1868, in which he objects to having his work called a historical novel, he says: 'Par ordre du roi (this was originally to have been the title of the book) sera donc l'Angleterre vraie, peinte par des personnages inventés. L'intérêt ne sera que sur des personnages résultant du milieu historique ou aristocratique d'alors, mais créés par l'auteur.' Victor Hugo deceives himself—or does he merely wish to deceive us?—in thinking that the interest lies in the characters; the characters are not the result of their milieu, aristocratic or otherwise; neither Ursus nor Gwynplaine is representative of the ordinary travelling mountebank; Ursus indulges more in philosophical reflections than in conjuring tricks, and in the Laughing Man, it is hard to trace either the consequences of his aristocratic birth or of his democratic breeding. So shadowy, so undeveloped is his character, that we are quite unprepared for his socialistic outburst in the House of Lords, when for the first time he takes his place among his peers. Yet if Victor Hugo has not succeeded in creating characters essentially typical of social classes in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, if he has not depicted the social England of that day by showing us Lord David Dirry-Moir playing the part of Tom-Jim-Jack, or Gwynplaine the mountebank haranguing the House of Lords, he has found for himself a suitable reason for depicting the social state of England in introducing us to those characters. Surely it is permissible to talk of court-life and club-life when we are in the society of Lord David, and what could be more natural than to find ourselves among the common people watching a boxing match at Lambeth or the performance of the Laughing Man at Tadcaster Inn, when we have as our guide Tom-Jim-Jack? Or

again, there is an opportunity not to be lost of making us acquainted with the old Westminster Hall, with the old House of Commons and House of Lords, with the Chancellor on his woolsack and the sergeant of the Black Rod in his official robes, with the relationship that existed between the Upper and Lower House, and all the barriers that stood between them, when Gwynplaine is invested with his robes as a peer of the realm, and is ceremoniously led to the House where he is to take his place as Lord Fermain Clancharlie.

Thus does Victor Hugo describe, whether accurately or otherwise, English society, the common people and the aristocracy. He trusts largely to those descriptions for gaining the end he has in view; but at the same time he knows what valuable service his characters, even if they are not produced by their milieu, can render him, if he but make of them his *porte-voix*. Hugo can rarely be without someone who soliloquizes. It is the Hugo of the *Misérables* who speaks in Ursus. And yet Ursus cleverly tries to give to his ideas the colour of the seventeenth century rather than that of 1860, by drawing his comparisons from occurrences that might have struck the mind of one of his time. 'La langue de l'ours,' he says, 'est l'ébauchoir de Dieu. Et dire que si je n'avais pas été depuis trente ans grugé par des espèces de cette sorte, je serais riche,...je serais du Collège des Docteurs, et j'aurais le droit d'user de la bibliothèque bâtie en 1652 par le célèbre Harvey, et d'aller travailler dans la lanterne du dôme d'où l'on découvre toute la ville de Londres.' Such comparisons and allusions abound, and might be called 'historical colour.'

But besides the actual descriptions of actual places, the philosophical reflections and reasonings tinged with historical colour, and the introduction of passages which are purely historical, Victor Hugo introduces into his work many names, facts, stories, legends even, in order to create the framework he requires, to enhance the value of his social ideas, and to give to the whole colour, local rather than historical. It is of the local colour which Hugo borrowed from Beeverell that we mean to speak in detail.

Victor Hugo in preparing his 'dossier' for *L'Homme qui rit* had recourse to various books on England, in the latter half of the seventeenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, books which were either written in French, or translated into French. English books were of little use to Hugo, as his knowledge of the English language was in 1864 of the slightest. One of the books which Hugo constantly used, read and reread with a view to getting to know



England was the *Délices de la Grande Bretagne* by James Beeverell, published in Leyden in 1707. The *Délices* is quite a considerable work of eight volumes, which describes Scotland, England and Ireland, county by county, topographically and historically, with remarks on the inhabitants, on their ways and customs, on their religion and on their speech. In this volume Hugo found much useful material.

The society which Hugo portrays and studies is English society; at the same time, he does not leave Scotland and Ireland out of account. From Hugo's point of view, it would be waste of good material to do so, seeing the good material was to be found in Beeverell's *Délices*. Only thirty years ago, too, Hugo had been the young leader of the Romantic school, and had felt the charm of Ossianic poetry, and the mystery that hung over unknown lands, one of which was far away Scotland. No one knew better than Hugo the power of a word, a name, power at once suggestive and creative. The scene of action is England, but by the power of a word, the imagination wanders far back into the misty ages of the past, into lands that are legendary and yet a reality. Thus the book gains in breadth—its bounds, so to speak, are infinitely extended; and all this by the suggestive power of a word.

The hero must not be an ordinary Englishman. All seventeenth century books agree as to the prosaic character of the Englishman. 'He is a lover of meat,' they say, and believe that in saying so, they sum up his character. These same books speak of the 'Écossois sauvages,' by which they mean 'Highlanders.' Something in the fierceness of these 'barbarians' struck Hugo's imagination. So the hero comes to be Lord David Dirry-Moir. But whence the name? Victor Hugo says, 'qu'il obtint la permission de s'appeler lord David Dirry-Moir, d'une seigneurie que sa mère, qui venait de mourir, lui avait léguée dans cette grande forêt d'Écosse où l'on trouve l'oiseau Krag, lequel creuse son nid avec son bec dans le tronc des chênes.' In the seventh volume of the *Délices*, we find the following: 'Le pays est entrecoupé de trois grandes forêts, l'une au Nord-Ouest, nommée Dirry-Moir.' Then follows a description of the birds and beasts to be found in the forest, which ends thus: 'Il s'y trouve entr'autres une espèce d'oiseau, particulière à ce pays-là d'une figure aprochante d'un perroquet. On le nomme Knag, c'est une sorte de pivert, qui se creuse son nid avec le bec dans le tronc des chênes.' On looking at the manuscript of *L'Homme qui rit*, it would be impossible to say whether Hugo actually wrote 'Knag' or 'Krag'; but in either case, there can be no doubt as to the source of his information.

The last chapter in the first book of the second part of *L'Homme qui rit* is entitled 'Écosse, Irlande et Angleterre.' A Scot and an Irishman are set to fight each other, and young England looks on. The Scot is called 'Hemsgail.' On the page of the *Délices* where we find the reference to the Dirry-Moir, we find: 'Les plus remarquables de ces rivières sont le Shin, le Brora et l'Ully qu'on appelle autrement Helmsdail,' which suggested the name of the Scottish boxer all the more probably, because the Irish boxer was 'de Tipperary nommé du nom de sa montagne natale Phelem-ghe-madone.' Beeverell says in the eighth volume of the *Délices*, 'Le comté (Tipperary) se termine par un rang de douze montagnes,...nommées Phelem-ghe-Madone.' Hugo does not hesitate to change the mountain range into the 'montagne natale' of the boxer. Hemsgail, we are told, had done great deeds in boxing with 'Six miles water'; 'Six miles water' is mentioned in the *Délices* as being a little river in Ireland.

In introducing us to the fight, Hugo says, 'Irlande et Écosse allaient se cogner; Érin allait donner des coups de poing à Gajothel.' By Gajothel Hugo evidently means Scotland, and yet when we read the *Délices*, we think he must have made a mistake. In the sixth volume of the *Délices*, Beeverell says, 'Et c'est peut-être à cause de cela que les Ecossois sauvages qui sont la vraie race des Scots anciens, s'apèlent en leur langage Gajothel, et Gaithel, et leur langue Gaithlac.' But this gives us no grounds for supposing that 'Gajothel' means Scotland as well as Scots.

The spectators greet the two combatants, 'Bravo Hemsgail! good! well done, highlander.' From the seventh volume of the *Délices*, we learn that 'les Ecossois civilisés apèlent ces gens là (i.e., les Ecossois barbares) Highlands-men ou "Highlanders."'

There is another instance of Hugo's giving geographical names to his characters. The 'comprachicos' were a band made up of people of all nations. 'Forces basques y dialoguaient avec force irlandais, le basque et l'irlandais se comprennent.' When the 'Matutina' is going down, the comprachicos on board, when all hope is gone, put their signatures to an account of the crime they had committed, believing that in some way their souls may be thus purged of their guilt. The second to sign was a Basque woman, and the third, unable to write, put her cross to it, and against the cross was written, 'Barbara Fermoy, de l'île Tyrryf, dans les Ebudes.' Barbara Fermoy is the Irishwoman on board; Fermoy is the name of a small village, a 'bourg' in Ireland (*Délices*, vol. VIII); but why does Hugo say 'de l'île Tyrryf, dans les

Ebudes'? 'Tyrryf...est la plus fertile de toutes les Ebudes,' says Beeverell, in describing the Scottish Hebrides. It does not seem likely that Hugo would consciously have chosen the Islands of Scotland to be the native place of the Irishwoman Barbara; it seems more probable that Hugo, opening the *Délices* at random, had his attention attracted by the following inscription in very large print, 'Tumulus Regum Hiberniae.' On the opposite page, on the corresponding line, we find the name 'Tyrryf'; Hugo doubtless noted it, as he noted the inscription, and the word 'Hiberniae' in large letters was sufficient to make him associate 'Tyrryf' with Ireland. This curious association of facts, based on insufficient observation, is not uncommon in the works of Hugo.

We have noticed how Hugo in describing the *comprachicos* has linked the Basques and the Irish, and how he thinks of them together in the scene of the shipwreck. He continues to do so till the end of the scene. The doctor, who is carrying out the confession, begins to repeat the Lord's Prayer in Latin. Hugo continues, 'L'Irlandaise reprit en langue galloise, comprise de la femme basque, "Ar nathair ata ar neamh."' And so the prayer continues in Latin, French and Irish till the ship goes under. In the eighth volume of the *Délices*, we have the following note on the Irish tongue: 'Une langue...qui a quelque rapport avec le Gallois, et une très grande affinité avec la langue des Ecossois Sauvages.' Then comes the Lord's Prayer in Irish, exactly as Victor Hugo quotes it, followed by the remark that the prayer was taken from an Irish Bible of the year 1690. What a power Hugo has of making use of material of all kind! With what effect does he use this Lord's Prayer! What colour it gives to his idea of the *comprachicos*!

In another place, Victor Hugo compares England and Ireland, for the sake of the atmosphere which for him surrounded things Irish. 'En cela,' he says, 'l'anglais diffère de l'irlandais qui prie les saints pour la santé du loup et l'appelle "mon parrain."' It is interesting to note that this remark is added to the original manuscript, and that in the manuscript *brouillon*, there is a note which leads us to think that Hugo changed his idea as to the wolf. 'Le loup est un protestant,' he writes in the *brouillon*. This, we presume, was written before he read the passage in the *Délices*, vol. VIII, which says: 'Ils (les Irlandais) ont une espèce de vénération pour les loups, ils les apellent leurs parrains, prient Dieu pour leur santé, et s'imaginent par là qu'ils n'en recevront aucun mal.'

We can thus trace Victor Hugo's knowledge of Ireland, and

practically all his knowledge of Scotland, to the *Délices*. One Scottish allusion we have not been able to trace to the *Délices*—the allusion to the cry of the Counts of Buchan. We realise that, however much he may use unknown Ireland and barbarous Scotland to stir up the imagination, he himself in speaking did not draw on his imagination, but on what a seventeenth century writer considers to be fact, and relates as such with much *naïveté* and in all good faith.

In the case of England, it is more difficult to decide what is local colour and what is simply descriptive. Scotland and Ireland are clearly used only for the sake of atmosphere and colour; they have no real connection with the book—neither with the plot, nor with the social study. The description of England, on the contrary, is essential to the existence of the book. But in this description, there are parts which are not necessary in themselves, but which have appealed to Hugo as giving an added interest—often one which borders on the legendary—to what he describes, or as being typically representative of a bygone age. After the semi-failure of the *Homme qui rit*, Hugo partly blamed his publisher, but in part he blamed himself. 'Moi—j'ai voulu abuser du roman, j'ai voulu en faire une épopée,' he writes. And, indeed, in describing England of the early eighteenth century, he dwells with pleasure on details that speak of a more epic age; these details do not describe in themselves, but give colour to Hugo's description of places and events.

Thus, for instance, he uses Cornish tales of prowess in describing the boxing match. He must have men of strength to judge of strength and skill; better still, men who were famous in their day for deeds of strength. 'Dans le groupe pour Helmsgail on remarquait John Gromane, fameux pour porter un bœuf sur son dos, et un nommé John Bray qui un jour avait pris sur ses épaules dix boisseaux de farine à quinze gallons par boisseau, plus le meunier, et avait marché avec cette charge plus de cents pas loin. Du côté de Phelem-ghe-madone, lord Hyde avait amené de Launceston un certain Kilter, lequel demeurait au Château-Vert, et lançait par dessus son épaule une pierre de vingt livres, plus haut que la plus haute tour du château. Ces trois hommes, Kilter, Bray et Gromane étaient de Cornouailles, ce qui honore le comté.' This whole passage we find almost literally transcribed from the third volume of the *Délices*. 'Un nommé Jean Romane portait le corps tout entier d'un bœuf éventré; un certain Kilter, qui demeurait au Château verd de Launceston, jetoit par dessus l'épaule une pierre de plusieurs livres, au delà de la plus haute

Tour du Château. Un nommé Jean Bray portoit sur ses épaules, plus de deux cens pas loins, six boisseaux de farine de froment, à quinze gallons pour boisseau (ce qui faisoit le poids de cinq cens quarante livres) et par dessus tout cela, le meunier agé d'environ vint-quatre ans.' The only detail Hugo thinks unworthy of mention is the age of the miller; and it in no wise troubles him that we have no means of knowing when those local Cornish heroes lived. Others whom Beeverell mentions in the same place lived in the reign of Elizabeth, but of these he tells us nothing further. We cannot say that these men, thus introduced into the account of the boxing match, give to it an air of greater historical verity, but they do their share in lending to the narrative additional colour.

This desire for colour explains the existence of certain chapters in *L'Homme qui rit*. The long descriptions of Chess Hill and Portland are for the greater part unnecessary either for the development of the characters, or for the carrying on of the intrigue. Nor do they help us in forming our idea of England or of the aristocracy. Hugo was tempted to write them partly by his love of description, wherever he can get strong effects, partly too by the material he had at his disposal. The *Délices* in talking of the Mont St Michel and of Cornwall dwells on the past, on animals and vegetation that have been and are no more. The wonder of the past cast its spell on Hugo, and defying every principle of the Realistic school as regards exactitude and truth in description, and shocking perhaps in us a certain feeling of literary honesty, he takes certain picturesque details, facts or otherwise, which Beeverell uses in his description of the Mont St Michel and Cornwall, and makes use of them to describe the isthmus of Portland. 'On cueille encore, l'été, dans ces terrains forés et troués comme l'éponge, du romarin, du pouliot, de l'hysope sauvage, du fenouil de mer, qui infusé, donne un bon cordial, et cette herbe, pleine de nœuds, qui sort du sable et dont on fait de la natte, mais on n'y ramasse plus ni ambre gris, ni étain noir, ni cette triple espèce d'ardoise, l'une verte, l'autre bleue, l'autre couleur de feuilles de sauge.' But it is perhaps unnecessary to quote more of *L'Homme qui rit*, and sufficient to quote the corresponding passages from the *Délices*. 'Entre diverses pierres qui se tirent des carrières,' says Beeverell (vol. III), 'on y trouve de trois sortes d'ardoise, dont l'une est bleuâtre, l'autre couleur de feuilles de sauge, et la troisième verte....Il croit dans les campagnes sablonneuses une herbe pleine de nœuds, dont ils font de la natte. On y trouve aussi quantité de fenouil marin, dont la racine conservée en

syrop, est un cordial excellent. Les rochers qui sont sur le rivage de la mer, produisent de l'hysope sauvage, du pouliot, du romarin, et d'autres herbes odiferantes.' 'On rencontre quelquefois de l'ambre gris sur le rivage.' The changes made by Hugo are very slight; he says arbitrarily that the three coloured slate is a thing of the past; but this proceeding is probably suggested by comparisons between the past and the present which Beeverell goes on to make. We continue to quote the parts of the *Délices* which Hugo has adopted in his description of Portland. 'Les rochers fourmillent de marbres, de blereaux et de loutres; il s'y trouve aussi des renards, des chevreuils, et des chamois.' ('Il n'y en a plus,' says Hugo of the chamois.) 'On y a diverses espèces de poissons, comme des truites, des anguilles, des saumons, des plies, des pilchards et d'autres, peu connus ailleurs. Les saumons montent dans les rivières entre la S. Michel et la Noël pour y pondre leurs œufs.' (Again Hugo makes use of this as belonging to the past: 'Les saumons effarouchés ne remontent plus.') 'Sous le règne de la Reine Elizabeth, on vit venir en Cornouaille vers le temps de la moisson, de grandes volées d'oiseaux inconnus, plus gros que des éperviers. Ils avaient le bec si pointu qu'ils coupoient une pomme en deux, dont ils ne mangeoient que le pepin.' Here Hugo has no change to make. Those strange birds exist no more, but the Cornish Chough does (according to Beeverell) which Hugo relegates to the past. 'Ce rocher et toute la côte voisine est remplie d'une espèce de corbeaux à bec jaune, qu'on apèle en Anglois, Cornish Chough, en Latin Pyrrocorax, ils sont fort larrons, et fort dangereux, parce qu'ils prennent quelquefois des buchettes allumées, qu'ils jettent dans les maisons.' Beeverell makes no mention of the legendary bird-wizard—which Hugo added to his original manuscript—but the legendary animal 'aux pieds de porc et au cri de veau' which Hugo describes seems to be closely related to Beeverell's 'veaux marins qui ressemblent à des cochons, excepté qu'ils ont les pieds comme une taupe.' We find another detail evidently suggested by the *Délices* and reproduced in slightly altered form. 'Il s'y trouve des faucons et des bécasses,' says Beeverell, 'mais on n'y voit aucun rossignol. La raison de cela est, parcequ'il n'y a que très peu de bois.' Hugo contrasts the lack of nightingales with the presence of the other birds, but in the past only. Then we have a curious sentence, made up of details chosen from separate parts of the chapter. Hugo tells us of small hardy sheep with coarse wool, such as one would expect to find in a rather barren part of the country, the kind too one would

expect to find guarded by centenarians, shepherds whose chief food was garlic. In three different parts of the *Délices* do we find first: 'Leurs brebis avoient ci-devant le corps petit et la laine rude, parceque la terre étoit en friche'; then in speaking of the inhabitants of Cornwall: 'on attribue en partie la cause de la vigueur et de la santé qu'on leur voit, au grand usage qu'ils font de l'ail,' and where Beeverell speaks of Kilter, Romane and Bray, he says: 'une seule Paroisse vit mourir dans l'espace de quatorze semaines, quatre personnes, dont les années faisoient ensemble le nombre de trois cens quarante.' In the article on Meneg, mention is made of 'Godolphin, nom qui en la langue du pays signifie une aigle blanche.'

When Hugo first speaks of Portland, in the chapter called 'La Pointe nord de Portland,' he borrows local colour twice from Beeverell's chapter on Portland, in describing the inhabitants and their means of livelihood. Beeverell says (vol. III): 'Il n'y a point de bois, et les habitants y font leur feu avec de la fiente de bœuf séchée au Soleil. Ils ont été autrefois les plus habiles de tous les Anglois au maniement de la Fronde...on pêche le long des côtes, aux environs de la Presqu'Île de Portland, une espèce d'arbrisseau sans feuille, qui ressemble au corail, nommé Plin en Anglois et Isidis plocamos en Grec et en Latin.' But what is curious to notice is that Hugo speaks of the religion of those inhabitants, of which there is no word in Beeverell's chapter on Portland; but on turning back three or four pages, our attention is attracted by the following in the article on Dorchester: à quelques milles au Nord de cette ville est le bourg de Cerne, où les anciens Saxons Payens adoroient une Idole nommée Heil. Le moine Augustin, qui les convertit, brisa cette Idole.' And so we understand the religion ascribed to the ancient inhabitants of Portland by Hugo; what is more difficult to fathom, is the psychological phenomenon by which Hugo takes a sentence descriptive of people in the seventeenth century, puts it alongside of another referring to centuries long gone by, and uses these to characterise the people at one given moment.

But it is not only of those odd little scraps of information that Hugo makes use; we have yet to see what use he made of pictures; how they appealed to him, how he studied them, and made them serve his purpose. The lighthouse, for instance, in the chapter entitled 'Les Casquets,' plays no real part in the wreck of the 'Matutina,' but Victor Hugo wanted to describe a lighthouse of the seventeenth century, because he had come upon a picture of the 'Lighthouse from Plymouth' in Beeverell's *Délices*; it appealed to him as being essentially unlike

the lighthouses of the nineteenth century, so he made a pen and ink sketch of the lighthouse (which is still to be seen among other Hugo treasures), and a word sketch of it in *L'Homme qui rit*. In the picture in the *Délices*, we are struck by the magnificence, the balconies, all the work of extravagant fancy which Hugo describes so eloquently, and we can read in plain letters, the inscription quoted by Hugo, 'Pax in Bello.' The description helps us to visualise the scene of the wrecks by putting before us a lighthouse of the seventeenth century.

But there is a still more striking example of Hugo's use of pictorial documents. Inside the caravan of Ursus, there are two inscriptions, the one dealing with the rights and privileges of the English nobleman (this we can almost entirely trace to Chamberlayne's *Present State of England*), the other describing the residences of the nobles of England. Nowhere do we find traces of the existence of Lord Linnoeus Clancharlie, father of the fictitious hero; the Count of Grantham, the Duke of Somerset, and the Count of Warwick are mentioned either in the list of peers or among the members of Parliament; Chamberlayne, too, makes mention of them. The detail given with reference to Warwick Castle is so general, it might apply to any old castle; Somerset House is not described outwardly as the other mansions are, but Hugo tells us of wonderful vases to be seen on the large mantelpiece. This detail with reference to the interior, as also details of the same nature, about Hartfield House, was added to the original manuscript; the long description of the interior of Grantham-Terrace Palace is not to be found in the *Délices*. But these exceptions—part of the details being later additions—do not disprove what seems to be fact—that Hugo drew his descriptions of all the other noble residences from the pictures given in the fifth volume of the *Délices*. Along with the pictures, there is a full list of the titles of the noblemen. The *Délices* furnishes us with three pictures of Grimsthorf in Lincolnshire, one being of the gardens; we notice that in this case Hugo's description is unusually long. Apart from the exceptions mentioned, Hugo confines himself to the description of the outside of the houses and the grounds; with the pictures of the *Délices* before us, we can count with him the number of buildings, towers, gables; we can admire the gateways, and the long façades; we can recognize the fish-ponds and the fountains in the artificially laid out gardens.

Hugo gives us those five pages of titles and descriptions partly because of his love of contrast—contrast between the poverty of the caravan, and the splendours which the inscription invokes, partly too



from the dramatic effect he can get from it, when Gwynplaine finds himself heir to those possessions he had been so familiar with from his childhood: but mostly because those sketches appealed to his imagination, and they seemed to him to supply the material required to give colour and body to his study of the English aristocracy.

Behind these inscriptions there is, we admit, some social idea. Again, at the end of *L'Homme qui rit*, when Gwynplaine makes his great speech before the House of Lords, he is made to use some of Beeverell's description to give colour to his social plea. Ribbleschester is described as a village: mention is made of the herring-fishers of Harlech, though Hugo's imagination carries him further than the *Délices*; we read of the famine at Ailesbury, of Penck-ridge in Staffordshire, of Traith Maur and Traith-bichan,—which, however, the *Délices* does not place in Caernarvon,—and of Mont Pendlehill 'dont la cime produit une plante rare, qui, à cause de la hauteur du lieu où elle naît, porte le nom de Clowdesbery, la plante des nuées.'

Thus does Hugo use Beeverell to get the colour of England of the seventeenth century. He uses the *Délices* in various other less important ways—he takes from it a detail with regard to the taxation of wine and beer, or the increasing number of English warships, or again names of Peers or Commons, to supplement knowledge which he had gained from Chamberlayne.

There are cases when we cannot understand what motive Hugo had for borrowing, as, for instance, when Ursus talks of the 'Atrobates qui ont peuplé Berks, les belges qui ont habité le Somerset, et les Parisiens qui ont fondé York.' This phrase is an addition to the manuscript: so that it seems as if Hugo could not resist the temptation of introducing such a curious fact when he read in the *Délices* (vol. I), 'Au nord étoient les Parisiens qui habitoient la partie méridionale du Duché d'York...les Belges qui possédoient le Duché de Sommerset...les Atrebatiens qui possédoient le comté de Berck.' Perhaps after all, it is the kind of remark that an old philosopher of the type of Ursus would make.

It is curious to note thus exactly the use made by Hugo of one book. He read the *Délices*, noting here a fact, there a fact, which by its quaint picturesqueness, by its flavour of romance, by some suggestion of other times, other manners, or for some descriptive quality or colour-value recommended itself to his imagination. He did not question the accuracy of Beeverell, caring more for atmosphere and colour than for exactness; but if his mind was not of the critical nature that sifts its

material, and accepts only the surest information, yet his imagination knew exactly with what material it could work, what is the suggestive power of a name, how by some strange power of association, isolated facts of widely differing nature are linked together, so that they no longer remain disconnected, but become part of a great mosaic. And so it is that until we have understood the nature of the imagination of Hugo, we dare not accuse him of inaccuracy, nor distortion of facts, nor of plagiarism, nor of superficial observation; until we understand the constructive nature of his imagination, we can but see what his materials were, how he used them, and with what result; we do not attempt either to justify or condemn.

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## ÉTYMOLOGIE ET DÉRIVÉS ROMANS DU LAT. 'ACERNIA,' 'ACERNA.'

L'ART. 96 du *Roman. Etym. Wörterbuch* de M. Meyer-Lübke est ainsi conçu : '1. ACERNIA "Meerwolf," 2. ACERNA.—2. ital. *chierna* über serb.-kroat. *kijerna* ? andal. galiz. portg. *chern* "sägebarsch" "orphe" über arab. *khernia* ?'

Je trouve d'abord à redire à la traduction du lat. *acernia* par l'all. *meerwolf*. *Meerwolf* se dit de l'*anarrhichas lupus* L. et du *dicentrarchus labrax* Jordaens (= *labrax lupus* L.); c'est sans aucun doute ce dernier poisson que vise M. Meyer-Lübke. Mais le lat. *acernia* était plutôt un nom du *polyprion cernium* Val.; cela est rendu probable, il me semble, par la glose *acernia* : ὀρφος (Gloss. III, 186. 60); en effet, d'après Carus, *Prodr.*, ii, 610, le *polyprion cernium* Val. se dit encore ῥόφος en Grèce, ὀρφός, ὀρφώς dans la Mer Egée; cela est confirmé par le fait que le *polyprion cernium* Val. est un des deux poissons qui portent en roman des noms dérivés d'*acernia*.

Il est ici d'un certain intérêt de noter que si ὀρφός est toujours en néo-grec le nom du seul *polyprion cernium* Val., il est infiniment probable que c'est ce même poisson qui est indiqué dans le grec ancien par le nom d'ὀρφός (cf. ὀρφιον, ὀρφεύς, ὀρφίσκος, ὀρφακίνης comme noms de poissons). Le *polyprion cernium* Val. est nuagé d'un brun très sombre, ce qui fait croire qu'ὀρφός appartient au même radical que les adjectifs ὀρφνός, ὀρφνιος, ὀρφναῖος, 'sombre, foncé.' Comme le *polyprion cernium* Val. est une perche de mer, on peut comparer les relations entre πέρκη et l'adj. πέρκος et voir ce que j'ai dit sur l'it. *pesce perso* dans le *Revue des Lang. Rom.*, LIII, 45 (note 113).

Je reviens à l'article de M. Meyer-Lübke. On verra qu'il distingue deux formes : *acernia* et *acerna*. La seconde est en effet attestée dans un texte d'Oribase qu'on peut lire à l'art. *acharne* du *Thesaurus linguae latinae* : 'scorpius dracuri treclae acerna glaucus...in mari animalia.' *Acerna* et *acernia*, c'est sans doute toujours le même poisson. Mais les dérivés d'*acernia* ne sont pas mentionnés dans l'article de M. Meyer-Lübke bien qu'ils soient aussi nombreux que ceux d'*acerna*. Je cite d'après Carus, *Prodr.*, ii, 610 : Naples *cernia*, *cerniola de funnale*,

Livourne *cernia de scoglio*, Valence *jerna*, esp. *chernia* = *polyprion cernium* Val. (ajouter sans doute le port. *chernia*, *cherne*); sicil. *cernia*, Naples *cernia*, *cernia nera*, *cernia de scoglio*, Livourne *cernia* = *cerna gigas* Bonap. Le *lernio* de Mistral, expliqué par *scorpène marseillaise* (*scorpaena massiliensis* Risso = *polyprion cernium* Val.) doit être le *lernia* cité pour Nice par Risso et c'est sans doute une faute d'impression pour *cernia*. Le fr. *cernier*, nom générique des polyprions, semble avoir été employé pour la première fois par Cuvier, *Règne Animal*, II (1829), 145; c'est un emprunt au marseillais *cernié*. A en juger par *lacertus* > v. prov. *lazert*, on s'attendrait à *acernia* > v. prov. *\*azernha*; si les formes de la Provence ne sont pas des emprunts, elles témoignent en faveur d'une réduction ancienne d'*acernia*, *acerna* en *cernia*, *cerna*.

On aura remarqué que les dérivés d'*acerna* viennent de la péninsule ibérique, tandis que ceux d'*acernia* sont connus sur les côtes méditerranéennes de la France et de l'Italie. La forme *chierna* que M. Meyer-Lübke cite comme italienne et qui est usitée à Trieste<sup>1</sup> peut très bien être pour *\*chernia*; cf. à Venise *chieppa* à côté de *cheppia* = *clupea alosa* Cuv. D'autre part, Traina, dans son *Vocabolario* donne à côté de *cernia* la forme *cerna* comme sicilienne; il se peut qu'elle existe ailleurs sur le littoral italien; on s'en sert à Malte; elle est le point de départ de *cerna*, employé pour la première fois par Bonaparte comme nom, dans le latin des naturalistes, d'un genre de serrans; en effet, le sicil. *cernia*, *cerna* est un nom de la *cerna gigas* Bonap. et non du *polyprion cernium* Val. *Cernium*, comme nom spécifique, du *polyprion cernium* Val., vient des formes provençales déjà citées. Reste à dire un mot sur *cernua* dont certains naturalistes se sont servis (*cernua gigas* Costa, *perca cernua* Aradas = *cerna gigas* Bonap.); elle provient, je crois, d'une fausse étymologie: on aura vu dans le sic. *cerna* un dérivé de *cernua*, forme féminine de l'adj. *cernuus* 'courbé, dont la tête penche en avant' à cause de la tête penchée fort en avant de la *cerna gigas* Bonap. Déjà Linné s'était servi de l'expression *perca cernua* pour une petite perche d'eau douce, l'*acerina cernua* Cuv., dont la tête offre une conformation semblable. Rondelet (*De Pisc. Marin.*, ed. 1554, p. 157), parlant de son *orphus*, qui n'est autre que l'*anthias sacer* Bloch, a soin de nous dire: 'orphum vero hic non depingimus eum, qui a Graecis quibusdam hodie vulgari lingua ὀρφοῦ nomine dicitur<sup>2</sup>'; puis il rappelle que ὀρφός a été traduit *cernua* par Gaza.

<sup>1</sup> C'est un nom de la *cerna gigas* Bonap.

<sup>2</sup> Il émet la prétention de parler de l'*ὀρφός* d'Aristote et d'Athénée et de l'*orphus* de Pline.

Traina traduit le sicil. *cernia*, *cerna* par l'it. *lucerna*. On trouve, en effet, dans Carus, *Prodr.*, ii, 609, 610, 612, *lucerna* (*lūxerna*), comme noms à Gênes de trois serrans: le *paracentropristis hepatus* Klunz (d'après Bonaparte), le *polyprion cernium* Val. (d'après Sassi), le *serranus scriba* Cuv. (d'après Faujas). Casaccia, dans la deuxième édition de son *Dizionario Genovese* ne donne *lūxerna* que comme nom du *polyprion cernium* Val. On peut se demander si *lūxerna* = *polyprion cernium* Val. n'est pas en partie dû aux dérivés d'*acerna*. D'autre part *lucerna* est un nom de poisson dans Pline. En roman, ce nom sert à divers poissons. À Gênes même, *lucerna* indique le *capros aper* Lac.; à Naples *lucerna*, *pesce lucerna* = *urañoscopus scaber* L. (cf. néo-grec λύχνος); sur les côtes de l'Adriatique, de Venise jusque chez les Croates, les dérivés de *lucerna* servent à la nomenclature de divers poissons du genre *trigla* Cuv., la *trigla corax* Bonap., la *trigla lyra* L., la *trigla obscura* L. En anglais on trouve *lantern-gurnard* comme nom de trigle; dans la Cornouailles *lantern-fish* = *arnoglossus megastoma* Günther, d'après Pennant, *Brit. Zool.*, ed. 1769, iii, 191 ('on account of its transparency,' dit Pennant); Day, *British Fishes*, ii, 233, cite encore *lantern sprat*, nom donné à une sardine infectée par un parasite qui est lumineux pendant la nuit. Le fr. *lanterne* est dans le Boulonnais un nom du *conger vulgaris* Cuv. (Rolland, *Faune Populaire*, iii, 98). Je suppose qu'il s'agit de phosphorescences qui seraient plus ou moins marquées selon les poissons; mais les traités spéciaux d'ichthyologie ne disent rien de particulier qui permette de confirmer ce point de vue.

Quelle est l'origine du lat. *acernia*, *acerna* = *polyprion cernium* Val.? *Acharne*, nom de poisson se trouve dans Pline, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxii, 145: 'peculiares...maris: acipenser, aurata, asellus, acharne, aphyæ.' *Acharne* est tiré du grec ἀχάρνη; on trouve comme noms de poissons, à côté d'ἀχάρνη, diverses formes, ἄχαρνος etc., sur lesquelles on trouvera les renseignements nécessaires à l'art. ἀχάρνας du *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* d'H. Estienne, ed. Didot, 1831-1856, Vol. I, partie 2, col. 2740 et 2741. J'en extrais la phrase: ἄχαρνὸς καὶ ὀρφὸς ὁ αὐτὸς (citée avec renvoi à Grammat. Bekk. 474. 1). Si ὀρφός = *polyprion cernium* Val., il semble bien qu'ἀχάρνη etc. se disait du même poisson. Cela mérite d'être noté parce que les naturalistes se sont servis d'*acarne* et d'*orphanus* comme termes spécifiques indiquant des poissons tout autres que le *polyprion cernium* Val. (*pagellus acarne* Cuv.<sup>1</sup>; *pagrus orphanus* Cuv., *aurata orphanus* Risso, variété du *pagrus vulgaris* Cuv.).

Le grec ἀχάρνη, emprunté en latin, aurait donné \**acarna* et sans

<sup>1</sup> Rondelet, *De Pisc. Marin.*, ed. 1554, p. 151, chapitre de *Acarnane*.

doute *acerna*; cf. *Acarnania*, *Acernania*, comme nom d'une partie de l'Épire. L'*acharne* de Pline est une forme savante. Mais si *acerna* vient d'*ἄχαρνη*, comment expliquer *acernia*, qui est la forme la plus souvent attestée? A propos de la glose *acernum*: *σφενδάμινον ὄρφος* (Gloss. II, 13. 40), les auteurs du *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* se sont naturellement demandé s'il y avait contamination par *acernus*. Si l'on admet cette idée de contamination par *acernus*, on pourrait supposer que l'existence d'*acernia*, à côté d'*acerna*, a été provoquée par l'adj. *acerneus*, qu'on trouve à côté de l'adj. *acernus*, et qui a la même signification. Cependant, il importe de dire que cet adjectif *acerneus* n'est attesté que par deux textes. On le trouve dans les œuvres d'un poète chrétien du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, Venantius Fortunatus; or, Venantius Fortunatus se sert d'*acernus* au sens d'*acer* (cf. dans l'ouvrage déjà cité de M. Meyer-Lübke, l'art. 97 pour les dérivés romans d'*acernus* ayant le sens 'érable'; cf. aussi l'art. 95 *acereus*), ce qui peut faire croire qu'il sentait *acerneus* comme dérivé d'*acernus* plutôt que d'*acer*. Le second exemple d'*acerneus* se trouve dans une inscription fragmentaire (Corp. XIV, 2794).

Quoiqu'il en soit, la contamination, si contamination il y a, n'a été possible que parce qu'*acerna* (< *ἄχαρνη*) se confondait phonétiquement avec *acerna*, forme féminine de l'adjectif *acernus*. Elle pourrait avoir été favorisée du côté sémasiologique par une comparaison entre la dureté bien connue du bois d'érable et la dureté de la chair du poisson; on peut lire dans l'ouvrage de médecine attribué, sans doute à tort, à Plinius Valerianus, la phrase: 'pisces duras habentes carnes qualis est *acernia*.' Mais on se heurte ici à une difficulté car il paraît admis que la chair du *polyprion cernium* Val. est tendre (voir, p. ex. Railliet, *Traité de Zoologie Médic. et Agric.*, p. 972). D'autre part, la chair du *polyprion cernium* Val. est blanche et le bois de l'érable est blanc. Cela me rappelle que Boisacq, *Dict. Etym. de la langue Grecque*<sup>1</sup>, note que Prellwitz, dans les *Beiträge* de Bezzenberger, XXIV, 106 sq., proposait, sous réserve, de rattacher le grec *ἄχαρνας*, *ἄχαρνος*, noms de poissons au radical d'*ἄχρωις* 'peuplier blanc.' Je ne sais s'il faut encore ajouter ici que l'érable est particulièrement sujet au broussin, excroissance qui présente des veines colorées; tandis que la peau rugueuse du *polyprion cernium* Val. lui a valu les noms de *pampol rascas* à Valencia et de *fanfre rascas* à Cette et l'a fait ailleurs comparer aux scorpènes: *Adria scarpaena di sasso*, Trieste *scarpaena salvatica* = *polyprion cernium* Val.

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<sup>1</sup> A l'art. *ἄχρωις*.

## A NOTE ON THE DIALECT OF BEROUL'S 'TRISTAN' AND A CONJECTURE.

M. MURET has utilised for his determination of the dialect of the Tristan poem of MS. 2171 five characteristics of the poet's pronunciation, viz. the Western or North-Western retention of *ei*, *o* tonic free, of *ē* and of *k* hard before *a* and the francien pronunciation of the groups *ε + jod* and *ɔ + jod*, and has located the poem, in consequence, in East Normandy 'à l'est du Calvados, dans les départements de l'Eure et de la Seine Inférieure<sup>1</sup>.' The amount of support furnished by the rhymes for each of the above traits varies considerably however, and I am by no means convinced that the case is made out for the fifth. The evidence for it is set forth by the editor in these terms:

'Les syllabes contenant un ancien *è* ou un ancien *ò* diphtongués et suivis d'un phonème palatal ne sont pas nombreuses à la rime. Néanmoins les prononciations *l* et *ui* semblent bien établies par les homophonies suivantes: *li : merci* 1075-6, *li : cri* 1225-6, *quît : nuit* 721-2, *sui : ennui* 2419-20, *sui : ancui* 3229-30. Les rimes *dime : aprime* (3567-8) et *pris : puis* (4439-40) associent un *i* dérivé de l'ancienne triphthongue *ui* avec la diphtongue *ui*, continuatrice de l'ancienne triphthongue *uei*<sup>2</sup>.'

With all due respect to the learned editor I would point out that this summary is faulty in two respects: it adduces rhymes that have no weight in this question and omits several of considerable significance. Of the first category are the rhymes of the group *ɔ + jod* with *sui*, for *sui* undoubtedly contains that same group, however that fact is accounted for<sup>3</sup>, and also the rhymes of the groups in question with each other, for such rhymes occur frequently in texts in which the

<sup>1</sup> Introd. pp. lix—lxi.

<sup>2</sup> Introd. pp. xxxvii—xxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Suchier, *Die französische und provenzalische Sprache*, p. 773.

provincial pronunciation of these sounds is attested<sup>1</sup>. The rhymes omitted are as follows:—

*sire* : *dire* 85, 425, 3361, 4213, : *ire* 181, 989, 2581, *empire* : *ocire* 2025, : *escondire* 3057.

*lui* : *sui* (?) 2145.

*lit* : *nuit* 655.

*ageut* : *porseut* 2155, *degiez* : *plungiez* 3847, *deget* (?) : *vaslet*<sup>2</sup> 3935.

Of these rhymes those with *sire* and *empire* range themselves alongside the three given by M. Muret and thus seem to support his view of the poet's pronunciation. Their value, however, is admittedly slight in this question—a fact which presumably accounts for their omission. *Sire* is a title word, found in all parts of N. France; *empire* is a borrowed word, and both occur in poems characterised by the provincial pronunciation of this group<sup>3</sup>.

The rhyme *lui* : *sui* would afford stronger evidence if certain, but the MS. has *fui* and the emendation is rather doubtful.

The rhyme *lit* : *nuit* affords another instance of the groups in question rhyming together and so adds but little to our knowledge. The last three, on the other hand, appear to me to be highly significant. All three depend upon a pronunciation of the group  $\epsilon + jod$  in which the stressed element is some form of *e* and so attest directly a provincial pronunciation of the sound, i.e. the pronunciation that obtained in South-West Normandy and districts further south.

In such a case as this in which provincial and francien pronunciation of the same sound seem to be attested one would be inclined to admit on mere a priori grounds that the provincial pronunciation was the poet's own—provincial writers are admittedly more prone to pick up francien rhymes than francien writers provincial ones. But as a matter of fact it is not necessary to rest content with assumption, however reasonable it may appear. In his careful study of the language of the poem M. Muret has noted the existence of several other traits that point to a more southerly origin of the poem than the one finally fixed upon by him himself. Of these traits the clearest seem to me to be

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *Roman de Thèbes*, *Livre des Manières*, cf. Constans' edition of the *Roman de Thèbes* II, p. lxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> If Tobler is right in taking the *sut* of l. 1541 to be \**sequit* (*Zts. f. Rom. Ph.* xxx), this rhyme should be included in this list (*sut* : *conut*). I include the rhyme *gist* : *ist* of 1779 among those of identical vowel sound. (Cf. Suchier, *Altfranzösische Grammatik*, § 35.)

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the *Chanson de Roland*; *Livre des Manières*. Cf. also *Roman de Thèbes*, p. lxxx (*sire*).



the consistent pronunciation of *femina* as *fenne* (: *regne, cane*<sup>1</sup>) and of *mot* as *mot*<sup>2</sup>, and the occasional use of the 3rd sg. of weak perfects in *-it* and *ut*<sup>3</sup> (side by side with *-i* and *u*) and of present participial forms in *-ent*<sup>4</sup>, and to these may be added the enclitic form of *vos*. Separately these traits may seem to be of slight importance, but combined they are of considerable weight because all five are found more or less consistently in the group of writers that belong to the district comprising S.W. Normandy and the district further south<sup>5</sup>. Their appearance in the Beroul fragment seems to me to link it unmistakably to this S.-Westerly group of poems and so to support my contention that the provincial pronunciation of the group  $\epsilon + jod$ , and  $\circ + jod$ , common to this group, is the one to be postulated for the poet<sup>6</sup>.

If now we take this trait as proved and combine it with the other four utilised by the editor we shall find ourselves with no wide choice of locality for the poet. The district in which the provincial pronunciation of the groups  $\epsilon + jod$  and  $\circ + jod$  is used together with the hard *k* is limited to a small part of S.W. Normandy, i.e. the district lying roughly between Caen and Granville and comprising the West part of the department Calvados and the greater part of the department Manche<sup>7</sup>.

If this determination of the dialect be right the numerous examples of the graphy *ie* for  $\epsilon + jod$  (*prie, mie, lie, liez, seurre*) would belong to the original and save us from postulating an intermediary as the editor suggests<sup>8</sup>.

Is it merely attributable to accident that the distribution of some of the linguistic traits just noted varies somewhat in the poem? Is it just chance that the rhymes depending on the francien pronunciation of the groups  $\epsilon + jod$  and  $\circ + jod$  occur only in the first part of the poem (e.g. ll. 721/2, 1075/6, 1225/6, 2145 (?)), while those attesting a more provincial pronunciation (*fenne, mot, &c.*) are scattered throughout? Is it not rather an indication that we have in the poem of MS. 2171 not the work of two poets 'Beroul et un Anonyme,' but of one remanieur-poet Beroul, one who scorned not to adapt old material when it lay before him, but who was equally ready to invent freely when the old material failed or did not suit him?

<sup>1</sup> Introd. p. xlii.

<sup>2</sup> Introd. p. xl.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* p. xlviii.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* p. xli.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Wace, *Livre des Manières*, *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie, Troie, Thèbes*.

<sup>6</sup> My impression is that other traits point to the same conclusion—e.g. the corruption of the declension, and some of the nasal vowel rhymes quoted on p. xliii of the introduction—but I have not had time to verify this impression.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Suchier's maps in Groeber's *Grundriss*.

<sup>8</sup> p. xxxviii.

Some such hypothesis would explain much that is difficult and even contradictory in the poem—not only the unequal distribution of linguistic traits, but also the main literary characteristics described by M. Muret, e.g. the combination of the general resemblance of tone and treatment that runs through the fragment with the perceptible variations between the two parts and the varying degree of concordance of this version with that of Eilhart von Oberg. If we can take it that we have preserved to us in the fragment the work of Beroul a remanieur-poet utilising and recasting old material in the first part of the poem (in the fountain scene, the discovery scenes and escape of the lovers, the woodland life—all the scenes that march with Eilhart's version), but inventing freely and so displaying stronger verve and enjoyment and a more consistently later technique<sup>1</sup> in the second part, we may not indeed rid ourselves of all the difficulties of the question, for minor contradictions and obscurities remain, but we have, I think, a better solution of all the more important problems involved than that offered by the double authorship theory.

MILDRED K. POPE.

OXFORD.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. in treatment of the couplet, cf. Borrmann in Vollmöller's *Romanische Forschungen*, xxv. pp. 320<sup>l</sup> and k.

## RABELAIS ON LANGUAGE BY SIGNS.

THE origin of language was no new subject when it was taken up by the Schoolmen, using the text of Genesis ii, 19, 20: 'And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought them unto the man to see what he would call them: and whatsoever the man called every living creature, that was the name thereof. And the man gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field.' The general attitude towards this question may be seen in the notes of Nicolaus De Lyra (1270—1340), the Jew who became a Franciscan or a Dominican, and in 1320 finished his commentary on the Bible, which was in use till the Reformation. His commentary runs as follows: Gen. ii, 19 '*ut videret quid vocaret ea. diligenter considerando naturas eorum; quarum primus homo habuit perfectam notitiam....Deus formavit hominem perfectum, non solum quantum ad corpus...sed etiam quantum ad animum in scientia ad quam potuit naturaliter attingere, ut statim posset docere.*'

Gen. ii, 20 '*Omne enim quod vocavit Adam etc. secundum veritatem; ex qua prius habuit notitiam de proprietatibus naturalibus viventium: quia nomina bene imposita a proprietatibus rerum imponuntur.*'

The naming of objects by one man is alluded to by Plato (*Tim.* 78 E) ὁ τὰς ἐπὶ οὐρανίας θέμενος. Cicero says (*Tusc. D.* i, § 62): 'Aut qui primus, quod summae sapientiae Pythagorae visum est, omnibus rebus imposuit nomina.' Bacon (*Interpr. of Nature*, c. 1) writes: 'Behold, it was not that pure light of natural knowledge whereby man in paradise was able to give unto every living creature a name according to his propriety, which gave occasion to the fall.' Cf. also Cope on Aristotle's *Rhet.* i, 1. § 8.

Thus we see that the original perfect man was credited with the knowledge of the properties of every thing and the nomenclature which designated it. With the deterioration of humanity, or with

the confusion of tongues at Babel, this knowledge was lost or became imperfect, while we find in Homer three or four objects bearing two names, one a god-given name, which denotes some essential inherent quality, as is maintained by Plato in the *Cratylus* (391 D) ὅτι οἱ γε θεοὶ αὐτὰ καλοῦσι πρὸς ὀρθότητα ἅπερ ἐστὶ φύσει ὀνόματα. Thus the god-given name of the bird χαλκίς (*Il.* xx, 291) is its real name, while κύμινδις is some fanciful human appellation. Rabelais burlesques this in iv, N. prol. Jupiter, in a 'consistory' of the Gods, speaks of 'Africa;' so do mortals call that town on the Mediterranean, which we call Aphrodisium.' Thus arose the controversy of ὀνόματα φύσει ἢ θέσει, Plato inclining to the one in his *Cratylus* and Aristotle maintaining the theory θέσει οὐ φύσει. Other writers ranged themselves on one or the other side. Hippocrates, *De Arte* § 2, declares that 'forms are natural, words are made by custom.' Gellius (x, 4) quotes Nigidius: 'multa argumenta dicit cur videri possint verba esse naturalia quam arbitraria.' Sir T. Browne (*Pseud. Epid.* vi, 1) says 'Speech is by instruction, not by instinct.'

But, though the *Cratylus* is mentioned by Rabelais in iv, 37 and an allusion to one of Plato's etymologies οἶνος, ὅτι οἶεσθαι νοῦν ἔχειν ποιεῖ (*Crat.* 406 c) is found in v, 46, and perhaps δαίμονες = δαήμονες (*Crat.* 396 b) is aimed at in *Pant.* 18 ('y a il homme tant sçavant que sont les diables?' this is, however, a commonplace in the chivalric romances, e.g. *Merlin* i, 3), it is in iii, 19 that the Platonic doctrine is combated: 'It is a mistake to say that we have language by nature; languages exist by arbitrary institutions and agreements of the nations. Vocables (as the dialecticians say) have signification, not naturally but arbitrarily.'

Rabelais, who knew his Herodotus, naturally quotes the entertaining experiment of Psammetichus, King of Egypt, who determined that Phrygian was the oldest language from the word *Bekos* ('bread' in Phrygian), which was the first word uttered by two children who had been carefully secluded so as not to hear speech of any kind. This is cleverly versified by Claudian in *Eutrop.* ii, 251:

Dat cuncta vetustas  
principium Phrygibus; nec rex Aegyptius ultra  
restitit, humani postquam puer uberis expers  
in Phrygiam primum laxavit murmura vocem.

Rabelais perhaps inclined to Ionic as the oldest language, when he puts it in the mouth of the old Macrobius (iv, 25); possibly as the language of Hippocrates and Herodotus, or following Pliny vii, 210:

'Gentium consensus tacitus primus omnium conspiravit ut Ionum litteris uterentur.' The 'Etruscan letters' which he finds in *Garg.* 1 he probably looked upon as Lydian, and so connected with Ionic.

The method of divination styled 'Onomatomancy,' scoffed at by Panurge in iii, 25, crops up again later in iv, 37, when the *Cratylus* is mentioned on the subject of bestowing names of good omen on the captains in command against the Chitterlings. The practice is supported by instances from Roman imperial history, and the doctrine is derived from Cicero *De Divin.* i, § 103, which is backed by Herod. ix, 91 and Liv. v, 65. From Pliny xxviii, 33 is derived also the Pythagorean discovery that names of an odd number of syllables indicate perfections or defects on the right side of the human body, while those of an even number of syllables concern the left side. This probably comes direct from Pliny, though it is to be found in Agrippa *Occ. Phil.* ii, 20 under the title *Arithmomantia*, and in the *De Van. Scient.* c. 15 (*De Sorte Pythagorica*). These last treatises were much employed by Rabelais. At the end of this episode 'Mardigras,' in the shape of a sow, is declared to be the tutelary god of the Chitterlings; for they are extracted from swine; while at the encounter in iv, 41, in trying to pronounce the word, Gymnast says *Gradimars* (= fat tithe-collectors), a terrible insult to the Chitterlings. *Di-mars* is the form at Toulouse of *Mar-di*, so that in reality Gradimars is only a dialectic variety of Mardigras. It is pointed out in Macrobius on Verg. *Aen.* ii, 351 ('*Excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis | Di quibus imperium hoc steterat*') that the tutelary gods of Troy had deserted that city on being summoned forth by their proper names (*Sat.* iii, 9). For this reason also the Romans scrupulously concealed the real name of their city. Philostratus (*Vit. Apoll.* iv, 16) relates how Apollonius restored a dead girl to life by calling upon her by her proper name.

Rabelais again scoffs at this 'science' in v, 18 when he represents Henri Cotiral, a double of Her Trippa, styling a cabbage, which he held up to view, *lunaria major*, no doubt on account of the similarity of its leaves to the fronds of the *lunaria minor*, or *botrychium lunaria* (Moonwort), the strange fern dear to Alchymists, mentioned in Chaucer, *C. T.*, G. 800 (ed. Skeat). This little plant, with the seeds on one stalk and its crescent-shaped fronds on the other, was considered of mystic potency. In Du Bartas (*La Semaine*, 3rd Day, l. 604) it is credited with the powers of a magnet, so as to draw the nails out of horses' shoes. Similarly many plants obtained names from medical botanists by reason of the likeness of their leaves to organs in the human body,

for which they were therefore believed to provide remedies. Allusions to this may be found in Sir T. Browne, *Pseud. Epid.* ii, 6. 5, Corn. Agrippa, *Occ. Phil.* i, 23 and *Hudibras* iii, 1. 329:

Seek out for plants with signatures  
And quack of universal cures.

Vitruvius (II, 1, § 1) has a theory derived perhaps from Lucretius (v, 1039—1105) that men living in a primitive state were brought together by forest fires that had been kindled by boughs of trees when rubbed together by the wind. When the fire had subsided they appreciated the warmth and, gathering round it, made signs and sounds to one another, which being constantly repeated became recognized and understood. This he suggests was the origin of language. Some of them began to make covered dwellings of boughs and leaves, others to dig caves under mountains, while others, in imitation of the nests and constructions of swallows, wattled together sticks and plastered them with mud, making places in which they could find shelter. This was the beginning of architecture.

The episode of the argumentation of Thaumast and Panurge by signs (*Pant.* 19), the signs exhibited by Nazdecabre (iii, 20), and Pantagruel's interpretation (iii, 45, 46) put upon the words and gestures of Triboulet the fool, are all part of the same investigation, namely, the origin of language and the primitive communication of thoughts by signs and otherwise. The signs made by Panurge to Thaumast are mostly coarse symbols of derision used in mockery, and intended to bring into contempt the keeping of acts at the Sorbonne, while the signs made by Nazdecabre are in some cases the actual symbols employed in antiquity to indicate numbers and the meanings expressed by numbers. A fairly complete list of such notation or 'supputation' (cf. Ovid, *Pont.* ii, 3. 18, *sollicitis supputat articulis*) is given in a short treatise mentioned by Rabelais in *Pant.* 18, *Baeda De Numeris et Signis*. The actual title is *De Computo vel Loquela Digitorum*, and it forms chap. 1 of the *De Temporum Ratione* of the 'venerable Bede,' or calculations to find the Church festivals during the year.

Eighteen positions of the fingers of the left hand expressed the 9 units and the 9 tens; the same on the right the 9 hundreds and the 9 thousands (cf. Mayor, *Juv.* x, 249, *dextra jam computat annos*): 10,000 and higher numbers were expressed by moving the hands to various parts of the bodies. This is a summary of the system set forth in detail by Baeda. The numbers also had different meanings attached to

them, as is shewn in Martianus Capella, when the goddess Arithmetic salutes Jupiter with the number 717 (Mayor). The number of 'the beast' will readily occur.

In Froben's edition of the Epistle of Jerome against Jovinianus Erasmus gives Scholia: 'Nec desunt qui ferant extare Baedae libellum in quo hujusmodi numerandi ratio tradatur: verum eum non potuimus nancisci.' Scholia in *Epist. I adv. Jovin.* In an appendix to *Epist. II adv. Jovin.* Erasmus says that a friend, Ludovicus Berus of Basel (cf. *Epist. Erasm.* No. 488 vol. II, ed. Allen), had lent him this book. He then proceeds to give a summary of Baeda's system. This note had probably been seen by Rabelais, who, I think, is indebted to the *Epist. adv. Jov.* for some other points. In iii, 30 the first sign made by Nazdecabre is correctly interpreted: Baeda puts it: 'Cum dicis triginta, ungues indicis et pollicis blando conjunges amplexu' and he also says that this number has reference 'ad nuptias.'

The second sign of Nazdecabre, by which he is said to indicate the Quinary number, is the ordinary natural one of holding up the five fingers of the left hand. Baeda's symbol for this is raising the medical finger of the left hand. The right hand with the thumb extended and placed above the al Katim, that is the five lowest lumbar vertebrae (i.e. the loins), indicates 900,000. The thumb of the right hand placed between the joints of the middle and medical fingers indicates 200. The raising of the index and the little fingers is not so easily made out, but the passing of the right thumb up the chest to the neck seems to indicate 200, 300, 400 thousand progressively. Beyond this Baeda's system gives no clear explanation. It seems probable, however, that Rabelais did not trouble to make out these intricate signs, excepting for purposes of ridicule.

Quintilian who gives careful directions for the use of the fingers to emphasise the effects of rhetoric (*Inst. Or.* xi, 3, 92 sqq.) also remarks in lib. i, 'si digitorum solum incerto aut indecoro gestu a computatione dissentit'; probably referring to some Rabelaisian employment of gesticulation.

Another illustration but a more general one of 'the universal language of gesture and countenance,' as Gibbon calls it (c. 59), is given in iii, 20 by a story from Lucian (*De Salt.* c. 64): An Eastern potentate who ruled over nations of many languages begged from Nero as a present a player of farces, who was a master of gesticulation. By means of this man, he said, he would be able to speak to any of his different peoples without any other interpreter. In his *Jupiter*

*Tragœdus*, 7, Lucian represents *Hermes* as wishing to address an assembly of strange gods by signs; he was not linguist enough to speak intelligibly to *Scythians*, etc. The powers of gesticulation among modern *Neapolitans* are notorious.

It is not quite clear what *Panurge* means when he tells *Pantagruel* in this chapter that it is paradoxical to say that no man ever spoke who had not heard speech. The generalization alluded to is probably that of *Pliny* (x, 69, § 88) 'nec sunt naturaliter surdi ut non iidem sint et muti.' This seems to be contradicted in one of the *Problemata* (No. 138 in *Politian's* translation) of *Alexander of Aphrodisias*, a book referred to by *Rabelais* more than once: 'Quidam vero medicorum dicunt unam esse nervorum conjugationem quae ad linguam quaeque ad aures pertineat: quo fit ut affectuum quoque consensus iis accidat: qui autem ex accidenti sunt muti surdi omnino non sunt; localis enim oritur nervorum passio.' A story is then told from the lawyer *Bartolus* in a gloss on ff. XLV, l. 1, § 17, to the effect that an Italian who had become deaf by accident, could still understand whatever was said in Italian, merely by observing the movement of the speaker's lips. This is not uncommon nowadays and is known as 'lip-language.' Possibly *Rabelais* had also in mind the temporary dumbness of *Zacharias* in *Luc.* i, 20 and 64, to which he refers in *Garg.* 7.

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GENEVA.



## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

### IDENTIFICATION OF DON PHILIPPE DES MARAYS, VICEROY DE PAPELIGOSSE IN 'GARGANTUA,' C. 15.

IN a note on No. 180 of the Letters of Erasmus (ed. Allen, Clarendon Press, vol. 1) it is explained that the Johannes Paludanus, to whom the letter is addressed, is a John des Marays who had shewn kindness and hospitality to Erasmus. The letter is a sort of *apologia* for the *Panegyricus*, which Erasmus had addressed to Philip, archduke of Austria, father of Charles V and son-in-law of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. This letter was prefixed to the *Panegyricus* by Badius in his edition of 1507, and subsequently both were prefixed, together with other matter, to the edition of the *Institutio Principis Christiani* dedicated by Erasmus to Charles V in 1516 on his accession to the throne of Spain.

Froben, the Basle printer, continued this in his editions of 1518 and 1519, so that Rabelais, who in this part of his *Gargantua* (cc. 14—24) was busy with schemes of education, might naturally turn to Erasmus, of whom he was a great admirer and from whom he borrowed so much. He seems, however, to have taken but little from the *Institutio*, but I suggest that he borrowed the names of Don Philip and Des Marays as sponsors to his own system of education. In order to give local colour he chose the neighbouring province of Berry, in which was Palluau, the home of one of the six pilgrims (c. 45), and la Brene, notorious for its pools and marshes (cf. *Revue des études rabelaisiennes*, VII, 75). Don Philippe Des Marays, or Paludanus, would thus appear as a friend and neighbour of Grandgousier.

As to Papeligosse, I am inclined to agree with M. Sainéan in *Rev. des études rab.* VII, 353, that it is a combination of Pampeluna and Saragossa, both of which occur frequently in the Carolingian romances. M. Sainéan records also that even now in Saintonge *Pampelune* is used to express vaguely some distant country. Rabelais might therefore employ Papeligosse to indicate Spain, or Castile, of

which Philip was formally recognized as regent two months before his death in 1506. Thus Don Philippe Des Marays, viceroy of Papeligosse, is concocted out of Paludanus and Don Philip of Castile.

Rabelais again would not have been displeased if the name Papeligosse set his readers on the track of the Papacy.

In this book Rabelais had begun to borrow considerably from Erasmus. In this very chapter correspondence may be remarked in the following passages.

Garg. c. 15.

un jeune paige de Ville Gongys (en Berry) tant bien testonné, tant bien tiré, tant honneste en son maintien....

Eudemon...le bonnet au poing, la face ouverte...les yeulx assurez et le regard assis sus Gargantua, se tint sus ses pieds et commença le louer.

Le tout fut proferé avec gestes tant propres, prononciation tant distincte, voix tant eloquente....

Ibid.

Chopiner *theologalement* (later edd. substitute *sophisticquement*).

Ibid.

sou comme un Angloys.

Erasmi *Colloquia* (*Monitoria Paedagogica*).

Vestis item ad decorum componatur, ut totus cultus, vultus, gestus et habitus corporis ingenuam modestiam et verendam indolem prae se ferat.

Compone te in rectum corporis statum, aperi caput. Vultus sit...hilari modestia temperatus, oculi verecundi, semper intenti in eum cui loqueris.

Cum loqueris, distincte, clare, articulate consuescito proferre verba tua.

*Adag.* iii, 2. 37. Hac tempestate apud Parisios vulgari ioco vinum theologicum vocant quod sit validissimum.

*Adag.* ii, 2. 68 (*ad fin.*) tam satur est quam Anglus.

'Un Emilius du temps passé' is probably derived from *la Aemiliana eloquentia* of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (c. 11, g. 7 recto) which is used in the *Gargantua* and very largely in the Fifth Book.

W. F. SMITH.

GENEVA.

#### PAOLO ROLLI AND THE SOCIETY FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF LEARNING.

As is well known, Paolo Rolli, the Italian poet and rival of Metastasio, came over to England with Lord Sombach and made this country his home from 1715 to 1747<sup>1</sup>. During his long residence in London he taught the Italian language, wrote some 'melodramas,' edited the works of several Italian poets with critical notes, and translated Milton's

<sup>1</sup> Cp. S. Fassini, *Il ritorno del Rolli dall' Inghilterra*, Perugia, 1908, and *Il melodramma italiano a Londra ai tempi del Rolli*, in *Rivista musicale italiana*, xix, fasc. 1.

*Paradise Lost* into Italian. He was a member of the Royal Society, and when the Society for the Encouragement of Learning was founded in London in 1736, a society which only existed till 1748, he was possibly also a member of that body. On February 10, 1738, he addressed a letter to the Committee of the Society, asking for assistance to print, in the *Collana Latina*, an Italian manuscript translation of Cicero's *Tusculanae Quaestiones*, the translation being done, as he says, 'in perfect Toscan about y<sup>e</sup> End of y<sup>e</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> Century.' Specimens of the MS. were sent, as we learn from the *Memoirs* of the Society<sup>1</sup>, to Italy, and these 'having been approved of by several learned men in that country as well as other good judges here,' the Committee replied to Signor Rolli on April 22 of the same year, agreeing 'that two hundred and fifty copies of the said book be accordingly printed.' Unfortunately, as we read on the margin of the reply, 'this was not done.' Why the project was not carried out or what became of the MS. we do not know. We append a copy of Rolli's letter to the Society (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 6190).

Honorable Gentlemen,

I humbly take y<sup>e</sup> Liberty to lay before you an excellent M<sup>script</sup> of an Italian Translation of y<sup>e</sup> *Tusculan Questions* by Cicero. The work is done in perfect Toscan about y<sup>e</sup> End of y<sup>e</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> Century. Brian Fairfax Esq. y<sup>e</sup> Vice-President is y<sup>e</sup> Proprietor of y<sup>e</sup> Ms. & from him I have obtained y<sup>e</sup> permission of publishing it, for there is wanting a good Translation of this very work in a Series of Books, which y<sup>e</sup> Italian call *Collana Latina*. If you think an elegant Edition in a Royal Octavo of this fine MS. worthy y<sup>e</sup> assistance of your generous Institution; I do implore it, & will transcribe it in the modern Hortography. I conceive y<sup>e</sup> whole wont exceed 18 sheets. I am with all due respect

Honorable Gentlemen

Your most humble & most obsequious Servant  
paul rolli.

Malborug Street

Feb. y<sup>e</sup> 10. 1737

F. VIGLIONE.

BENEVENTO.

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of the Society etc.* in Add. MSS. of the British Museum, 6185.

## JONATHAN RICHARDSON AND PORTRAITS OF DANTE.

My attention has been called to an interesting eighteenth century reference to portraits of Dante, which escaped my notice when I was compiling my book on *Dante in English Literature* (published in 1909). In *An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy &c., with Remarks*. By Jonathan Richardson Sen. and Jun. (London, 1722), the younger Richardson (who was the real author of the book, for his father never was in Italy) observes that in the Farnese Palace at Rome,

'I was shewn a Head as That of him that built *Constantinople*, This is sufficiently Absurd; but 'tis usual enough to meet with such Silly Accounts of things from those that have the shewing of them, whoever it is that furnish them with such, or however they Mistake, or Confound things: this is a Head of *Dante*; I have seen Several, tho' in different Attitudes, as in the Dome of *Florence*, at the Elector *Palatines*, my Father's Drawing, &c. when I came to Rome I was confirm'd in this Opinion, which is the same I had of it at first Sight; the *Virtuosi* there knew the Head, and that it was as I judg'd. 'Twas not done however in *Dante's* time, the Work is more Modern, and Better; 'tis Excellent.' (p. 145.)

Signor Parodi, in a review of Mr Holbrook's *Portraits of Dante* in the latest number of the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana* (N. S. XIX, 94 n.), makes the interesting suggestion that this 'head' of Dante may have been the now well-known Naples bronze bust. From the context, however, it would appear that Richardson was referring rather to a drawing than to a bust. The portrait 'at the Elector Palatines,' and the drawing in the possession of the elder Richardson, I have been unable to identify. The picture 'in the Dome of Florence' is that by Domenico di Michelino (formerly attributed to Orcagna), of which Richardson gives an 'account' in an earlier chapter of his book, where he again mentions his father's drawing of Dante. Under 'Florence.—*The Dome*,' he writes:

'There are many Statues and Paintings in this Church. I was particularly pleased with *Dante's* Picture done by *Andr. Orgagna*; he is reading, and walking in the Fields by his own House, a View of *Florence* at a distance; extremely well preserv'd, and of a lively Colouring. I believe this is the most Authentic Portrait of that Poet, and has entirely the same Face as the Drawing my Father has.' (pp. 42-3.)

Richardson's somewhat fanciful description of this picture must have been written either from memory, or after a hasty inspection; but in spite of his inaccuracies of detail there can be no doubt as to the identity of the picture seen by him with that now over the north door of the Duomo. An interesting account of Domenico's painting

(which was executed in 1466), and of how he came to be entrusted with the commission, will be found in Mr Holbrook's *Portraits of Dante* already referred to.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

BURNHAM, BUCKS.

LESSING'S 'NATHAN DER WEISE,' ACT I, SC. II.

In my edition of *Nathan der Weise* (Cambridge: University Press, 1912) I failed to offer a satisfactory explanation of the introduction of the somewhat irrelevant episode in the exposition of the play, where Recha is rebuked by Nathan for her 'Schwärmerei' (see pp. xli and 190). I think, however, some light might be thrown on its provenance by a comparison with a favourite theme of Wieland's. The object of that writer's first novel, *Don Sylvio von Rosalva, oder der Sieg der Natur über die Schwärmerei*, is to show how a young 'Schwärmer' who believes in fairies, is cured by a douche of reality. Similarly Agathon, in Wieland's second novel, is cured of his 'Schwärmerei' by the epicurean wisdom of Hippias. Different as the situation is, the 'Schwärmerei' from which Agathon suffers, is clearly analogous to Recha's. His memories 'wiegen seine Sinne in eine Art von leichtem Schlummer ein, worin die innerlichen Kräfte der Seele mit verdoppelter Stärke wirken. Dann bildeten sich ihm die reizenden Aussichten einer bessern Zukunft vor; er sah alle seine Wünsche erfüllt, er fühlte sich etliche Augenblicke glücklich...' (II Buch, 4 Kap.). In the following chapter Hippias says to Agathon: 'Deine Seele schwebt in einer immer währenden Bezauberung, in einer steten Abwechselung von quälenden und entzückenden Träumen; und die wahre Beschaffenheit der Dinge bleibt dir so verborgen, als die sichtbare Gestalt der Welt einem Blindgeborenen.' And later (III Buch, 1 Kap.): 'Dein Übel entspringt von einer Einbildungskraft, welche dir ihre Geschöpfe in einem überirdischen Glanze zeigt, der dein Herz verblendet, und ein falsches Licht über das was wirklich ist, ausbreitet...' 'Was soll man mit einem Menschen anfangen, der Geister sieht?'

Archytas returns to the matter in the third chapter of the last book of the novel: 'Die Schwärmerei,' he says, 'möchte sich über die Gränzen der Natur wegschwingen, sich durch Überspannung ihres innern Sinnes schon in diesem Leben in einen Zustand versetzen können, der uns vielleicht in einen andern bevorsteht; sie nimmt Träume für Erscheinungen, Schattenbilder für Wesen, Wünsche einer

glühenden Phantasie für Genuss; gewöhnt ihr Auge an ein magisches Helldunkel, worin ihm das volle Licht der Vernunft nach und nach unerträglich wird, und berauscht sich in süßen Gefühlen und Ahnungen, die ihr den wahren Zweck des Lebens aus den Augen rücken, die Thätigkeit des Geistes einschläfern, und das unbewachte Herz wehrlos jedem unvermutheten Anfall auf seine Unschuld Preis geben. Gegen diese Krankheit der Seele ist Erfüllung unsrer Pflichten im bürgerlichen und häuslichen Leben das sicherste Verwahrungsmittel; denn innerhalb dieser Schranken ist die Laufbahn eingeschlossen, die uns hienieden angewiesen ist, und es ist blosser Selbsttäuschung, wann jemand sich berufen glaubt, eine Ausnahme von diesem allgemeinen Gesetze zu seyn.' 'Hippias der Weise' is no 'Nathan der Weise'; but it is possible that Archytas suggested some traits for Nathan. Another parallelism is to be seen in the fact that Archytas adopts Agathon's 'Jugendgeliebte' Psyche, who, like Recha in the play, turns out to be the hero's sister (XIII Buch, 2 Kap.).

One more point: Wieland more than once contrasts in *Agathon* (see especially II, 5; IX, 7; XVI, 1) 'Kopf' and 'Herz,' and insists on the need of their being brought into harmony. Cp. Lessing's lines in *Nathan*, 133 ff.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

#### AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF GOETHE'S 'CLAVIGO.'

Goedeke (IV, III, § 237 (2)) mentions the following English translations of Goethe's *Clavigo*: (1) by Benj. Thompson (London), 1798, (2) in the *Literary World* (Boston) in 1847, (3) by the members of the Manchester Goethe Society, 1897, (4) by H. Boyesen, 1885, and (5) in Bohn's *Library*, 1884-90.

The *Monthly Magazine*, Vol. XVIII, 1834 (London), contains (pp. 317-327 and 437-450) a complete translation, which appears to have escaped notice hitherto. In point of chronology it is therefore the second of the English translations. It is signed 'A. T.'

A note explains the circumstances under which the translation arose: 'In a review of Goethe's Posthumous Works in the last Foreign Quarterly, it is stated that Goethe, at the request of a lady, dramatized the story of "Clavigo" in eight days. However short the time of producing this tragedy, it is a great favourite with us, and we think quite worthy of the genius of the great Poet of Germany. We are

not aware that any translation has hitherto been given to the public. The story has been told—and powerfully and beautifully told—on canvas, by that youthful genius, Theodor von Holst, and appeared at the last exhibition of the Royal Academy. We confess that it was this exquisite picture which induced us to offer to our readers the present translation.’

The translation is fairly literal and, in the main, correct. It reads quite fluently, without much pretence to style. An extract from Act V (W. A., XI, pp. 118—120) will shew its nature :

*Clavigo enters, enveloped in a cloak, with a sword under his arm. A servant going before, bearing a torch.*

*Clav.* I told you to avoid this street.

*Serv.* We should have been obliged to go a great way round, and you are in such haste. It is not far from here that Don Carlos waits.

*Clav.* Torches yonder !

*Serv.* A funeral. Come, Sir.

*Clav.* Maria's house ! A funeral ! My blood curdles with horror. Go, inquire whom they are going to bury.

*Serv.* (*Goes up to the men.*) Whom are you going to bury ?

*Men.* Maria Beaumarchais.

(*Clavigo sits on a stone and covers his face.*)

*Serv.* (*Returning.*) They are going to bury Maria Beaumarchais.

*Clav.* (*Springing up.*) Must thou echo it, betrayer ! Echo the harrowing word that dries up the very marrow in thy bones !

*Serv.* Be calm, Sir—come. Think of the danger you are in.

*Clav.* Go to hell ! I will not stir hence.

*Serv.* O Carlos ! O that I could find you, Carlos ! He has lost his senses.

(*Exit.*)

*Clav.* (*Mutes in the distance.*) Dead ! Maria dead ! Torches yonder ! Her mourning attendants !—’Tis an illusion—a vision that affrights me—that holds a glass before me—wherein I may see by anticipation the end of my treachery. Still there is time ! Still !—I tremble—my heart melts with horror ! No ! no ! thou shalt not die. I come ! I come !—Vanish, spectres of night—terrific objects who interrupt my passage.—(*Goes up to them distractedly.*) Vanish !—They stand ! Ha ! They gaze upon me ! Woe ! woe is me ! They are men like myself. It is true—True ?—Canst thou conceive it ?—She is dead—the feeling seizes me with all the horrors of night ; she is dead ! There she lies, flowers at thy feet—and thou—have mercy on me, oh my God !—I did not kill her !—Hide yourselves, ye stars, shine not down here, ye who so often saw the criminal quit this threshold with sensations of the most exquisite happiness—even though this street saw him with lute and voice making the air resound to golden phantasies, and kindling his listening maid at her secret lattice with blissful hopes !—And thou now fillest the house with lamentations and grief ! and this scene of thy happiness with a funeral dirge !

The translator's knowledge of German, or possibly his accuracy, is not unimpeachable, as a few of his mistranslations will shew : ‘ich griff nach meinem Dolche und nahm Gift zu mir und verkleidete mich’ (W. A. 56; 11)—‘grew envenomed’ ; ‘wenn nur einer auftritt, dessen

Umstände ihm völlige Freiheit lassen, all seiner Entschlossenheit zu folgen' (W. A. 59; 5—6)—'if but one steps forth to countenance our pursuit, it acts as an incentive to our resolution'; 'er biete sie auf, ihm zu schaden' (W. A. 68; 17)—'he warned them how they injured him'; 'und hat man Ihnen nicht vergeben, wie ich denn hoffe' (W. A. 75; 20)—'if they have not forgiven you to my satisfaction'; 'spare deinen Humor auf meine Hochzeit' (W. A. 80; 26)—'spare your wit about my marrying'; 'eine traurige Musik tönt einige Laute von innen' (W. A. 120; 13)—'solemn music sounds from lutes within.'

HERBERT SMITH.

GLASGOW.

#### THE O.E. NAME FOR THE LETTER G.

In his discussion of the O.E. alphabetic name for the letter G (*Modern Language Review*, October, 1912) Dr H. Bradley says (p. 520), 'I do not know that we have any information as to the names by which the Roman letters were called in England before the Norman Conquest.' But in Ælfric's Latin Grammar (A.D. 995—according to Wülker), under the heading *De Littera*, the names of the twenty-three letters of the Latin alphabet are all clearly given, and no doubt the same names would be used for these letters in any other alphabet in which they were found. 'The five letters *a, e, i, o, u*,' says Ælfric, 'name themselves' (*ðās fīf stafas ætēowjað heora naman þurh hī sylfe*). 'The names of the six letters *f, l, m, n, r, s* begin with the letter *e* and end in themselves' (*þā sýx ongyinnað of ðām stæfe e and geendjað on him sylfum*): '*x* alone begins with the letter *i*' (*x āna ongynd of þām stæfe i*): '*b, c, d, g, h, k, p, q, t* begin with themselves and end in vowels' (*on ðām clyppjendlicum stafum*): '*b, c, d, g, p, t* end in *e*' (*geendjað on e*): '*h* and *k* end in *a*, properly' (*æfter rihte*): '*q* ends in *u*': '*z* also, the Greek letter, ends in *a*' (*z ēac, se grēcisca stæf, geendað on a*).

Mr Bradley's conjecture that 'the alphabetic name of G would be *gē*' is thus confirmed.

My quotations are taken from Zupitza's edition of the Grammar, *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, Berlin, 1880; but I have substituted the now more familiar mark for length in O.E. printed texts for Zupitza's circumflex.

JOHN LAWRENCE.

TOKIO



## REVIEWS.

*The Heroic Age.* By H. MUNRO CHADWICK. Cambridge: University Press. 1912. 8vo. xi + 474 pp.

There are few scholars competent to review a work of such wide scope and deep learning as Professor Chadwick's study of the Heroic Age as revealed in the heroic poetry of the Greek and Teutonic peoples, and the present writer must at the outset express his consciousness of his own limitations in dealing with a work of this kind. He can only attempt to do so by confining himself as far as possible to those parts of the book with the subject-matter of which he can claim most acquaintance.

The author himself indicates the natural divisions into which his work falls, the first part dealing with Teutonic, the second with Greek heroic poetry, and the third calling attention to the numerous characteristics common to these two groups of poems and making an attempt to account for them as 'due primarily to resemblances in the ages to which they relate and to which they ultimately owe their origin.'

In the first part Mr Chadwick shows that the cycles of story common to the various Teutonic peoples can, on the evidence of the identity of many of the characters with well-known historical figures, be assigned to a fairly definite period, viz. from about the middle of the third to the middle of the sixth century, a period it is to be noted which coincides almost exactly with that commonly known as the *Völkerwanderungszeit*. In discussing the scene and nationality of the various stories he shows that, while the characters are drawn almost entirely from the Teutonic world, there is no voicing of the interests of any particular nation or tribe. Within the limits of the Teutonic world their tone is international rather than national. Internationalism in literature, it may be remarked, is not an invention of the nineteenth or twentieth century.

In discussing the date of composition of *Beowulf* full consideration is given to two points the value of which is often either neglected or wrongly assessed. The first is the date at which the story could have become known in England. From the end of the sixth to the end of the eighth century there is no evidence for intercourse between England and the Scandinavian lands, where the story must undoubtedly have originated. The stories were certainly known in England before

the end of the eighth century, and they must therefore have been embodied in narratives of more or less fixed form before 600 A.D. The second is the bearing of the Christian element on the date of the poem. This is a problem which has often been discussed, but it seems to the present writer that Mr Chadwick has first rightly stated the position, when he points out that, 'though the poem abounds in Christian sentiment, yet the customs and ceremonies to which it alludes are uniformly heathen.' We are forced to admit that 'though the poem has undergone a fairly thorough revision in early Christian times, it must in the main have been in existence some time before the conversion.'

*Beowulf* and the heroic poetry of the Teutonic nations in general would seem to have developed within the heroic age itself, and its development was largely due to the prevalence of court-minstrelsy. These minstrels composed the lays of the heroic age itself, celebrating the praises and exploits of their patrons, and then came the composers of the epic and narrative poems based on these. They were followed by popular minstrels who dealt with characters belonging to former times in ballads such as those which lie at the back of Saxo's history, and finally we have poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such as the authors of the *Nibelungenlied*, who treat the old stories in a new form.

Finally Professor Chadwick discusses the supernatural, mythical and fictional elements in the heroic poems. In dealing with the supernatural element the most important point made is that 'the presence of supernatural elements does not necessarily mean that the stories in which they occur were composed or modified long after the events which they relate.' For the medieval mind there was not the same definite division between natural and supernatural which the majority of present-day folk are accustomed to draw, and in medieval times we have more than one well authenticated contemporary narrative which can be adduced for the occurrence of what we should call supernatural events. In dealing with the mythical element Mr Chadwick is completely opposed to the early and many of the later interpreters of the heroic poems. He believes that the original stories dealt for the most part with characters who are essentially human, and that the supposed traces of myth are as a rule due to later accretions to the story.

Chapters IX to XIV on the heroic age of Greece and the Homeric poems follow the same lines of development as those of the first eight chapters, and here light is again and again thrown on Homeric problems by reference to the Teutonic poems. Probably the most suggestive passages in the whole book are those in which the results of a study of Teutonic Heroic poetry are used as a touchstone for the truth or falsity of the theories which have been offered in solution of the problems of Homeric poetry. No discussion of these problems can be attempted here. Suffice it to point out the great services which Teutonic poetry can render in this direction. In

Greece the heroic age passed away long before the date of the earliest historical documents, so that, however much we may be convinced of the historic truth of large portions of the Homeric poems, we have no evidence which can enable us with certainty to pronounce any single person or event to be historical, while in the case of the Teutonic age we have the works of several more or less contemporary Roman writers, which enable us to identify many of the characters and incidents. If there is any value in the comparative method of literary or historical study, the fuller evidence for the later age should be of the highest importance in enabling us rightly to understand the earlier and darker age.

Chapters XV to XIX deal with the general characteristics of heroic poetry and the heroic age. The two groups have of course many features of language in common—common epithets, common epic formulae; there is evidence of common religious conceptions, and many of the motives are common to the two groups—thirst for fame, love of boasting, pride of family, faithfulness of followers to their prince. There is plenty of patriotism—love of home and zeal for its defence—but little or no national pride. Individuals rather than nations gather glory to themselves and the chief motives of action are individual rather than national—personal love, revenge or ambition. These chapters are among the most readable in the book, but they can hardly be discussed here, dealing as they do with matters historical, archaeological and ethnological rather than with literature or language. They serve, however, to point a very definite moral to those who are engaged in the teaching of Old English, viz. that if the study of Old English heroic poetry is really to become a valuable instrument of general education, it must get out of the narrow grooves of philological and literary speculation in which it too often inclines to run, and get on to those broader lines which will enable students to realise its importance as picturing a definite stage of human culture and having the closest affinities with the heroic poetry of other peoples and other ages.

A closing word of tribute must be paid to the valuable excursions with which the volume is enriched. In them Mr Chadwick makes an even wider survey of the problem than he allows himself in the main body of his book, discussing among other things the light thrown on the problem by a study of the Celtic and Slavonic heroic ages, with more special reference to Welsh and Servian heroic poetry. There are few scholars in this age of specialisation who combine width of study, accuracy of knowledge and suggestiveness in idea to so remarkable a degree as the new Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge. May the present work be a happy omen of a long and fruitful tenure of that office.

ALLEN MAWER.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

*Poetry and Prose. Being Essays on Modern English Poetry.* By ADOLPHUS ALFRED JACK. London: Constable. 1912. 8vo. x + 278 pp.

No less than poetry itself, the problems which concern the nature of poetry, touch the very core of literary study. Yet they are notoriously difficult to capture and probe by recognised literary methods; and without rejecting the claim of critical analysis to be able, in the last resort, to search and map these speculative deeps, one is apt to surmise that a procedure in which there is less of set method than of intuition will have the best chance of success. Current literary discussion, in England, is full of suspicion of theories of literature, as of philosophical 'aesthetics' at large; and no doubt those who have reasoned abstrusely about poetic vision have often been rather conspicuously deficient in it themselves. But the greatest of modern aestheticians, Hegel, was a conspicuous example to the contrary; and in our own time the remarkable union of penetrating insight with luminous reasoning power in the author of the *Oxford Lectures* has brought notably nearer the prospect of a coherent and comprehensive *Poetic*.

With less of sustained illuminating power than he, but with a glancing, versatile brilliance of his own, Mr Jack handles some of these problems in the present series of essays. The titles suggest a more systematic planning out of the field than the book actually presents. Thus Gray stands for 'social or Prose poetry,' Burns for 'Natural or spontaneous poetry,' Wordsworth for 'basic or elemental poetry,' Byron for 'oratorical poetry,' and Emerson, Arnold, and Meredith together for the poetry of the 'intellect.' One might guess from the choice of poets the lines upon which Mr Jack's ideas about the distinction of 'Poetry and Prose' run. That he is not, for instance, one of those who take their stand upon music or metre. Verse-rhythm, verse-music, play a slight and undistinguished part in the discussion, and poets in whom they are very important, such as Swinburne, Coleridge, and the Cavaliers, do not, we gather, greatly interest Mr Jack. 'Trifles, prettiness, a careless shoe-string, dressed-up theology, tricks of phrase,' this is his summary of the doings of the seventeenth century (Milton apart) in poetry, after 'the imaginative revel' of the great age preceding. These are not the haunts of Mr Jack's quarry. What especially arrests and occupies him, in the relation of Poetry and Prose, is the psychological side of the contrast; the distinction between what he calls 'emotional' and 'intellectual' apprehension. Nicety in the use of terms is hardly a strong point with him, and he often seems to imply, what he cannot be supposed to believe, that poetic vision is not a state of transfigured intelligence as well as of heightened emotion. He even speaks (p. 162) of 'emotion' as 'generalising experience.' Much of his discussion suggests a kind of Manichean dualism between emotion and intellect, as seen in their characteristic 'works,' in poetry and prose. And if Mr Jack is no pessimist, but on the contrary a very assured believer in the future of poetry, he is nevertheless much preoccupied with the

snarcs which the spirit of prose spreads, especially in these latter days, for even good poets; and this book, which in plan suggests a survey of the opportunities for poetry, in substance resembles rather an analysis of the 'temptations' to prose. All his subjects were, in this sense, interesting 'cases'; they all had to wrestle with sin, and their triumphs, however consummate, were in some sense precarious. There is Gray, child of the 'prosaic, intensely English eighteenth century,' in the ban of his *milieu*, and yet, in the Elegy, producing a poem which, definitely poetic only here and there, has as a whole the effect of poetry. There is Burns, so firmly held in the grip of the same prosaic age that Mr Jack actually makes his 'poetry' begin with his twenty-seventh year. There is Wordsworth, glorious adventurer among the hazards of the commonplace, of whose poetry our critic admirably says: 'There is no other which so well explains the nature of poetry, which without leaning in the least to poetising, is so essentially poetical.' There is Byron, ensnared by rhetoric and the consciousness of an audience. But the perils begin in earnest when we come to the 'intellectual' poets, who work in the very stuff which seemed foredoomed to prose, and whose successes are thus veritable brands plucked from the burning. This is the special element of Emerson, perhaps the greatest of all 'intellectual' poets in this sense, if we have regard both to the reluctance of the matter he set his hand to, and to the frequent splendour of the result; and Mr Jack's critical survey is one of the most penetrating discussions of Emerson's poetry yet produced. He notices his curious failure when he had to do with a great poetic subject like love ('Eva'); whereas he can 'poeticalise' gritty things like politics; for example, the working-creed of Liberalism:

God said, I am tired of kings,  
I suffer them no more;  
Up to my ear the morning brings  
The outrage of the poor.

or Evolution:

And the poor grass shall plot and plan  
What it will do when it is man.

No doubt the 'poeticalising' of ideas, however completely effected, involves something foreign to that perfect fusion of thought and form signalised by Mr Bradley in the fine sentence quoted by Mr Jack: 'The specific way of imagination is not to clothe in imagery consciously held ideas; it is to produce half consciously a matter from which when produced the reader may, if he chooses, extract ideas.' Is there then no way in which a poet can render imaginatively the current 'ideas' which he 'consciously holds'? Emerson and Meredith and Arnold, not to speak of Lucretius and Dante, may, we think, be held to have shown that Mr Bradley's 'specific' way of imagination is yet not the only way.

But the example of Dante suggests a demur which goes somewhat further,—as to whether the terms of Mr Jack's Manicheanism are quite rightly chosen. Is the 'particularising intellect' so absolute an enemy

of poetry? Or, if it is, in a poetic sense, a *Geist der stets verneint*, are there not poetic natures in which this spirit of negation at least occasionally *gutes schafft*? The scheme of many long poems is sheer intellectual construction. In the *Commedia* this is of the most elaborate and intricate kind. Yet will anyone say that the scheme which provides the ordered scene-succession in the wonderful drama of Dante's three-fold vision is merely obstructive matter overcome? That it does not itself contribute to the poetry, somewhat as, one may dare to suggest, the rigid geometrical scheme of Spinoza is contributory to his 'God-intoxicated' ethics? In Browning, too—whom Mr Jack only incidentally handles—though on a far lower plane, poetry sometimes seems to be captured in alliance with, and not in spite of, the discursive intellect (which often enough, elsewhere, breaks away in gay or boisterous expatiations of its own); as if the meshes of the intellectual apparatus became incandescent in the flame of imaginative emotion and, in spite of their alien origin, increased its power.

Wordsworth—interpreted by Emerson, might be taken not unfairly to indicate the central thoughts about poetry upon which Mr Jack's book converges. Both had the rapt, impassioned intuition; Wordsworth, also, in unequalled degree, the power of conveying emotion with a naked simplicity which seems as it were to get behind language itself. Emerson on the other hand, with no less of ideal vision and an even firmer grip upon earth, had further reaches of explicit thought, and hitched the star to the waggon and the waggon to the star with more definite and palpable cords. It is thus that Emerson can intervene, almost as a *deus ex machina*, in a problem which deeply involves Wordsworth, but upon which Wordsworth himself offers no help: the problem, namely, what is to be made of the Wordsworthian faith in 'Nature,' for which modern science has no respect, and which Arnold sadly dismissed as vain. In a notice of Mr Jack's former book on Shelley, where this view was accepted, the present reviewer ventured to suggest a solution—substantially that of Emerson—which he took to be truer. With only too generous acknowledgments for the hint, Mr Jack now avails himself of Emerson's illuminating defence of the reality, for man, of Nature 'which speaks to us and whose tongue we speak.'

At the same time (and this is our final demur) we think that Emerson's sublime paradoxes occasionally warp our critic's literary perception. In the last essay ('Emerson's doctrine of the Infinite') he presses very hard the idea that Shakespeare brings home the old truths we find in him chiefly 'by contradictions, impossibilities, surprises, by the negation of the probable.' 'The fine harmonies of *The Winter's Tale* are directly due to his making men jealous for no reason, affectionate wives punish repentant husbands for sixteen years, etc.' Surprises are undoubtedly part of the deliberate method of the later comedies, but would they be so effective in bringing home old truths if they were not built upon Shakespeare's unflinching psychological veracity? It is perhaps chiefly a question of emphasis; was the fictitiousness or the veracity the essential thing? And, similarly, we may concur heartily with the

doctrine, warmly espoused and finely expounded by Mr Jack, that poetry is a 'liberation,' without inferring that it necessarily 'says goodbye to limitations' or 'overrides them.' It is a commonplace that a member of a highly organised state may be 'freer' than the inhabitant of a desert island. And if there is any truth in poetic realism, poetry may liberate our souls as effectually by permeating and vivifying the tissues of actuality, as by disturbing and rending them.

C. H. HERFORD.

MANCHESTER.

*The Making of Poetry.* By A. H. R. FAIRCHILD. New York: Putnams. 1912. 8vo. 263 pp.

The study of æsthetics has always had—and must always have—a peculiar fascination of its own. The gifts of science to mankind are plain and incontrovertible, but the gifts of art are harder to apprise. What is beauty? Of what use is the study of beauty? Why, with nature before our eyes, do we need what must at best be but a faulty copy in picture or poem? These are questions to which the critics of all ages have offered answers, but of which there can never be any completely satisfactory solution. The very poets themselves cannot tell us what poetry is, at best they can but suggest certain of its aspects, or give us some such vague and illuminating definition as Shelley's, 'Poetry is the record of the best and happiest moments of the happiest and best minds,' or Wordsworth's familiar epigram of 'emotion recollected in tranquillity.' But if the quest be foredoomed to failure it is none the less worth undertaking; Childe Roland may fail to achieve the adventure of the Dark Tower, but we should be the poorer if he never attempted it—the poorer, not only by the actual gain of endeavour, but by loss of certain knowledge. Because the *genus homo* is greater than any individual, there is no need to abandon the study of human nature altogether, and the study of æsthetics is neither more nor less than the study of human nature. Professor Fairchild sets out boldly by asking 'Can poetry be defined?' and having decided 'that no finally satisfactory definition of poetry ever can be made,' goes on to examine 'the only part about which definite and precise statements can safely be made...the material and the processes which go to make poetry what it is.' Cordial agreement with Mr Fairchild's conclusion does not, however, necessarily imply entire acquiescence in his chain of reasoning. We are told that poetry cannot be defined because it 'begins and ends in feeling,' and feeling cannot be described in terms of something else and therefore cannot really be described at all. But, as Mr Bertrand Russell shows in his *Problems of Philosophy*, this difficulty confronts us just as much in practical and material matters as in sensation. We cannot accurately define a feeling, nor can we accurately describe a table. In both cases we 'simplify and systematise our account of our experiences' by using a currency of speech which experience has shown to contain a common denominator of truth. It is not because the final appeal of poetry is to feeling, and

feeling transcends words, that poetry cannot be defined, but because art is universal in the fullest sense of the word, and no hands but those of the gods can gather together all the scattered fragments which make the perfect image of Truth, no language but that of Olympus can fully express her message. But if Mr Fairchild dismisses poetry itself somewhat cursorily, he deals in greater detail with his subdivisions: (1) What is the material out of which poetry is made? (2) What are the chief processes or kinds of activity involved in the making of it? (3) What, from this point of view, is the real nature of poetry? (4) What is the need, and what is the value of poetry? All criticism of any merit provokes contradiction, but while we wince at the suggestion that in the lines,

I would that my tongue could utter  
The thoughts that arise in me,

Tennyson 'might better have said "feelings," and grow impatient of the matter-of-fact interpretation of 'brief candle'—'What really justifies the term "brief" is the parallelism between Macbeth's life, as he now sees it, and a candle. Neither lasts for long; each implies a limit of time; both are about to go "out"'—much of Mr Fairchild's careful and thoughtful treatment of individual epithets is stimulating and suggestive. Now and then it is difficult to see the full force of his reasoning. He lays great stress, for instance, on the unpoetic nature of utility, and declares that to him a vine is less beautiful than a spray of honeysuckle (the idea of honey being presumably too remote to be intrusive). This is a matter of personal idiosyncrasy, and while it may surprise the reader, calls for no comment, but when he goes on (p. 58) to enumerate nearly fifty images employed by Wordsworth in the *Reverie of Poor Susan*, and adds 'only two, meadow and pail, can even suggest use or service,' we are left in perplexity. 'Trees, however beautiful, are for lumber and fuel...waterfalls, however magnificent, for power and light' (p. 50), and yet these same trees suggest neither use nor service—to say nothing of cottage, river, hill, stream, eyes, all of which are included in his unutilitarian list. As a matter of fact the contention that images are poetic in proportion as they are removed from all idea of the service of man will not hold water for an instant. What of that 'brief candle,' the poetic nature of which Mr Fairchild has been at considerable pains to explain? Finally a protest must be entered against the constant use of the detestable verb to 'personalise' which even its inventor confesses 'is not attractive.' In the coining of words, more perhaps than in anything else, success, and nothing but success, proves justification. 'Personalise' cannot be called a success.

But, with all its faults, the book is one likely to be of real use to students of literature. It is not profound, but it draws attention to many points which are likely to escape the attention of the inexperienced reader, and its whole attitude towards poetry is eminently sane and healthy. Chapter VII, which deals with the Need and Value of Poetry, is particularly good. Nothing is easier than to drift into sentimental generalities on such a subject, but the author does good service in



insisting on the disciplinary and logical character of poetry. 'It has a logic as severe as that of science, a logic more difficult and more subtle because it is based on more elusive conditions...Poetry, in very truth, is a supplement to everyday life of the most intensely practical character...it knits together (life's) scattered and disparate bits of experience in a revealing way; it organises life afresh, and on a higher plane than that upon which we commonly live.' There is nothing new in all this, but it is put with vigour and conviction, and, after all, the value of criticism lies less in saying something new than in bringing home to us truths with which we ought to be, but are not, familiar. The section on Primitive Poetry contains some interesting suggestions, though perhaps it scarcely discriminates sufficiently between different degrees of poetic sensitiveness in different races. But, of necessity, these remarks are very condensed, and the point which Mr Fairchild makes, if not the only one possible, has a value of its own. His study of poetry as a whole is calculated to stimulate thought and set the reader investigating for himself, and the work which achieves this, fulfils the chief purpose of criticism by compelling us to set up and defend our own standard of right judgment.

GRACE E. HADOW.

CIRENCESTER.

*The Middle English Penitential Lyric.* By F. A. PATTERSON. New York: Columbia University Press. 1911. 8vo. ix + 203 pp.

A more appropriate title for this book would have been 'The Middle English Devotional Lyric,' for Dr Patterson has extended its limits to include many pieces not definitely penitential, such as the translation of 'Veni Creator Spiritus' (No. 44), the prayer 'To þe gude angell' (No. 46), 'A Morning Thanksgiving and Prayer to God' (No. 48), and, indeed, with few exceptions the whole latter half of the material which he has assembled. In the case of some of these pieces—as, for example, the 'Pater Noster in Anglico (!)'—even the lyrical quality is difficult to perceive. Nor do all of them show that unity of emotion which Mr Patterson accepts as the true test of the lyric (p. 2). For example, 'A Confessioun to Ihesu Crist' (No. 4) is separable into three distinct poems: (1) a prayer to Christ, (2) a prayer to Our Lady, (3) a prayer to angels, saints, etc.

In his Introduction Mr Patterson severely criticises a classification of religious lyrics 'by means of external—almost accidental—names, such as *Prayers to God, to Christ and to the Virgin Mary*' for the reason that 'the unity of the lyric is not expressed by a title chosen from some convenient external feature of the poem' (p. 2). To group various prayers to the Virgin, as German scholars have done, under the heading *Mariengebete*, is to his mind particularly objectionable, 'as a prayer to Mary may express any one of many religious emotions,—it may be a prayer of confession, a supplication for mercy, an avowal of reformation, or an expression of mystic love-longing. In fact, a title

more artificial and meaningless would be hard to find' (p. 3). Nevertheless, the tabular classification which he adopts for his lyrics follows much the same system:

'B. *Poems expressing contrition.*

a. Sorrow for Sin.

II. Non-Liturgical.

a. *Prayers to the Deity.*

b. *Poems to the Virgin Mary.*

c. *Timor Mortis Poems.*

β. Prayers to Be Kept from Sin, and for Aid.

I. Liturgical.

II. Non-Liturgical.

a. *Resolves to Reform.*

b. *General Prayers to the Deity for Protection from Sin.*

c. *Prayers to Christ.*

d. *Prayers to the Virgin Mary.* (pp. 13—15.)

Moreover, the Prayers included under the last subdivision present a variety of religious emotion almost as wide as that in the collections of *Mariengebete*.

The value of Mr Patterson's monograph would have been increased by limiting it more strictly to the field of penitential verse, and by bringing together a more comprehensive collection of lyrics within that field. The two paraphrases of the Pater Noster (Nos. 39 and 40), for example, might have been omitted, but one is surprised not to find Maydestone's version of the Fifty-first Psalm, 'Mercy God of my misdede.' Other important omissions might be cited, but it is clear that Mr Patterson has undertaken to present specimens rather than an exhaustive collection.

The texts included in the volume are for the most part reprinted from the Early English Text Society and other printed collections, only six of the sixty-nine pieces being printed directly from manuscript sources. The references added in the Notes to versions in other manuscripts might have been considerably extended. For example, No. 4 is found also in Harl. MS. 210 and Camb. MSS. Ii. 6. 43, Dd. 14. 26, Dd. 8. 2. No. 21, of which it is stated there are 'no variants,' occurs in Harl. MSS. 116 and 2225 and in Ashmol. MS. 59. Under No. 25 reference might also have been made to the closely related 'Orison to þe trinite' (in 12-line stanzas) which is inserted in three MSS. of the *Cursor Mundi* (E.E.T.S. pp. 1454—1459). No. 26 occurs also in B.M. Addit. MS. 31042. Very similar to No. 32 is the Song to the Virgin in Ashmol. MS. 1393, as noted by Chambers and Sidgwick, p. 346. No. 39 occurs

also in the Auchinleck MS., from which it was printed by Kölbing in *Engl. Stud.* ix, 44. No. 52—Richard de Caistre's Hymn—was printed from ten MSS. by Mr Dundas Harford in the *Proceedings of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeol. Soc.* xvii, 221—244. Five more manuscript copies of the same poem are known to me and even these probably do not exhaust the list. No. 67 occurs also in Royal MS. 17. A. xxvii. Nos. 11, 42, and 44, by a strange slip are ascribed to 'Porkington MS. No. 10,' but are actually taken from Phillipp's MS. 8336.

A comparison of Mr Patterson's texts with his printed sources affords gratifying evidence of typographical accuracy. With regard to the texts printed for the first time, one may note that a collation of the *Deus in Nomine Tuo Saluum Me Fac* (No. 21) with the text of this poem printed independently by MacCracken<sup>1</sup> from the same manuscript reveals a series of discrepancies which is disquieting. In 35 cases Patterson prints a final *e* which is lacking in MacCracken's text. Other variations are as follows:

<i>Ll.</i>	<i>Patterson.</i>	<i>MacCracken.</i>
3	sarch	serch
6	ay &	ax y
15	Wher	Ther
20	Gramarcy	Gramercy
23	remembred	remembred
33	fon	foon
34	dispytt	disperpyll
39	fulfyll	fulfille
45	blessed	blesed
51	day	way
54	Salve	Helpe (cf. footnote)
55	finde oder plite	finde in oder plite
58	thyngis	thyng
64	Luyng	Louynge
66	commbttable	commvtable
69	contrite	contrite
70	alle lust	all that lust
71	mescheue	myscheue
72	alle hut	all myn hirt

A comparison of these readings leads to the conclusion that this poem has been printed with surprising carelessness either in the *Minor Poems* or in the *Middle English Penitential Lyric*; though without collating the manuscript it is of course impossible to determine which editor is responsible.

Many of the errors and omissions to which attention has been directed in this review of Mr Patterson's monograph are trivial. The volume makes a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the Middle English religious lyric by the closer relationship which it establishes between this verse and the Liturgy of the Church and Latin devotional treatises. The discovery that the Orison in the Vernon MS. beginning 'Lord my God al Merciable' is a close translation of a prayer by Thomas Aquinas is especially interesting. On the

<sup>1</sup> *Minor Poems of Lydgate* i, E.E.T.S., Ext. Ser. 107, pp. 10—12.

other hand, Mr Patterson certainly goes to an extreme in declaring that 'Latin hymns and devotional Latin poetry had no appreciable influence upon the development of the Middle English religious lyric' (p. 25). To cite a particular instance, No. 43, for which he failed to find a source, is directly based on the hymn *Ave Maris Stella* in Daniel's *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, I, 204. Numerous other instances might be cited, especially among the poems addressed to the Virgin, in which the Middle English verses are expansions of Latin hymns.

CARLETON BROWN.

BRYN MAWR, PA., U.S.A.

*Early English Classical Tragedies.* Edited with Introduction and Notes by JOHN W. CUNLIFFE. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1912. 8vo. c + 352 pp.

Professor Cunliffe is well known by his work on the influence of Seneca on Elizabethan drama, and no one could be more competent than he for the supplementary work he has undertaken in the book before us. He has given us the text of four early plays on the Senecan model—*Gorboduc*, *Jocasta*, *Gismond of Salerne* and *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, and has prefixed to them an Introduction in which he traces the history of Tragedy through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance to the close of the sixteenth century. Notes and a Glossary complete the book, the notes on *Gorboduc* being supplied by Dr H. A. Watt.

The Introduction is a most comprehensive and useful treatment of its subject. Its great omission—the only serious fault to be found with the whole book—is that it gives no account of Seneca's plays and their characteristics of structure and content. Such an account would have put the reader in a position to appreciate the various indications of a return to Seneca seen in Renaissance writers. As it is, an acquaintance with Senecan Tragedy is taken for granted, or left to be deduced by the reader from incidental references made in connexion with later writers.

Professor Cunliffe shows very lucidly how in the Middle Ages the very idea of tragedy as a dramatic form of art faded from knowledge, how it came to be thought that a play was recited by a single speaker, while one or more actors accompanied him in dumb show. (Incidentally he shows the long persistence of a curious error which turned one Calliopius, the scribe of a MS. of Terence, into the poet's friend who recited his plays.) One might think that this view of the manner in which ancient drama was given, might have had some effect in causing the introduction of *intermedii* into the representations of Italian renaissance plays. It hardly appears however from Professor Cunliffe's account that there is ground for assuming such a connexion: though it does seem clear that the Italian *intermedii*, as Professor Cunliffe argues, led to the English Dumb-shows. (It may be noticed that Mr Watt in his note on p. 298 is on this point not in agreement with

Professor Cunliffe, and considers that Dumb-shows are derived from a native source—'the allegorical "tableaux" or stands which were a regular accompaniment of city pageants and court masques.'

The Introduction throws a good deal of light on the method of staging by 'houses' derived, as Professor Cunliffe says, from the *sacre rappresentazioni*. Was not *Gorboduc* so staged? and should not this be remembered in connexion with Mr Watts' note on p. 299:—'It will be noted that no stage directions of any kind are given. These will be inserted wherever necessary in the notes. The opening scene of the tragedy takes place in a room in Gorboduc's palace.' That staging by 'houses' was in common use in English University plays is seen by the direction prefixed to Abraham Fraunce's *Victoria*:—'Quatuor extruendæ sunt domus, nimirum Fidelis 1<sup>a</sup>, Fortunij 2<sup>a</sup>, Cornelij 3<sup>a</sup>, Octauiani 4<sup>a</sup>. Quin et sacellum quoddam erigendum est, etc.'

Other points of interest which are treated in the Introduction are the contending influences of Greek and Roman tragedy in Italy in the Renaissance period, and the influence of the study of Vitruvius and the architectural remains of antiquity in bringing about a truer conception of the nature of classical drama. The political motive in *Gorboduc*, especially in Norton's part of the tragedy, is well brought out.

On p. xlv, l. 4 from bottom, 'Halcyone' should be 'Halcyonē' ('Halcyonæ').

On p. lxxx 'John Knox's *Christ Triumphant*' should be 'John Foxe's.'

On p. lxxxvi. It is rather curious that though *Gismond of Salerne* was acted at the Inner Temple in 156 $\frac{7}{8}$ , the authors, all, as Professor Cunliffe says, presumably members of the Inn, were all of them men in middle life. At any rate none of them, 'Rod. Straf[ford?], Hen[ry] No[el], G. Al., Ch[ristopher] Hat[ton], R[obert] W[ilmot]' can be identified in the Admission Lists of the Inn which begin in 1546. One would expect that a new form of literary enterprise would have been taken in hand by men of thirty or under.

On p. cxix. Professor Cunliffe says that Legge's *Richardus Tertius* was 'acted at St John's College, Cambridge in 1573, and apparently repeated in 1579 and 1582.' The play was acted in 15 $\frac{79}{80}$ . In a previous volume of this *Review* (III, p. 141) I discussed the date 1582 and came to the conclusion that it might be disregarded. I know no evidence for a first representation in 1573.

On p. 31 should not the comma after l. 9 and the full-stop after l. 10 be interchanged?

On p. 306 Mr Watt says 'It is not clear why the Duke of Albany should be here [*Gorboduc* v. 2, 120] referred to as a foreign prince.' But Holinshed's *Chronicle* (1577) i fo. 39<sup>b</sup> shows that Albany lay chiefly in Scotland.

The authors of *Gismond of Salerne* and of *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, especially the latter, drew very largely on Seneca, as is well shown in the editorial notes. It has not however been shown that Hughes is under obligations to Lucan also, and I am therefore greatly

obliged to my colleague Professor W. C. Summers, who made the discovery, for allowing me to print here his valuable note on the point.

In *Arthur*, Act iv, Scene 2, where the Senecan influence is very slight, Hughes is inspired by Lucan. It is known that Garnier got from the seventh book of the *Pharsalia* some ideas for the battle of Thapsus in *Cornélie* (cp. especially *Corn.* 1727 sqq. with *Phars.* 557 sqq.). But the description of the battle between Arthur and Mordred is little more than amplification of Lucan's. We have all the essentials reproduced: the clamour for the signal, portents and heavy rains, the hesitation of a usually confident general, the reference to the various nations fighting with each army and warring each in its own peculiar way, orders given to soldiers to spare the mean and slay the noble, the refusal of the poet to follow out every detail of the fray, and so forth—not without occasional misunderstandings of the difficult original. I notice by the way in this same battle-scene at least three loans from other books of the *Pharsalia*.

Dr Cunliffe's book is a valuable supplement to Mr Warwick Bond's *Early Plays from the Italian* and may be warmly recommended to students of the Elizabethan drama.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

*The Authorship of the Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.*

By C. F. TUCKER BROOKE (Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences). New Haven: Yale University Press. 1912. 8vo. 67 pp. (145—211).

The purpose of Mr Tucker Brooke's paper is to prove that Marlowe was the sole author of the *Contention* and *True Tragedy*, that Shakspeare alone altered these two plays into the pieces called *The Second* and *The Third Part of Henry the Sixth* in the 1623 folio, and that the Shaksperian versions are very much inferior to their Marlowe originals. Mr Tucker Brooke also believes that the text upon which Shakspeare worked was fuller and less corrupt than that of the Millington quartos, so that 'the 1623 version of the plays, besides including for the first time the alterations of Shakespeare, also represented a purer and more complete copy of the Marlovian work.' This view denies to Shakspeare any hand in the *Contention* or the *True Tragedy*, refuses to admit collaboration by Greene, Peele, or any other dramatist with either Marlowe or Shakspeare, and so contravenes, in various degrees, the opinions of Halliwell-Phillips, Furnivall, Fleay and Miss Jane Lee.

The essay is a *Tendenzschrift*, written by a devotee of Marlowe to the greater glory of his master. This fact does not deprive it of critical value: on the contrary, it has inspired the writer to the laborious collection of excellent objective evidence, while the interpretative power of sympathy has sharpened his insight into Marlowe's character, and Marlowe's way of regarding life and men. But it leads him into dealing somewhat cavalierly with Shakspeare, whenever he can be looked on as a rival to Marlowe, and with any and every critic whom Mr Tucker Brooke suspects of a deficient adoration at the shrine of Christopher. Mr Halliwell-Phillips, in setting up the hypothesis which alone (in my

view) takes account of all the facts, was, it seems, 'inspired by the pious desire of the Shakespeare-worshipper to ascribe to his idol whatever might be of particular merit in the work, while relieving him of all responsibility for the mediocre portions.' Shakspeare himself had the audacity to expand a speech of York in the first scene of 2 *Henry VI*, in order, as it strikes a plain man, to make the soliloquy more natural, and less like a confidence across the footlights. Mr Tucker Brooke holds, however, that 'Shakespeare was impelled not by the desire of voicing more truly the real character of York, but merely by the ambition of the young poet to express a couple of pretty notions.' In Act II, Scene iv, again, Shakspeare is guilty of 'bad art and bad psychology' in making Humphrey cast a thought on 'so trifling a detail' as that the flints of the street were wounding his wife's feet. In other passages Shakspeare's work exhibits 'bad taste,' 'pure bombast,' 'hollow declamation,' 'meaningless rant.' Much of Mr Tucker Brooke's invective is beside the point—as when he imputes the insolence of Shakspeare's Iden to Shakspeare himself—and the rest is, to say the least, overstated.

Mr Tucker Brooke succeeds in demonstrating (what, indeed, is hardly disputed) that Marlowe had a chief hand (the essayist would rather say, the sole hand) in the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy*. After a comparison of these plays with Marlowe's undoubted work in respect of plot and of character (pp. 152—160, two admirable sections), he considers the verbal parallels between these two plays and the accepted plays of Marlowe, and, making ingenious use of Marlowe's habit of repeating himself, he heaps up evidence which there is no withstanding. A section on metrical evidence, which follows, shows that as regards pyrrhic fifth feet, eleven-syllable lines and run-on lines the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* behave, on the whole, like Marlowe's work. I have myself tested this result by comparing the first thousand lines in Mr Tucker Brooke's edition of *Edward II* with the first act of the *Contention*, and I find that the proportion of seven-syllable fore-lines with a marked pause is about 2 per cent. in each case: this is lower than the lowest ratio in any Shaksperian play, and lower even than the composite *Shrew* (2.9 per cent.). The indices for 2 and 3 *Henry VI* are 3.6 and 3.7. (This result does not exclude the possibility that Shakspeare may have touched the *Contention* and the *True Tragedy*, but it shows that his part in them must have been small.)

Mr Tucker Brooke's table on p. 181 assigns to the *True Tragedy* 7 per cent. of eleven-syllable lines. No accepted play of Marlowe shown in this table has more than 4.3 per cent. This seems to suggest that a second hand, besides that of Marlowe, had worked on this play. But the essayist himself fails to notice this point. Later on he writes that Greene's allusion to the 'Tygers heart' seems to have pertinence 'only if we assume Shakspeare's revision of the play in question already to have been made.' Surely we may go further and say that Greene's parody of a particular line cannot imply that Shakspeare was related in any way to any play, unless Greene regarded it as a line written

by Shakspeare. But it occurs already in the *True Tragedy*. Unless, then, we are to convict Greene of a curious blunder, Shakspeare had worked—however slightly—on the *True Tragedy*, and some of his work appears in the quarto versions. But this, added to Mr Tucker Brooke's own contention that much of Marlowe's work was omitted in these imperfect copies, and appeared for the first time in the 1623 folio, amounts exactly to the Halliwell-Phillips hypothesis which Mr Tucker Brooke so contemptuously rejects: namely 'that the original plays upon which 2 and 3 *Henry VI* were based have been lost, and that the *Contention* and *True Tragedy* included the first additions which Shakspeare made to the originals.'

We may agree with Mr Tucker Brooke that the evidence for any collaboration of Greene or Peele in the quarto plays is extremely slight and indirect; but he does not consider the rather striking internal evidence that *some* writer was engaged on them, besides Marlowe (and, if we are to say so, Shakspeare), before they reached the state in which the folio presents them.

E. W. LUMMIS.

CAMBRIDGE.

*The Winter's Tale*. Edited by F. W. MOORMAN. (*The Works of Shakespeare*, Arden Edition.) London: Methuen. 1912. 8vo. xxxiii + 125 pp.

This volume worthily maintains the reputation of the Arden Edition. The text of the first Folio has been followed with as little variation as possible: divergences from this have been recorded in foot-notes, while alterations suggested by previous editors receive attention in the general notes when their importance is sufficient to justify it. Professor Moorman's work in this respect is most praiseworthy; if he has erred at all, it is on the right side, and occasional instances of rather too much regard for the punctuation of the first Folio may be readily condoned. The introduction offers many points of interest. Mr Moorman's acute critical sense, which was so happily displayed in his study of Herrick, does not desert him here. *The Winter's Tale* teems with questions interesting to the student and critic. The relation the play bears to the source, the topical satire and the country festival scenes, the form and construction of the play and its place not only in Shakespeare's work, but as an extraordinarily interesting milestone in the long and tortuous road followed by the Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, all claim attention. Naturally the scope of the editor is limited, and Mr Moorman can only touch lightly on some of these questions. He refers twice to Professor Thorndike's work on the influence of Beaumont and Fletcher upon Shakespeare, and on each occasion with good judgement, particularly in the last portion of his Introduction, where he spiritedly and successfully shows that Hermione was not the mere creature of situations, but a Shakespearean character. We are very grateful for insistence on this point, for there is a tendency



in some quarters towards rash and uncritical generalisations in the history of the Jacobean drama, in which hawks and handsaws are not infrequently confused. Shakespeare's artistic sense never allowed him to subordinate character and truth to the surprise element in plot; the increased intricacy and complication of story in his later plays is not a mere spasmodic change, but may be found to some extent in the later tragedies. Mr Moorman is not quite convincing on Leontes and disposes of him rather too hastily. As a study of jealousy ingrained in a character Leontes is worthy of a high place: he stands far above nearly all other treatments of this theme, which was so attractive to the Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatist. The companion picture to Leontes in Shakespeare is Master Ford, where the comic potentialities of the character are realised: but throughout the Jacobean drama the tragic effects caused by the character as well as the possibilities of something near tragedy in the character itself, are exploited in an almost bewildering variety of ways. Ford's Bassanes is an instance of the former and Massinger's Leosthenes is a good example of the other.

In his treatment of the source Mr Moorman is very fairly complete, and gives a capital comparison of Shakespeare's work with that of Greene in his *Pandosto* and of Sabie in the *Fisherman's Tale*. He tells us that Autolycus is entirely Shakespeare's own creation. He might have pointed out that the genesis of the character may be found in Greene's little portrait of Capnio, where the relation that Autolycus bears to the actual plot is indicated. It forms a good instance of Shakespeare's expansion of character from a mere hint in the original. Another interesting subject dealt with in the Introduction is the treatment of the Oracle motive. Mr Moorman here is brief, but his treatment is pregnant with suggestion, not only as regards its intrinsic importance but in the questions so closely connected with it.

The notes both textual and critical are throughout excellent and leave nothing to be desired. The illustrative quotations are well-chosen, and in this matter the editor shows an admirable restraint. Certain difficulties in the text remain unexplained; but owing to the wealth of detail with which the *Winter's Tale* is embroidered this is of course unavoidable.

F. W. CLARKE.

BANGOR.

*The Cambridge History of English Literature.* Edited by A. W. WARD and A. R. WALLER. Vol. VIII. The Age of Dryden. Cambridge: University Press. 1912. 8vo. xiv + 515 pp.

This volume of the *Cambridge History of English Literature* suggests in a very definite form the question what ought to count as literature for the purposes of such a history as this, and the answer which it seems to give is probably the right one, namely that the word 'literature' must be taken to include every written, or at least printed, expression of ideas. Thus we have chapters on the 'Early Quakers,'

on the 'Platonists and Latitudinarians,' on 'Legal Literature,' on 'John Locke' and on 'The Progress of Science,' dealing with subjects which have very small connection with literature in its higher sense: but, as we have said, the decision of the editors in this matter is probably judicious. A history of literature carried out on the principle of cooperation will almost necessarily fail in unity of idea, and compensation for this must be sought in the encyclopædic completeness of information which it is possible to provide by enlisting in the undertaking many specialists in various subjects. It is seldom that any single man can be found competent, as Hallam was, to write the history of a great period of literature in an encyclopædic manner. His modestly entitled *Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* is a book which shews an extraordinary extent of reading, as well as remarkable soundness of judgment, and with some self-imposed limitations the author covers the whole field in a manner which in this age seems to be thought impossible. It may safely be predicted that men will still from time to time appear who, confident in the essential soundness of their knowledge, will venture to brave criticism on the details of many subjects, and to construct for us a synoptical view of vast fields of literature, which shall bear the impress of a single mind. For ordinary purposes, however, we are in the hands of the students of particular periods or particular authors, and we must make the best of them, as the editors of the *Cambridge History of English Literature* are endeavouring to do.

The volume before us might have been much stronger than it is on the purely literary side, if the editors had so chosen. The question what has become of Milton inevitably arises. This is the period in which his greatest work was produced, *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*, and he is not dealt with at all, except very incidentally in a brief review of the prosody of the seventeenth century. The answer to the question is of course easy. It was convenient to deal with Milton's work generally in the preceding volume, and consequently the subject was not available here. But this is much to be regretted. Milton's poetical work may very properly be divided into two distinct portions, a process which has actually been applied to Marvell in this history; and as a matter of fact the relations between Milton's late poetical work and the age in which it was produced were far closer than is realised by those who take a superficial view. The Age of Dryden genuinely admired Milton, in spite of his republicanism: Dryden himself referred to him as 'Mr Milton whom we all admire with so much justice,' spoke of *Paradise Lost* as 'one of the greatest, most noble and most sublime poems which either this age or nation has produced,' and wrote lines in which Milton is preferred as an epic poet both to Homer and to Virgil, — a sufficiently remarkable compliment. In any case the poetry of the period is very incomplete without him, and it is unfortunate, moreover, that any encouragement should be given to the idea that if an author is inconvenient, if his presence in any particular period does not suit

our ideas of what the tendencies of the period are or ought to be, we are at liberty to leave him out of account or treat him as if he belonged to some other period. Again, from the list of the prose-writers of the period an important name is missing, that of Bunyan. He too has been dealt with in the preceding volume, but his place was undoubtedly in this:—*Grace Abounding* was published in 1666, and *The Pilgrim's Progress* in 1678.

The literary staple of this volume is supplied mainly by the chapters on Dryden, Butler, the Restoration drama, the Court poets and the development of modern prose. Of these, Dr Ward's chapter on Dryden is by far the most important. His treatment of the subject is altogether admirable: no such comprehensive and judicious account has been hitherto given of the literary work of the man who more than any other impressed his genius upon this age. The poet, the satirist, the dramatist and the prose writer are all appreciated with the same sound and well-balanced criticism, and the whole is admirably summed up in the pages on his great literary qualities with which the chapter concludes.

Butler is dealt with by Mr W. F. Smith, who well brings out the influence of earlier satirists and in particular of Rabelais. In tracing the debt to French medieval satire he seems to imply that Butler was directly acquainted with it, which is perhaps not very likely; but it is interesting to note the emergence in new forms of the traditional motives. The nonconformist sects, as Mr Smith observes, take the place here of the mendicant friars as butts for ridicule, while the debate between Hudibras and the widow represents the 'querelle des femmes,' which appeared in an acute form in the *Roman de la Rose*. Parallels with Rabelais are frequently indicated, rather fancifully sometimes. The comparison of the 'Lobster boil'd,' used in reference to the change of the morning sky from black to red, cannot surely owe anything to the jest of Rabelais about a lobster being cardinalised: nor again is the idea in the line,

As Rats do from a falling House,

likely to be borrowed directly from Pliny. It was familiar in English long before Butler wrote; as for example in Bacon's Essays, 'It is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall.' The merit of these things in Butler lies in the application. Mr Smith, however, gives an admirable account of *Hudibras*, and does justice briefly to the rather neglected *Characters*; but he says nothing of Butler's burlesque criticism of the heroic drama, or of his probable share in the *Rehearsal*.

Mr Previté-Orton deals with the minor satirists, of whom Marvell and Oldham are the most important, and with the anonymous political ballads and pamphlets. His treatment is perhaps somewhat too abstract, and is not sufficiently illustrated by references to the text of his authors, but his general criticism is doubtless sound.

Three chapters are devoted to the Restoration drama, which is on

the whole satisfactorily treated. The first, by Professor Schelling, deals with comedy down to Wycherley, the second, by Mr Whibley, mainly with Congreve, Vanbrugh and Farquhar, while in the third Mr Bartholomew writes of the tragedy of the period, including Otway, Lee, Southerne and Rowe, the heroic drama having been for the most part dealt with under the name of Dryden. Professor Schelling rather fully discusses both the earlier and the later Spanish influence on the English drama, and less fully, perhaps as a matter more generally understood, the influence of Molière and the French drama. Mr Whibley shews much fine appreciation, but his estimate of Congreve as a dramatist cannot be accepted without some demur. With what he says of Congreve's brilliancy of style we may readily agree.

In point and concision, his style is still unmatched in the literature of England. There is never in his writing a word too much or an epithet that is superfluous.... His language appeals always to the ear rather than to the eye. So fine a master of comic diction was he, that, in every line he wrote, you may mark the rise and fall of the actor's voice.... He arranges his vowels with the same care which a musician gives to the arrangement of his notes. He avoids the clashing of uncongenial consonants, as a maker of harmonies refrains from discord.

We may allow also that, within the limits of the very artificial world to which his comedy belongs, his drawing of character is admirable: but Mr Whibley in his appreciation of these qualities almost entirely omits to suggest the weakness which justified the failure on the stage of what is in character and dialogue the most brilliant of his comedies, *The Way of the World*. Congreve, in fact, was strangely deficient in the power of construction, and his plots are in several instances so needlessly complicated that it is almost impossible for spectator or reader to render to himself a connected account of the action. Congreve himself may say what he will about the plot of *The Double-Dealer*, but neither he nor Mr Whibley will ever persuade us that it is well constructed, and the failure of *The Way of the World* was doubtless caused by the want of intelligible combination in the plot. Vanbrugh had an architectonic faculty which was wanting to Congreve, and for this reason several of his comedies, *The Provoked Wife*, for example, and *The Confederacy* are better than any of Congreve's, in spite of their inferiority in brilliancy of expression.

In the chapter on the Court poets, also by Mr Whibley, we note the generous estimate of Rochester 'the one man of undisputed genius' in this group, for whose character he has something to say, as well as for his writings. The mark of the amateur is on the productions of the rest, but Rochester must be excluded from this condemnation. 'His energy and concentration entitled him to be judged by the highest standard.'

Professor Saintsbury's chapter on the Prosody of the seventeenth century is a convenient summary of prosodic progress, which suffers somewhat by the practical exclusion of Milton, who has been dealt with already in the seventh volume. The question, moreover, what was the exact contribution of Waller to the development of the couplet measure,

remains here unanswered. It is not a matter merely of concluding the sense within the distich, for that had been done by others: what charmed the ear of Waller's contemporaries was chiefly the special kind of balance and antithesis, in harmony with the character of the stopped couplet, which Waller successfully cultivated, after the model of Ovid far more than of Fairfax, combined with a mechanical smoothness of rhythm which was in contrast with the ruggedness of Jonson and Donne.

The chapter contributed by Mr Wheatley on 'Memoirs and Letter Writers' is disappointing. The writer speaks of the 'enthraling interest' of Pepys's Diary, but he hardly justifies the expression, and he certainly does not succeed in placing these inimitable records in their proper literary position. Instead of this, he occupies valuable space with an account of the author's work for the Navy, which has nothing to do with literature at all.

In the concluding chapter Mr Tilley deals with what was 'perhaps the most important literary achievement that falls within the period,' namely the creation of a prose style which, in structure at least, is essentially the same as that of to-day. For the chronicling of this not inconsiderable achievement the space assigned, of less than five and twenty pages, seems very insufficient. The subject of French influence on English prose, which Mr Tilley is so well qualified to deal with, and the critical examination of the prose of Cowley, Dryden, Temple and Halifax might surely have laid claim to a larger proportion of the volume than this. The style of Halifax, for example, instead of being dismissed in a few words, might well have been thought worthy of a detailed analysis. Within his narrow compass, however, Mr Tilley is thoroughly sound.

Of the remaining contents of the volume it is impossible here to speak fully. Perhaps rather a disproportionate space is given to the representatives of religious movements, the Quakers, the Platonists and Latitudinarians, the Divines of the Church of England; and the chapter on Legal literature belongs really to an earlier period, as indeed is admitted by Dr Ward, who adds to it an interesting appendix on Selden. The philosophical and scientific writings of the age are dealt with competently by Professor Sorley and Dr Shipley.

It must be added that, as usual, the Bibliography is one of the most valuable features of the volume.

G. C. MACAULAY.

CAMBRIDGE.

*Studies and Essays.* By MARY SUDDARD. Cambridge: University Press. 1912. 8vo. 308 pp.

There is always a sense of harshness in judging the work of one whom death has recently carried beyond the reach of praise or blame, and the feeling is intensified when, as in the present case, the writer has been cut down at the very beginning of a promising career. There

is something intrusive even in praise at such a time. But art is greater and more sacred than any individual emotion and the true artist would be the first to feel it an impertinence that his work should be judged on any ground save its own intrinsic merit, or by any standard save the highest. And indeed the work of this girl of twenty-one (already, be it noted, Fellow Univ. Gall.) can afford to stand simply on its own merits. Of mixed French and English parentage Miss Suddard was equally at home in both languages. Several of these essays were first published in French and show evidence of as wide and varied a knowledge and appreciation of French as of English literature—in itself no mean equipment for a critic. A passionate sense of beauty and of the magic of words gives her true insight into the poetry of Shelley and Keats. She is of their kindred and the depth of feeling which she shows in such essays as that on the *Eve of St Agnes* and the *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty* makes us wonder whether she herself might not some day have found poetic expression. The book has the faults of youth, a tendency to over-abundant quotation, an occasional flash of school-boy wit. Miss Suddard loves and hates with a vehemence which necessarily warps her critical judgment at times. She fails to appreciate the royal rage of Ben Jonson stirred to fury at the sight of

Hell gaping under us, and o'er our heads  
Black ravenous ruin with his sail-stretched wings;

or the capacity for intense feeling, the bitter disillusionment and stern sincerity which underlie Swift's biting cynicism. Nor has she that breadth of grasp which experience of life alone can bring. The essays on *Measure for Measure* and *Chaucer's Art of Portraiture*, clever and promising as they are, show an inevitable immaturity of mind. But it would promise ill for a critic of one-and-twenty if satire and cynicism attracted her as much as beauty and idealism, and a noble and well-founded enthusiasm for constructive art is the best possible basis on which to build. We can afford to pass by with a smile the wilful epigrammatist who sees Dr Primrose in Addison, and turn with sincere admiration to the discriminating lover of literature at its best and noblest whose catholic sympathies embrace John Inglesant and the Wife of Bath, Master Shallow and Adonais. We are often told that it is impossible to say anything new about the great classics of literature whose work has been pored over by scholars and analysed line by line. But sincere criticism must always contain something original, since it bears the impress of the personality of the critic. To say that there is nothing profoundly new in this volume of essays, is to say what is obvious; but the author's delicate perceptiveness makes itself felt on every page. She brings out well that sensitiveness to 'every separate manifestation of loveliness' which marks the early work of Keats, and the way in which this gradually yields to 'what Coleridge defines as the mark of the born poet, "the power of reducing multitude into unity of effect, and modifying a series of thoughts by some one predominant thought or feeling."' She sums up in a happy phrase the secret of

Shelley's weakness as a philosopher:—'Shelley had gone wrong simply through attributing to the common mind a sort of æsthetic acoustic which was entirely lacking.' And her treatment of 'Shelley's Idealism' shows thought as well as sympathy:—'Now, in order to understand Shelley, you must...learn to look upon the ideal we are struggling forward to as not only more true, but as more natural and more normal than the reality we have attained.' And again:—'The child-like innocence of Shelley's mind allowed him to accept the ideal in all its simplicity, without a trace of the astonishment it would have roused in a worldling bound down by the actual forms of reality.' Quite so. It was just this absence of astonishment in the presence of the ideal which at times made Shelley's conduct somewhat disconcerting to worldlings.

Miss Suddard's treatment of Shakespeare, if slight, is suggestive. The comparison drawn between Morose and Shallow's cousin Silence is admirable, though we agree with the author that the earlier comparison of Dame Ursula the pig-woman of *Bartholomew Fair* with Falstaff is hardly fair.

The book is one which will be read with real interest by all lovers of English poetry. It bears the impress of a fine mind, and in its criticism there is much to stimulate thought and arouse enthusiasm.

GRACE E. HADOW.

CIRENCESTER.

*The Complete Works of George Savile, first Marquess of Halifax.*

Edited with an Introduction by WALTER RALEIGH. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1912. 8vo. xxviii + 256 pp.

To have the writings of Halifax published together in a single convenient volume is a thing for which we ought to be grateful. They have of course been collected before, and very carefully edited moreover, by Miss Foxcroft, in her *Life and Letters of Halifax*, but there they serve only as an appendix to the *Life*, forming a part of the second of two bulky volumes, whereas here we have them by themselves in a much handier form. It is needless to say that they are gracefully introduced by Sir Walter Raleigh, who shews fine appreciation of their literary qualities and of the practical wit and wisdom of the author.

It is the fascination of the writings of Halifax that they were suggested by his experience of life, and are crammed with the lessons drawn directly from that experience. Here are no flights of the imagination, no ingenious ornaments of style, no beautiful vanities of authorship. He quotes none of those fallacious historical precedents which are dear to the mind of the academic scholar; his writings are bare of classical allusion. What he has to tell is what he has found out for himself in the course of his traffic with the world; but he tells it with so much wit and irony, with such acuteness of observation and pungency of phrasing, that he runs some risk of losing the esteem of those who think that wise men must needs be dull. ...English literature is very rich; only a very rich literature could have afforded to

neglect so distinguished a writer. But it is not rich in practical wisdom; and the neglect of Halifax is a thing to be regretted and amended. (p. viii.)

The most popular of the writings of Halifax has been that which stands first in this collection, 'Advice to a Daughter'; but nevertheless it is that which we could perhaps best spare. It is full of good sense and practical acuteness, no doubt, especially in those parts which relate to household management; but with regard to the relations of husband and wife the advice is almost cynical in its assumption that there will be no real depth of affection, and that the wife's endeavour must be chiefly to make what profit she can for herself out of her husband's faults and weaknesses. If he goes astray, he will be less in a position to censure her errors severely; if he is a drunkard, she will have the more opportunities of managing his affairs; if he is a fool, her wit will shine the more by comparison with him. It is not quite pleasant to think of this kind of advice being offered to a young girl, and such persons as Dorothy Osborne must have read it with high-tempered scorn. The much-beloved daughter to whom this 'New Year's Gift' was presented (at the age of thirteen), and who is said to have studied it very carefully, appears not to have been very comfortable to live with, when she became a wife. She was the mother, it may be observed, of that Earl of Chesterfield who is best known now as the author of the 'Letters to his Son.'

There are no such reserves to be made with regard to the other writings of Halifax: we can read them with unmingled pleasure. In such pamphlets as 'The Anatomy of an Equivalent,' and 'A Letter to a Dissenter,' the practical sagacity of the author is thrown into such a form that it cannot easily be disengaged from the passing politics of the moment; but to the remainder—the 'Character of King Charles II,' the 'Thoughts and Reflections,' and 'The Character of a Trimmer'—a higher and more permanent value belongs. The 'Character of King Charles II' is, as Professor Raleigh says, a masterpiece in its kind, and through all its criticism we feel the essential sympathy of the writer with the temperament of the sovereign whom he knew so well. Charles was in fact himself a 'Trimmer' in the less noble sense of the word, and Halifax could not but appreciate his wit, his ready perception of the weaknesses of those with whom he had to do, and his instinctive avoidance of extremes. In the 'Thoughts and Reflections' we have an extremely brilliant and interesting collection of aphorisms, drawn from the practical observation of a man who has seen much of life and who sets down the results of his experience with pungent wit, but without essential bitterness. 'His satire bears no trace of disappointed ambition or poisoned egotism.' It would be dangerous to begin quoting from them, for we should hardly know where to leave off. But it is in 'The Character of a Trimmer' that we find Halifax at his best. Here the personal interest is greatest, for the author is engaged in vindicating his own position; and at the same time the reflections on politics both home and foreign are more valuable and more racy of the soil than elsewhere, while a strain of genuine eloquence is attained in certain passages;



as in the fine eulogy of the king. It is interesting to compare what he writes here of Charles II, at a moment when the liberties of the nation seemed bound up in his life, with the analysis of his character to which we have already referred. The tone is different, but the essential features are the same.

Though the Nation was lavish of their kindness to him at his first coming, yet there remaineth still a stock of warmth in men's hearts for him. Besides, the good influences of his happy Planet are not yet all spent, and though the stars of men past their youth are generally declining and have less force...yet by a blessing peculiar to himself we may yet hope to be saved even by his Autumnal Fortune. He hath something about him that will draw down a healing miracle for his and our deliverance: ...something in him that wanteth a name, and can no more be defined than it can be resisted, a gift of Heaven of its last finishing, where it will be peculiarly kind. The only Prince in the world that dares be familiar, or that hath right to triumph over those forms which were first invented to give awe to those that could not judge, and to hide defects from those that could; a Prince that hath exhausted himself by his liberality and endangered himself by his mercy; who outshineth by his own light and by his natural virtues all the varnish of studied acquisitions. His faults are like shades to a good picture, or like allay to gold, to make it more useful....In short, whatever he can do, it is no more possible for us to be angry with him than with the bank that secureth us from the raging sea, the kind shade that hideth us from the scorching sun, the welcome hand that reacheth us a reprieve, or with the Guardian Angel that rescueth our souls from the devouring jaws of wretched Eternity.

Usually his style is on a more familiar level, and even the more exalted passages are usually brought down to a lower pitch before they are concluded. Thus his well-known expression of patriotic idolatry concludes with a reference to 'the modern experiment by which the blood of one creature is transmitted into another,' and the enthusiastic praises of Truth are succeeded by the half humorous claim to enlist our climate, our Church, our Laws, nay Virtue itself (as the mean between two extremes) in the Trimmer's cause, while the formidable list of the opponents with which the champions of either extreme will have to contend, begins with Nature, Religion, and Liberty, but concludes characteristically with Common Sense.

We have cause to be grateful, as has been said, to Professor Raleigh for making these things more conveniently accessible; but we have a quarrel with him nevertheless. The text which he gives us is founded upon the first collected edition, the *Miscellanies* of 1700, so far as regards the works included in that volume; but he should surely have told us something of the previous separate editions. We ought at least to know the date and circumstances of the first publication of each of these tracts, and the authority upon which the text of them ultimately rests. Professor Raleigh gives us nothing but vague or misleading statements. Of the 'Advice to a Daughter' he tells us that 'alone among the writings published during his life-time' it 'seems to have been carefully prepared by his own hand for the press.' What does he make of the booksellers' advertisement in the second edition of 1688, in which we are informed that it was originally printed from a copy surreptitiously taken by a scrivener to whom it had been sent to be

copied out, and then corrected by the original manuscript, of which the use was obtained from the same source? Does he suggest that this was a deliberate mystification on the part of Halifax? Surely the more reasonable opinion is that the work was not intended for publication at all at this time, and indeed the references which it contains to the young Lady Betty's future husband must have been a little embarrassing when the time for her betrothal arrived.

Again, why does the editor think that none of the other writings were prepared by the author for the press? 'The Anatomy of an Equivalent' and the 'Letter to a Dissenter' were undoubtedly sent to the press by Halifax himself, and why should we suppose that they were not prepared for the press by his hand? The text of the first editions is almost faultless.

But it is in the case of 'The Character of a Trimmer' that we most feel the want of editorial information. Here the early editions are full of errors, some of which still persist, and unless we take into account the history of the text, it is impossible to feel at all sure of our ground. This pamphlet was first circulated in manuscript, and was published in 1688 from a copy found among the papers of Sir William Coventry, who was the uncle of Halifax. Hence it was at first ascribed to his authorship and bore either his initials or his full name on the title-page of at least four editions. The early editions are full of errors, but in 1697, two years after the death of the author, a so-called third edition (actually the fifth at least) was published, which professed to have had the advantage of correction by the hand of Halifax, though the publisher still apparently believed that the author was Sir William Coventry. Halifax seems to have corrected some mistakes here and there, and, to have made some changes for the sake of greater clearness of expression, but he did not live long enough to revise the proofs, as we are told he had meant to do, and the edition cannot be regarded as having his sanction throughout. A good many bad mistakes passed from it into the edition of 1700.

In Miss Foxcroft's edition (1898) the text is based upon two of the manuscript copies, those that she calls B and C, which give a distinctly better text than the early printed editions. But besides the three generally recognised quarto editions published in 1688 and 1689, which are all dependent on the same original copy and for the most part successively reproduce the same errors, there was another, to which attention has not hitherto been called, and with which Miss Foxcroft was not acquainted. Of this I have found one copy only, among the Acton books, in the Cambridge University Library, and this has lost its title-page, so that the exact date of publication cannot be ascertained. It evidently belongs to about the same period as the others, but it is quite distinct from them, having been printed from a manuscript closely resembling B in the character of its text. It has errors of its own, of course, but it hardly ever shares those of the other editions, so that their mistakes can almost invariably be corrected from it. The material which it affords for this purpose is available also for the most part in

the best manuscripts, but it supplies a valuable confirmation of their text, and to some a printed edition will no doubt seem more authoritative than a manuscript copy<sup>1</sup>.

The information which Professor Raleigh gives us about the text which he has printed is of the most meagre description. In the case of 'The Character of a Trimmer' he professes to have revised and emended the edition which he follows, and especially to have adopted several emendations from Miss Foxcroft's edition, but he has told us nothing of the principles upon which he has worked and has specified his alterations in three instances only, mentioned rather casually in the Introduction. This leaves us with a sense of uneasiness which is to be set at rest only by a closer examination than the ordinary reader can be expected to give. In fact, Professor Raleigh has in about five-and-thirty instances corrected errors by reference to Miss Foxcroft's edition. These are, in about an equal proportion, mistakes which had come down uncorrected from the early editions and misprints which belong especially to the *Miscellanies*. But he is far from having purified his text from all its corruptions, and it becomes necessary to note some of the instances in which it remains unsatisfactory. The references are to page and line of his edition<sup>2</sup>.

p. 53, l. 2. The punctuation is certainly wrong here. The Acton quarto begins a new paragraph, 'When such sacred things as the Laws,' etc.

p. 54, ll. 8 f. 'the Confusion, the Parity.' We should read here 'the Confusion of Parity,' with the manuscripts and Acton. (See Miss Foxcroft's note.)

p. 61, l. 7. 'will not be prone to follow.' Whence does the editor take this reading? All the editions with which I am acquainted have 'proud,' and so apparently the manuscripts.

p. 62, l. 17. 'so well reconciled.' Read rather 'so happily reconciled,' with the better manuscripts and Acton. In the other early editions the adverb was omitted, till 'well' was supplied in 1697.

l. 33. 'the envy of our Neighbour.' The true reading is undoubtedly 'Neighbours': so in Ed. 1, Acton and the manuscripts.

p. 67, l. 6. The punctuation should be corrected by placing a colon after 'next.'

p. 71, l. 18. 'which doth not want the applause, from the greater part of Mankind.' Read 'which yet doth not want the applause of the greater part of Mankind,' with Acton and the better manuscripts.

p. 72, l. 12. 'the devout fire of mistaken Charity.' This is a bad misprint, which the editor ought not to have overlooked. The early editions and the manuscripts have 'the devout Fire of mutual Charity.' The word 'mistaken' was borrowed from 'a mistaken Devotion' in the line above, and makes nonsense of the expression.

<sup>1</sup> This book is a quarto of 47 pp. printed with more liberality of spacing and more regard for typographical distinctions than the other three editions of the early period, which have respectively 43, 43 and 38 pages. At the end there is a bookseller's notice which seems to suggest 1687 or 1688 as the date of publication. I refer to it as 'Acton.'

<sup>2</sup> For the readings of the MSS. I am dependent on Miss Foxcroft.

p. 79, l. 26. Read 'tho' his own Subjects too,' with the manuscripts and Acton.

p. 83, l. 20. 'look upon it as they do upon Escutcheons, the more Antient Religion of the two.' The editor has endeavoured here to emend a corrupt text by going back to the scarcely less unsatisfactory reading of the second edition. He should read 'look upon it as the better Scutcheon, the more ancient Religion of the two,' with the best manuscripts and Acton.

p. 84, l. 17. 'his now humble Confessor': 'now' is a correction, after Miss Foxcroft's text, for 'new'; but read probably 'his own humble Confessor,' with MS. B and Acton.

l. 23. 'which will then be the Landlord.' This is a conjectural alteration by the editor, but it can hardly be accepted. The sentence runs thus: 'the usurping Landlord (as he will then be called) shall hardly be admitted to be so much as a Tenant to his own Lands, lest his title should prejudice that of the Church, which will then be the language'; the emphasis being on 'usurping' and 'prejudice,' and the clause 'which will then be the language' corresponding to 'as he will then be called.'

p. 87, l. 5. Read 'and it would,' with all the earlier authorities.

p. 89, l. 9. Read 'make him forget' with the manuscripts and Acton.

p. 90, l. 12. 'Twas a forced putt; and tho' France wisely dissembled their inward dissatisfaction, yet' etc. Read 'It was a forced putt, and the French wisely dissembled their inward dissatisfaction; yet' etc., with the better manuscripts and Acton.

l. 33. Omit 'and' with Ed. 2, and begin a new sentence, 'It was thought.'

p. 91, l. 21. Begin a new sentence with 'When at the same time,' Acton.

p. 93, l. 35. 'an overgrowing Power.' Read 'an overgrown Power': so the manuscripts and Acton.

p. 96, l. 26. Read '*Grand Louis*' (as the name of a ship) for '*Grand Louis*.' So Acton.

p. 100, l. 4. 'he will neither be Bawled, Threatned, Laught, nor Drunk out of them.' This was the original text, no doubt, but 'Bawled' having been misunderstood and corrupted, it was altered in the edition of 1697 to 'Hectored,' probably by the authority of Halifax. This then should perhaps be retained.

p. 102, l. 20. 'can be so great as to prevent it.' Read 'can be too great to prevent it,' with the manuscripts and Acton, giving a quite different meaning.

p. 103, l. 19. 'the Phrenzy of Platonick Visions,' an absurd corruption. Read 'the Phrenzy of Phanatic Visions,' with Acton and the better manuscripts. The spelling 'Phanatic,' which is found in the Acton quarto accounts partly for the 'Platonick' of the other editions.

A few more references may be permitted to the readings of the Acton quarto.

p. 61, l. 5 f. Acton appears to stand alone in reading 'The two

*Czaars* are an example,' which was what the author originally wrote. Owing to the corruption and misunderstanding of the text it was altered in 1697.

p. 77 (last line). 'the Cardinals having rescued the Church from those Clownish Methods the Fishermen had first introduc'd.' The Acton text reads 'refined' for 'rescued,' and this was probably what Halifax wrote.

p. 85 (middle). 'Temporal things will have their weight in the World.' The author wrote originally 'Mortal things,' which appears in Acton and the better manuscripts and is much finer. The misunderstanding and corruption of the word ('Moral' in the other early editions) led to the substitution for it of 'Temporal' in 1697, perhaps by Halifax.

p. 87. 'a great deal involv'd in the fate of their Neighbours.' Acton reads 'State' for 'fate,' which suits the context better.

p. 97 (middle). 'he would rather dye than see a spire of English Grass trampled down by a Foreign Trespasser.' The reading 'spire' for 'piece,' which was restored by Miss Foxcroft from MS. C, is also that of the Acton quarto.

Finally, in confirmation of the authenticity of the Acton text, we may note the care shown in its typographical distinctions and the fact that alone of all the printed texts it consistently gives us the termination *-eth* (*th*) in the third person singular of the present tense, a usage which was undoubtedly followed by Halifax.

Before parting with Professor Raleigh, we may congratulate him on the portrait of Halifax which is prefixed to the book, a beautiful reproduction of the picture by Lely at Hardwicke Hall. This is Halifax as we should desire him to have been, features worthy of the motto finely chosen by Miss Foxcroft for her Life of him,

Turning to scorn with lips divine  
The falsehood of extremes.

G. C. MACAULAY.

CAMBRIDGE.

*A Survey of English Literature, 1780-1830.* By OLIVER ELTON. 2 vols. London: Arnold. 1912. 8vo. xv + 456, xii + 475 pp.

The profession of teaching literature to the young is of all occupations the most pleasant, and yet the most difficult and delicate. It is, moreover, a modern occupation. Fifty years ago, except for an odd digression in the classical form-room like that passage about Helen in *Tom Brown*, no such thing was heard of. But now literary teachers are everywhere, and the responsibility is very particular, for the development is artificial, and introduces a new element into education. You teach a boy to decline 'mensa,' and once he has learnt it he knows as much about it as you do and is as competent to possess the information. You familiarise a boy with the imaginings of the greatest poets and with what you think about them, and by giving the stock of maturity to immaturity, you

have prevented him from growing up in the natural order of the years. He has been taught the most vital things before he has begun to live, and been initiated in ideas before he is able, often before he is in the least degree able, to distinguish among them for himself. How easy to fossilise the fancy or shipwreck the judgment. The safest pupils are those of forty, such as those who once listened to Hazlitt, men who had been over the ground that he was covering, and though they could not talk of their own passions and disappointment, knew what he was talking about. In University class-rooms one disturbs the air for younger ears, and it would be singular if the blameless ruminator on Marlowe, Keats or Shelley did not sometimes wing the 'wanton imagination,' or provoke, in Lamb's words, 'that disgust at common life, that *tedium quotidianarum formarum*, which an unrestricted passion for ideal forms and beauties is in danger of producing.' And yet surely it would be wasteful to decide that, when youth had the chance, it should see nothing of the best and hear only of the secondary. Average youth has no such original quantum of sensibility that it is in danger of over-stimulation, and we may do something, and that very safely, to wake the dead.

One indulges in such speculations on closing Professor Elton's two volumes, for the first impression is that they are eminently the work of a teacher. The considering tone as much as the considered omissions, and these no less than the wide-ranging judgment, would convince us of this. But to say it at once, here is a book in which nothing is fenced with, which deals fairly with broken lives and the highest aspirations, with the relation of morals, literature and religion, and which is neither anxious nor in the least afraid; a book which displays everywhere the literary character of its author, at once austere and humane. If taste is to be trained, and not merely left to be slowly formed by its own growing up, it must be in some such atmosphere as this. To let twenty-one unguided boys loose in a library is a risky proceeding for perhaps twenty, however salutary for the twenty-first. But here they are all piloted without insistence, gently habituated to consider, taught insensibly that there is no danger where there are no danger-boards, and made heirs of Time and of Invention. Those who believe in teaching life at all can advance no better argument than Professor Elton.

That is one's first impression, but it is not meant to suggest that this book was written solely for students, or even with an eye to them. Indeed its charm is its tone of literary equality. It presupposes some knowledge as well as some culture in its readers, more than is usual with the public, or even with students, though the assumption may go some way to create it in them, the culture and knowledge that belong to the literary class to which it is addressed. It goes over an old story and, while telling the whole story, tells it newly. It has the right atmosphere, and yet what it says is by no means of course to the oldest hearers of the tale. Part of this newness Mr Elton owes to copiousness of reading, part to a judgment always balanced but always alive, but most and without question to the presence everywhere of an exquisite taste.

He has read—what has he not read? One work it is amusing to learn he has not read is Amos Cottle's verse translation of the Edda. He shares Benjamin Thorpe's inability to procure a copy of that justly unknown book, but he has read everything else that slumbers on the shelves: *Man as he is Not*, *The Old Manor House*, the Banims' tales, *Speed the Plough*, the early numbers of *The Edinburgh and Quarterly*, Mrs Opie, Dermody, Mrs Hemans, Southey's poems and Milman's plays, and he pays tribute to the forgotten Clare. He supplies the plots of some of Maturin's less known novels, and an account of Mrs Reeve's two elegant dialogues, *The Progress of Romance*.

At the same time, readable and original always as Mr Elton is, his chief qualities come out most clearly in dealing with the greater poets. He does appreciate 'that touch of warranted and experienced bitterness' which was Crabbe's, but of Crabbe and Cowper he has not so much that is arresting to say as he has of Burns. Compare what he says of Rogers, 'He has the wish rather than the power to be [a poet], and possesses taste the *feminine* of talent' which is true and sufficient, with this of a poet of different stamp: 'If we ask what Burns represents, above all, in the life and temper of his country, and what therefore is his essence, it is, to borrow a phrase from a later singer, *the freedom of the natural soul*'; which is not only true, it is the truth discovered for us.

Equally good are the stray sayings on general aesthetics. The thing to be noted about the effect of that collection of ideas and events which made the Romantic Revival is that 'First of all the senses of the artist are regenerated.' He traces too 'the return from the bare reason to the heart and emotions, at first for their own sake, but next as affording a surer revelation, and opening a window into the infinite,' and he points out as a characteristic of all these Revolution poets 'a certain directness, clarity and strength, which give us a large, rapid impression,' or, in other words, that natively and without straining they responded to big impulses. Elsewhere, he tells us more generally: 'A poet's aim is to find words which will enable him to pass on to us, with the least of loss, the precise kind of pleasure—including of course painful pleasure—that he has received,' and there is another *obiter dictum* in his judgment on *St Ronan's Well*: 'An artist would cease to be an artist if he did not leave us with more definite ideas than it is right for him to formulate.' A phrase that will remain is where speaking of *The Decline and Fall*, *The Wealth of Nations*, *The Lives of the Poets*, and Boswell's *Johnson*, he ends shortly 'all this is Roman work and made to stand.'

It would be unfair to part from this first volume without acknowledging that Scott's supremacy in lyric poetry is duly noted by a critic able fully to recognise it, and that Jane Austen's excellences are distinguished accurately and, in this Suffragist age, with some boldness, from her defects and limitations: 'For the first time in England women are nicely depicted by their own sex, sometimes with heart and sympathy, but oftener with that cool, intimate veracity which is so salutary, but which omits so much of the essence of women as men see them.' It is true he is here writing of a whole school, but the same note

is in his valedictory words: "Even the sweetest woman," says Nietzsche, "is bitter." But this is the penalty of sweetness; Miss Austen is not "sweet," and therefore not, or not fundamentally, bitter. Her gaze is like that of a mirror; it reflects daylight, with rare rays of tempered sun. But it is also feminine in a profound degree. She sees her world as men could not see it if they would, as they would feel ashamed of seeing it if they could, and as they admire her for seeing it; and they feel at once, disconcerted, how much her presentment omits, and how truthful it is nevertheless. This is the way of most women; they see what has all the while been under our nose, and show it to us, and laugh at us for our blindness. She, however, has none of their dependence or inconsequence, of which we at once take advantage. She is the woman our enemy. We could only have the advantage of her by taking her off her own ground; and, artist and humourist as she is, she knows this, and never quits her ground. The contest is a drawn one. She abides; we acknowledge her, we do not quite like her, and we quit her—perhaps run away from her—not without relief, bidding to such cold voices a somewhat long farewell.

In the second volume there are four or five essays each as close to its subject and as minutely careful in recording feeling as the rest. Mr Elton has lived with Wordsworth, and though from a passage on page 114 we may suspect him of Lamb's heresy when reflecting on the comparative merits of Coleridge, he gets into the tone of Wordsworth as a poet:

How could the innocent heart bear up and live!

and what is more gets the sense of it into us. Here Wordsworth is considered aesthetically, so much so as to give the critic a new way of approach. It is not in a devotee's judgment an essay quite adequate to the poet's achievement, but it is almost entirely novel, and, though not the whole truth, all true. 'He has written, in the *Prelude* and the pieces that cluster round it, poetry that disinfects life for us'; and again 'The charm of the poem (*The Prelude*) is found in its soft interfusion of story, scenery, and high reflective matter.' How absolutely it is caught—disinfect! soft interfusion! In this essay, for once, the critic is a little impatient of the missionary. Of Shelley, about whom he has perhaps fewer memorable things to say—of Shelley as a missionary he is not so impatient. When dealing with Wordsworth, he attaches little poetical weight to doctrine, but when he comes to count Shelley up *his* teaching is allowed for. 'He did not see that progress is likely to be as slow as ever, and did not allow for relapses or the need of coercion. All this is too plain for words: and yet he is among the prophets because he saw the goal.' This means, of course, that unconsciously Mr Elton assumes Wordsworth to be the even greater poet. Abstract Shelley from his doctrine, and it would be impossible for a mind of the first critical capacity to consider his manner as patiently as Mr Elton has here weighed that of Wordsworth. Is this to be unjust? Wordsworth's poetry 'describes, and talks and preaches about the



sources of its own happiness; and yet in spite of taking this risk, it remains poetry, it can still communicate the happiness of which it talks.' It is admirably said, but how can it come to be said? Surely not without having taken into unconscious count the interfusion of the doctrine?

The paper on Byron is singularly fearless, the most complete of the estimates, a model of how to be frank without the least undress; but it is easy to see that Keats is the 'favourite' poet. And this is appropriate, for Keats, with all his limitations, is the touchstone of literary sensibility. As regards his relations to Spenser and the Jacobean poets Mr Elton well observes: 'From them (and not only from the dusty Lempriere as used to be supposed) he learnt tales like those of Endymion, and Glaucus, and Syrinx, and Pan, and Hyacinthus. In this mixed, surcharged form the antique came to him, with the profusion, the heady perfume, the formlessness of nature herself, as of a bean-field over which bees are murmuring.'

Indeed this essay is a series of rightnesses, with its comment on *The Grecian Urn*, and on *The Nightingale*: 'At the end the dream is out and the music fled; but meanwhile sorrow has disappeared under the power of the very imagination that works upon it'; and with what is said of *The Eve of Saint Mark*, 'the Sabbath scene, and the girl reading the legend, and her "uneasy" shadow on the walls.' Detached and for itself this paper would raise any critic's reputation.

It is necessary to say this plainly, because in so large a book travelling over such familiar ground the public may not always realise the sureness of the writer's touch. But take the contrast between Hazlitt and Lamb: Hazlitt 'communicates his own enjoyment, and makes us a defiant present of it, as his; but in Lamb the old poet speaks again, as though his spirit were but taking up a new instrument and breathing through it.' Or take this of De Quincey, 'in him rhythm is an even deeper thing than vision.'

There are many memorable phrases—'the bitter felicities' of Webster's blank metre; 'Shelley's daily life and talk, with its gentle play and soft sparkle'; and the characterisation of *Songs of Innocence*, as the little pamphlet with all its blue and picture originally appeared: 'The touches of rarer colour and transfiguring diction answer to the bolder flourishes that break out amidst the soft spray-work of the margin.' He is alive to the beauty of such sayings when they appear in the work of others, as when Landor makes Horne Tooke speak of 'the sweet temperature of thought in Addison.'

Such delicacy will be appreciated by everyone, but it is possible that from this book as a whole Mr Elton's power of exact insight coupled with exact statement will not be appreciated as it should. Its very exactness may prevent it. Covering so wide a field and dealing with so many writers of subsidiary rank it is a matter of necessity that often, to say what is arresting would be to say what is wrong. It is a paradox, but the peculiar capacity with which the critic has discharged his pondered task of years does in part in this

very real book hide his peculiar capacity. And if we are to judge the book solely from the point of view of literature, this is a defect. There are two explanations that stare one in the face. In the first place, unless we are to suppose that the work will take its place as the starting point for students of this epoch, and it is too fine for that, the book is too full, there is too much that is there merely because it is germane. In the second place the continuity is too even. There are no misses, no misfires, no aiming above the mark. We are helped too much: we are not surprised or startled into thought. It would be ungrateful to suggest a change in manner when it is just its manner that makes the book itself, and yet somehow, though the senses of the reader are refined, they are not regenerated. Could there be made in future—one is thinking of its author in future being seen at full length—could there be made some sacrifice either of modesty or truth? If the critic were to think a little more often of himself and of *his* point of contact with us, and a little less constantly and singly of his authors and *their* effect! But such speculations are idle. It is useless to ask a good writer to be other than he is. A man's merit is himself, and if Mr Elton were to think of show, he would cease to be himself.

A. A. JACK.

LONDON.

*Poetical Works of Robert Bridges, excluding the eight Dramas.*  
H. Frowde: London. 1912. 8vo. 472 pp.

All who are interested in English verse will welcome this complete and compact edition of the poetical works, other than dramatic, of our foremost living singer. Complaints have been made—sometimes with, sometimes without cause—of difficulty in procuring some of his poems; this is now at an end. The 'Shorter Poems' have long been accessible in cheap form. To these are added in this volume 'Prometheus' and 'Demeter,' 'Eros and Psyche,' 'The Growth of Love,' the collection known as 'New Poems,' a further collection here styled 'Later Poems,' and (now collected for the first time) 'Poems in Classical Prosody'; in this last are included some short pieces not previously published. Except for the eight Plays, therefore, this volume of the 'Oxford Poets' series presents in handy form the entire poetical works, down to date, of a writer whose long connexion with Oxford lends special appropriateness to his appearance in this series.

It cannot be needful now to describe these poems, or to discuss them on the score of poetic quality. Their true inspiration and skilled workmanship, the quiet grace of their style, the scholarly handling of both subject and expression, have long since won for their author a place of his own among our poets. If a certain academic perfume be usually discernible, it never lapses into pedantry or mars his native music—that is, in the poems which fill the bulk of this volume. Straightforwardness is as much a mark of their diction as refinement,

delicacy is combined with vigour; the thought is neither teased into obscurity nor overlaid by stiff embroideries of metre. A passionate simplicity of utterance, indeed, attends his highest achievement, especially in lyrical verse. But Mr Bridges is a critic as well as a poet, and in two directions has been an innovator in practice as well as theory; a few words on these points will not be out of place here.

One relates to what he calls 'stress-rhythms.' Developing the view hinted by Coleridge in the preface to *Christabel*, he has sought to give speech-accent a place of supremacy over all other elements of metre. Bold effects have been obtained in this way, by himself and by the younger singers who have followed his guidance; yet not without proportionate loss. Excessive reliance on speech-accent inevitably fosters a kind of go-as-you-please metre, too loose in texture to weave the finest patterns. It also leads to a hampering uncertainty of cadence; for even our word-accent is not always fixed, and our sentence-accent is essentially fugitive and changeful. How, for example, shall we read these first two lines of a 'Dirge' (p. 399):

Man born of desire  
Cometh out of the night?

Shall we read them to two beats or to three? There is nothing in the context to tell us; the lines which follow vary in length. Unless we could hear the poet read his lines, we cannot know how he means them to be read. This instability of accent will always prevent it being, taken by itself, an adequate basis of rhythm. If the Master himself does not often err in this way, his followers constantly do, leaving readers to make verse of given lines as best they may; and the theory of 'stress-rhythm' must be held accountable for these shortcomings.

The other innovation is that of 'quantitative metres,' essayed by the poet in fulfilment of a pledge to a deceased friend. These are avowedly experiments, on a new basis of metrical structure. Poets have every right to try experiments, but this particular one has been tried over and over again, from the days when Gabriel Harvey urged it on Spenser, to the days when Tennyson discussed it with his friends Clough and Spedding, and it has never proved acceptable. How, indeed, can readers be expected to enjoy verse which is based on principles wholly foreign to the genius of their language? The poets of Rome adopted Greek measures; but they had not centuries of glorious native poetry behind them, they did not try to preserve accentual verse along with quantitative, and there is no proof that stress-accent held in Latin speech the place of supreme importance that it does in English speech. These general considerations, without going into details, seem to show why this particular experiment has always been unsuccessful. If, however, it must be tried again, it could not be in better hands; and it is convenient to have these various attempts brought together within the covers of one book. On this account also, then, this volume of the 'Oxford Poets' deserves hearty welcome.

T. S. OMOND.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS.

M. L. R. VIII.

16

*Essays on questions connected with the Old English poem of Beowulf.*

By KNUT STJERNA. Translated and edited by J. R. CLARK HALL.

Coventry: for the Viking Club. 1912. 8vo. xxxv + 284 pp.

One of the most hopeful signs in Anglo-Saxon studies at the present day is the increasing attention which is being given to the *realien* of older Teutonic civilisation, and Dr Clark Hall and the Viking Club are to be sincerely congratulated on the production of a volume which for the first time enables the student who has no knowledge of modern Scandinavian languages to realise the work done by archaeologists like Knut Stjerna in throwing light on the history and civilisation of the Migration Period.

Dr Hall himself anticipates many of the criticisms which might be passed on these essays. A good many points are scored by the acceptance of doubtful readings or doubtful interpretations of disputed passages in the text of *Beowulf*. One whole essay, viz. that on the Double Burial, interesting as it is in itself, can only be connected with *Beowulf* at all by accepting Dr Stjerna's entirely unjustified statement that Hildeburh placed two sons on the funeral pyre and his very doubtful interpretation of 'earme on eaxle' in l. 1117. The author is also rather too ready to assume the weaving together of lays of different authorship, e.g. in the story of Scyld's obsequies or in that of Beowulf's burial in order to explain apparent archaeological inconsistencies. He is also guilty of pressing the interpretation of some pieces of archaeological evidence too far in support of his own theories, as when he tries to interpret the figures on the Vendel helmet as representing the Beowulf dragon-story or something closely akin to it. At times the literary evidence is unfairly pressed in order to give support to the supposed requirements of archaeology, as when the passage about 'leoda faesten ealand utan eorðweard ðone' (ll. 2333-4) is taken as a description of Öland and used in support of the very doubtful theory that the power of the Geatas lay chiefly in East Götland and Öland, a theory which necessitates the shifting of Heorot from the neighbourhood of Leire to some part of Skaane in the oldest part of the Danish kingdom.

These are, however, but slight blemishes on a work of real scholarship and exact science. Dr Stjerna had a wide knowledge not only of European archaeology, but of folk-lore and ancient custom throughout the world, and he used them to the best advantage in the essays dealing with the funerals of Beowulf and of Scyld. In the essay on Vendel and the Vendel Crow, by a skilful combination of philological, geographical and archaeological evidence he reconstructs the story of one of the centres of culture in the Swedish Uppland in the days before the Viking period, while in all the essays alike we have a careful selection and keen analysis of all those archaeological remains which can be used for illustration of the weapons, ornaments and trappings of the followers of Hrothgar and Beowulf. Occasionally the author seems to have missed the point. Thus in ll. 445-455, where

Beowulf asks Hrothgar to send back his armour to Hygelac if he falls in battle, the reference is surely not to any thought that Hygelac might put the armour in a grave with a cenotaph in honour of the dead warrior, but to the well-known practice of 'heriot' whereby the arms of the retainer were restored to his lord after death—but such mistakes are rare.

The translator has done his work well. The only serious slip would seem to be the use of 'Norseman' on pp. 8 and 58, where 'Northman' is the term required. In addition to the translation Dr Hall has given us a sound introduction, some good critical notes on points of doubtful interpretation, and an index of *realien* reprinted (and expanded) from his own prose translation of Beowulf. The illustrations here and throughout the book reflect great credit on the printer.

ALLEN MAWER.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

*The Place-names of Oxfordshire.* By HENRY ALEXANDER. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1912. 8vo. 251 pp.

In the author's Note or Preface we are told that this book was originally a dissertation in the School of English Language of the University of Liverpool. Professor Wyld, who contributes an Introduction, has reason to be well satisfied with the work of his pupil, Mr Alexander, which will take rank as one of the most scholarly studies yet published in the investigation of English place-names. As might have been expected, the phonological side of the enquiry has claimed the lion's share, and the main results are set out with great clearness in Part I of the author's Introduction. In Parts II, III and IV we are given valuable notes on change of suffixes, levelling of suffixes, popular etymology, O.E. elements of the names, together with peculiarities of M.E. orthography. In the appendices there are alphabetical lists of personal names and words other than personal names used as first elements, also a list of second elements and finally a bibliography. The investigation of the names, which occupies the main part of the book, is conducted in the great majority of instances on sound lines, and the 'imagination' displayed is of a commendably sober quality. Mr Alexander has however in not a few instances started with what we consider a fanciful or demonstrably incorrect explanation and afterwards thrown in, casually as it were, the fruit of a sounder judgment. The following criticisms and suggestions have occurred to the reviewer in reading through the book.

Abesditch or Avesditch: Dr Bradley's suggestion, O.E. *efes* 'border of a wood,' cannot be accepted for the first element, as it would give Eaves. We may compare Avishayes, Dorset and Somerset, also Aushwaite, Cumb., a 13th century form of which is *Auesthwayt*. The first element is probably a personal name such as *Ælf*-. Britwell can hardly

mean 'the bright well,' judging by the early forms, which have mostly *Bru-*; whereas in Brightwell, with which Mr Alexander compares Britwell, the early forms are nearly all in *Bri-*. On p. 64 we are told that *Broynes* 'undoubtedly expresses the 17th cent. pronunciation of this diphthong,' i.e. the diphthong which in the 16th century developed from [i]. This is incorrect, as [oi] or [ɔi] from [i] did not take place until much later, and then only in London and S. provincial speech. The first element of Burcot is not explained. Charlbury is explained as 'the town of the "churls"'; but what meaning can be attached to this expression, if O.E. *ceorl* meant 'labourer, servant (on a farm),' as we are told on p. 73? Under Chastleton Mr Alexander says 'the dictionaries explain this (O.E. *stān-ceastl*) as "chestnut-tree," but there is nothing to prove that it does not mean a cairn or a cromlech.' The dictionaries are right; *-ceastel*, which occurs also as *cistel*, *cisten*, *cist*, *cyst*, is from Lat. *castanea*; see these forms in Bosworth-Toller. It is doubtful whether O.E. *tūn* in place-names ever means 'an enclosed group of homesteads out of which the village and town later sprung' (p. 75). The development in meaning of *tūn* in place-names and its development as a separate word went probably on different lines. The suggestion of O.E. *cine* or *cinu*, 'a chink,' 'fissure,' 'chasm,' 'cavern,' to explain the first element of Chinnor is, we think, not to be received. A personal name, such as *Cyne-*, is more probable. *Chinestan* occurs for *Cynestan* in a charter (*cit.* Searle). On pp. 79, 92, etc., O.E. *ham(m)* is explained as 'an enclosure,' but there is no evidence whatever that it had such a meaning. The suggested explanation of Cookley as 'the growing (quick) meadow,' O.E. (*æt*) *cucan* (*cwican*) *lēage* would have been better omitted. The alternative given, the personal name *Cuca*, is much more probable. The suggested explanation of Cornwell as 'the spring next the cornfield,' is, we think, extremely unlikely. Nor do we think Crawley means 'the meadow of the crows'; nor that Crowmarsh was named after the bird. Even in Crowsley Mr Alexander does not wholeheartedly see a personal name. There is no real evidence that Draycott could mean 'an isolated homestead' and Drayton 'an isolated "tūn."' We do not feel satisfied that Ducklington is 'the hill of the ducklings,' unless the 'ducklings' were men; nor that Forest Hill means 'the frosty hill'; nor that Foxcott or Foscott means 'the fox-dwelling.' Mr Alexander has not noticed that the first element of Garsington occurs in Gressingham, Lancs., and is explained by Wyld as 'grass field.' The *d* of Handborough is hardly 'the result of a combinative sound-change'; but is more probably a modern fanciful or 'etymological' spelling. The Pipe Roll form *Hagenēþga* is obviously the oldest of those given, and at once points to the old and well attested pers. n. *Hagana*, *Hagena*, *Hagona*, as the first element, not to *Hana*. Hanger Hill (near Caversfield) and Hunger Hill (near Bicester) are taken to be the same name and are derived by Mr Alexander from O.E. *hangra*, 'a wood growing on the side of a hill-top.' Mr Alexander, like the editors of the Crawford Charters, and Dr Skeat, is of opinion that Hunger has developed from

*Hangra*. This is not possible. Skeat derives Hungerford, Berks., from *hangra*, although all the early forms he cites show *u*, not *a*. The form Hunger- is clearly the personal name *Hungær* or *Hungar* (see Searle). Mr Alexander's statement that *hungra* is identical with '*hangra* but in a different Ablaut grade,' seems a declension from his usual high level of philological acumen. 'Ablaut grade' is a sort of *deus ex machina*, which must not be invoked too frequently. The 1261 form *Clehungre* for modern Clayhanger is due to the common scribal confusion between *a* and *u*. Hempton is explained as '(at) the high enclosure' from O.E. *æt hēan tūne*. The change of *n* of earlier forms to *m* of 14th century and modern forms, is hardly to be accounted for by 'the analogy of the word *hām*.' Possibly the first element was *Hefn*, from *Hefan*, gen. case of the personal name *Hefa*; *fn* became *mn*, *m* in O.E. as in *emn*, *stemn*. In Heyford and Heythrop Mr Alexander seems to think that O.E. *hege* means simply 'hedge.' This was doubtless the original meaning, but it came to be generally used for a space enclosed in a forest and then a forest-clearing; see Vinogradoff, *Engl. Soc. in 11th Cent.*, p. 292. In connection with Hoar Stone, from O.E. *hār stān*, the question arises, whether our ancestors may not have lime-washed the boundary stones to make them more visible. They may also have lime-washed fruit-trees to keep off insects; this would account for *hār apulder* in a charter. The article under Holmwood needs revision, as O.E. *holm* never means 'hill.' The first sentence in Bosworth-Toller *s.v. holm*, cited by Mr Alexander, should be deleted, as it is absurd. Middendorf, also cited, is hardly an authority to quote for meanings of O.E. words, as he is frequently in error. The word *holm*, very common in Northern place-names, and derived from O.N. *holmr*, has one or two quite definite meanings which are given in the English Dialect Dictionary. Another explanation suggested by Mr Alexander, that *holm* is a variant for M.E. *holin*, 'holly,' is clearly the right one. In some mod. E. dialects 'holm' is commonly used for holly; see E.D.D. Holton hardly means 'the nook or hidden settlement'; it means, judging by the early forms, simply 'piece of land on a "hale" or "haugh,"' i.e. 'low-lying level ground by the side of a river,' as the E.D.D., cited by Mr Alexander, tells us. The suggestion, scorned by Mr Alexander, that Ifley, early forms of which are *Gifetelea*, *Givetelei*, means a 'field of gifts,' has perhaps something to be said in its favour. The O.E. *gift* means 'sum of money or its equivalent offered or paid by a suitor to his bride's family.' The suggested meaning of O.E. *slap*, quoted from Bosworth-Toller, 'a slippery, miry place?' cannot be accepted. The dial. word *slap* means 'a narrow pass between two hills'; 'a gap or temporary opening in a hedge, fence, &c.' See E.D.D. Another possible suggestion for Kidlington is *Cytel*, a common O.E. name from O.N. *Ketel*. A possible origin for Mixbury is the personal name *Meoc*; *Meoces dun* occurs in a charter. The name Murren in Newnham Murren may be the personal name *Morwine*, which occurs in a charter (Searle). Play in Play Hatch may be *Pleg-*, the first element of personal names, as Plegmund, Plegbeorht, etc. The first element

of Swinbrook and Swyncombe, judging by some of the early forms, is perhaps a personal name *Swegen*, O.N. *Sveinn*, rather than O.E. *swīn* 'swine.' Taston is perhaps the personal name *Thurstan*, *Thorstan*, O.N. *Þorsteinn*, the terminal having dropped off. The first element of Tusmore may be *Turri* or *Tori*, short forms of *pored* (cit. Searle), rather than *Thōr*. The change from *swu-* to *su-*, as in *Sulung* from *Swulung*, is not a parallel, as Mr Alexander thinks it is, to *Ty-* from *Twi-*, as in *Tythrop* from *\*Twīþorp*. Warborough cannot mean 'the fortress where watch was kept,' seeing that the early forms *Weardesburg*, *Weardes beorh* show the genitive case of the first element. The name probably means 'Ward's grave-mound.' Under Wolvercote it is said that place-names such as *Wolverton*, *Wolvershill*, *Wolverhampton*, 'may have had an influence on the consonant in *Wolgercote*,' i.e. caused *v* to be substituted for *g*. Such an influence is hardly conceivable as being exerted by names in other parts of England. Another possible origin for the first element of *Woodlays* is O.E. *wīþig*, 'withy,' as in *Widford*. The change of stress suggested on p. 228, viz. *ofértun* < *owérton* < *Worton*, is unparalleled, we fancy, and impossible. The initial *w* arose from the over-rounding of the *ō*, resulting in a bilabial continuant practically identical with [w], its formation being perhaps aided by the constant use of the preposition *to* [tu] immediately before the name.

Before concluding, we may be allowed to express the hope that writers on phonology may come to an understanding about the use of the symbols > and <. There has been a fairly well established practice by which > when used between two forms means that the second form developed from the first, while < means that the first form is a development from the second. Mr Alexander, like Professor Wyld, uses these symbols in exactly the reverse sense. In such matters uniformity is of some importance.

W. J. SEDGEFIELD.

MANCHESTER.

*Altnordische Namenstudien.* By HANS NAUMANN. (*Acta Germanica.* Neue Reihe. Vol. I.) Berlin: Mayer and Müller. 1912. 195 pp.

In this volume we have a very valuable study of Old Norse personal names embodying the results of studies extending over the whole field of Teutonic personal nomenclature. Dr Naumann sets himself in the first instance to determine those themes in personal names which can be shown to be a common German inheritance, then he deals with those which are common to the North and West Germanic tongues, and finally with those which are exclusively North Germanic and with the very small number of themes found in East or West Germanic alone. He finds about a hundred and thirty-two themes which are common to the three groups, seventy-four compounds of these themes and twenty-seven diminutive forms which are also common. The most interesting of his results in this part of the book is the discovery that there are a great



many themes common to West and North Germanic alone, but no single one which is common to the East and North Germanic groups. This result may be in part due to the comparatively small number of East Germanic names which have been preserved to us; but that will not account for it entirely, and Dr Naumann's researches undoubtedly give support to those who are not prepared to accept without doubt the common grouping of the Germanic tongues, in which East and North Germanic are taken very closely together. In commenting on the list of exclusively North Germanic themes the author rightly lays stress on the characteristic development of names formed from a single theme, in contrast to the more usual compound forms of East and West Germanic and of North Germanic itself in its earlier stages.

In this part of the book it is greatly to be regretted that Dr Naumann was not able to make full use of the very important studies of Dr Björkman on Norse names in Old English documents. Again and again Anglo-Saxon names are quoted which are not Anglo-Saxon at all—*Agemund* (p. 13), *Onlafbeald* (17)—really the name of a Norseman mentioned by Simeon of Durham—, *Earngrim*, *Earncýtel* (20), *Ohter* (79)—quoted from the Chronicle, where it is the Anglo-Saxon rendering of the name of a Norse leader—, *Baingiardus* (81), which is certainly not genuine English, *Broder* (84), *Gamalbearn* (88), *Haimerus* (91), *Lagmann* (100), *Lambecarl* (101), *Sumerled* (108), *Winterleda* (113). A few other points may also be raised. The Norse name *Véfótr* can hardly be compared with O.E. *weofod*, at least if it is intended to suggest that there is any parallelism between the second elements of the two words, for the O.E. word goes back to *wīg-bedd* or *wīg-bēod*. The name *Ivo* also is hardly Anglo-Saxon. *Hornung* is not used by itself in A.-S. for 'a bastard' (93); it is an abstract noun, and only found in the compound *hornung-sunu*, child of bastardy. *Folkwald* (34) and *Starkwulf* (60) should be printed with a *c* instead of a *k*, while *Thuvor* on p. 111 is an evident misprint.

In the second part of the work we have a discussion of particular types of names—pet-names, foreign names, names derived from gods, animals, peoples and heroes, and also some account of the distribution of themes among the various North Germanic dialects. All these chapters alike contain interesting matter and open up important lines of study. In the chapter on the foreign element it may be pointed out that while the common prevalence of *-cýtel-* in A.-S. names is of course largely due to Norse influence there can be no question but that the name was also in use in A.-S. itself as evidenced by the common use of the name *Chettle* in later times. In the dialectal distribution of themes perhaps the most interesting form is the prevalence of certain themes in Swedish which are commonly found in East Germanic also. Unfortunately work on dialectal distribution is still severely handicapped by the absence of any complete systematic work on Swedish place-names, such as has been done in Norway and to some extent in Denmark. The book closes with an interesting discussion of the personal names in *Beowulf* showing very clearly that the names, not only of the Swedes and

the Geatas but also those of the Danes, can, almost without exception, be shown to be very definitely of the types in common use in the North Germanic dialects and disproving Kögel's theory that the names of the Danes in that poem are the names of a people belonging to the West Germanic stock.

The author is to be congratulated on the completion of a work in which the amount of detail must have made composition at times an exceedingly laborious work, and on escaping from the danger of being lost in a crowd of detail. He has some very definite results to present.

ALLEN MAWER.

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*An Introduction to Old French Phonology and Morphology.* By FREDERICK BLISS LUQUIENS. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press; London, Henry Frowde. 1909. 8vo. 147 pp.

'This grammar is intended not only to introduce beginners to the study of Old French Phonology and Morphology from the historical point of view, but also to facilitate their progress to an advanced grammar. The latter aim has governed the arrangement of the book, inasmuch as the author has endeavoured to reproduce, even to the paragraph notation, the arrangement of that advanced grammar which is by most teachers considered the best, the *Grammatik des Alt-französischen* of Eduard Schwan and Dietrich Behrens.'

In these terms Mr Luquiens defines the purpose of his book and in so doing reveals, it would appear, its inherent defect. To write an Introduction to the study of Old French is difficult enough—for this study is not far removed from its infancy, and the best method of presenting a subject to beginners is necessarily one of the last things to be found out about it—but to combine any such attempt with a simplified presentment of a grammar of the type of the Schwan-Behrens *Grammatik* shows a lack of perception of the nature of the task that is bound to spell failure.

The function of an Introduction to a science is not so much to summarise simply and logically our knowledge of the subject as to indicate to the student the right attitude to his subject, to inculcate the right method of approach and give some intelligent apprehension of the underlying principles. Facts, selected facts, must, indeed, be set forth clearly and succinctly but it is process and development, the how and the why, that should form the staple of the book. The Schwan-Behrens *Grammatik*, however, good as it is in its own way, is obviously a book of quite another type. Planned it was in part for an Introduction but by date and conception it belongs to the earlier period of the study of Old French, the period in which ascertainment of fact was held to be the main object of research. Such a stage is indeed necessary in the history of every science, but it is never final and in this

case the very excellence of the *Grammatik* helped notably to shorten it. Working on the accurate and lucid presentment of facts set forth here and in other excellent grammars of the same type, modern scholars—linguists, phoneticians, psychologists—have pushed on our knowledge of Old French another stage. Empirical knowledge is slowly yielding to scientific, observation of fact leading on to explanation. This advance in knowledge has rendered more possible the writing of a real 'Introduction to Old French,' but it is clear that whoever attempts it must grasp the subject as a whole and not piecemeal, must be in possession of the results of modern scholarship, must look forward and not back.

From a note on page 15 of the Introduction it would appear that Mr Luquiens was not ill equipped on the phonetic side of the task and might have succeeded if he had not attempted to combine two incompatible purposes. 'Every phonological change' he tells us there 'has a cause and a manner.' But he is equally clear that: 'In this grammar we shall deal with neither, except in rare cases: to state the cause of a phonological change is seldom possible (cf. page 11, line 25), to describe the manner would require too much space.' And so, after one detailed description of the manner of one phonetic change, he ends the paragraph with these words: 'Thus we have fully described the manner of the change  $\bar{i}$  to  $\bar{e}$ : it is evident that a brief grammar cannot except in rare cases afford space for such description.' A 'brief grammar,' a summary statement of fact, may not indeed be able to afford space for such purposes, but, as we have seen, to an introduction they are essential.

This main defect in the book may best be illustrated by the examination of its presentment of one problem and by the consideration how much help towards its solution the student would obtain. I will take for this purpose a difficult question—that of the history of the *u*-perfect. And first let us hear what Mr Luquiens has to say about it.

In the part of his book dealing with phonetics, we find in § 206 the following note. 'The group consonant + *u* occurs very frequently in the perfect tenses of strong verbs: *abŷi* (C.L. *hăbŷŷi*), *abŷisti*, etc. But its development in these forms is extremely complicated. No definite formula obtains. We can only say that usually the consonant drops out, the *u* then combining in some manner with the preceding vowel: *dēbŷit* > *dūt* (45).' The last half sentence is entirely misleading—*u* certainly does not 'combine' with  $\epsilon$  to make  $\ddot{u}$ , and none of the information supplied is very illuminating.

In the morphological section, § 342 (3) merely emphasises the difficulty of the forms, § 404 treats the subject in a superficial and to my mind again misleading fashion. It runs: '§ 404, Strong III. The verbs of this class are all alike as regards their provenience—their perfects all coming from V.L. perfects in  $-ŷi$ —but from the O.F. standpoint, on account of numerous small differences both in endings and stems, they must be divided into five types. All of these types (except Type 4) differ from Strong I and Strong II, inasmuch as in practically all of their perfect and imperfect subjunctive endings  $\ddot{u}$  is present and

in all of them *s* is absent. Type 4 as far as the O.F. forms of case 1100 are concerned might be considered as of Strong I but in provenience and second period development it is of Strong III. Notice that Type 5 is strong (338) only from the standpoint of Vulgar Latin: in Old French it has no stem stressed forms.'

To the student who has only these paragraphs before him the development and forms of the *u*-perfects must indeed offer insuperable difficulty. Yet this need not be so. The history of these perfects is assuredly no easy chapter in the history of the language, it has indeed taken years to work out, but the main lines of the development of their forms stand out now clearly and can be made intelligible to all beginners properly introduced to the subject, i.e. to all those who have found an explanation of some of the commonest linguistic phenomena. Any student who has a firm grip of the processes of 'mutation,' 'assimilation,' 'analogical formation' will find no great difficulty in these perfects. The development of *abui* over *\*awi* to *qi* (by rounding), of *debui* to *düi* over *\*dēwi*, *\*diwi* (by mutation), *\*dūivi* (by rounding), of *movi* to *müi* over *mōwi*, *\*müwi* (by mutation)—the carrying over of the mutated vowel of the radical of the 1st persons into the two thirds (*\*diwet* > *\*dūwet*, *\*diwerunt* > *düwerunt*, *\*müwet*, *\*müwerunt*)—these changes have nothing puzzling for the student with antecedent knowledge of the processes involved. It is obvious that as Mr Luquiens has deliberately ruled out of his scheme all explanation of process the student dependent on his book is non-plussed, for he finds little to help him either here or in other examples of these phenomena. All three—'mutation,' 'assimilation,' 'analogical formation'—are dealt with in a curiously incomplete and even misleading fashion.

'Mutation' is included in the 'Glossary of technical terms,' under the head of 'Umlaut'—'Umlaut: the change of one vowel to another more like a following vowel, for instance cf. 43,' but this definition fails in precision and the examples are confined to the one vowel *e*.

'Assimilation' is mentioned in the glossary but not defined and the note to which we are referred (§ 103, Note ii) deals only with consonant assimilation and so cannot fail to mislead in many cases. The subject of 'Analogy' is dealt with in an equally unsatisfactory manner. The glossary defines 'analogical' in these singularly unhelpful terms: '*Analogical*, used of a linguistic development brought about by the influence of *Analogy* (cf. the second paragraph of 10—11).' And the paragraph referred to treats only of 'contamination' and that inaccurately. It runs: 'The influence of analogy often causes like sounds within like limits of time and space to *develop in different ways* (the italics are mine). For example the early Vulgar Latin word *gravem* became in late Vulgar Latin *grevem*...from analogy with *levem*, with which it had in common the idea of weight.' It would not be easy to give a more incomplete account of one of the most important factors in the development of language.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. N.E. forms *diu*, *düi*, etc.

I have dwelt upon this question of the strong *u*-perfects and the linguistic phenomena involved in their development because they best exhibit what appears to be the radical defect of this book. It must not be inferred, however, that it is an altogether fair sample of the way all questions are treated. On many points Mr Luquiens summarises our present knowledge lucidly and accurately. He has moreover introduced in the arrangement some features that are valuable for the purpose he has in view—notably the glossary of technical terms and the careful tabular presentment of forms of pronouns and verbs<sup>1</sup>. Viewed, in short, not as an introduction to the study of Old French but as an elementary practical grammar the book is not without merit.

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*The Oldest Monuments of the French Language. (The Strasburg Oaths, the Prose of St Eulalie, the Passion of Christ, the Life of St Leger); The Life of Saint Alexis.* Translated with Notes. Oxford: J. Thornton. 1912. 8vo. 56 pp.

This book, an anonymous translation of the earliest French texts, claims 'to give an intelligible account (as far as is practicable) of every word in the several texts.' The attempt is not altogether successful. The exact meaning of the text has not always been grasped, while omissions and minor inaccuracies are frequent. This is unfortunate, since the value of such a translation, intended for the use of students of Old French, and especially for beginners, depends on its absolute accuracy.

In the case of the *Oldest Monuments*, the version is made from the MS. text, and emendations only adopted when the text gives no good sense. Such changes are not, however, as promised in the preface, always recorded in the footnotes. In the *Passion* (11 c 'mantelz, ramiers' for 'palis mantens,' 25 d 'corps' for 'cor,' 45 b 'si-l conjurat' for 'si conjuret,' 49 d 'fait' for 'fit') and in the *St Leger* (16 d 'sempre-m' for 'sempre,' 31 e 'predier' for 'preier') a number of emendations are assumed without mention; these are usually justifiable, but should have been noted. Among cases of omission, mostly unimportant, may be mentioned that of 'sempre' (*Eulalie*, 5), 'l(i)' in 'no-l soned' (*Pass.*, 54 b), 'i' in 'i visitet' (*Leger*, 30 f); it would also have been instructive to explain the exact force of 'en' in several places where it has been neglected (e.g. *Leger*, 7 e, 11 b, d; cf. *Alex.*, 12 e). The present tense is occasionally rendered by the past (*Pass.*, 50 d 'aiet,' 75 a 'respon,' 106 b 'retornent'), and vice versa (*Leger*, 36 f 'auret'), instead of the corresponding English tense. Certain sentences are cut in two without

<sup>1</sup> The misuse of the symbol > (defined by Mr Luquiens himself as 'becomes') is to be deprecated, however, in cases of analogical formation. *Meus* > *miens*, *cantassemus* > *chantissons*, etc. are simple mis-statements.

necessity, and the construction consequently obscured (e.g. *Pass.*, 21 c, *Leger*, 4 c d; cf. *Alex.*, 103 a b). The following corrections deserve notice: *Oaths*, part 2, l. 1 'the'] '[the]'; *Eul.*, 12 'so Christ commands'] 'and prays to Christ'; *Pass.*, 9 c 'ever'] 'even'; 50 a 'then'] 'thence'; 57 d 'Pilat' is dative; 81 d 'graves of saints'] 'holy graves'; *Leger*, 16 d 'who ever wished me to have [it]', 'who always wished to have [me]'; 20 b 'toit' = 'tost' ('soon'), confused with 'toti'; 28 d 'he has entirely lost them'] 'he has them entirely mutilated.' In the *Passion*, the translation of 101 c is rather forced; better, read with Lücking: 'no-st' for 'vos.' In the *St Leger*, 16 f, 'posci non posc lai vol ester' will give sense—'since I cannot [be] here I wish to be there.' Notes might with advantage have been added to explain alternative meanings of such difficult words as 'dift' or 'dist' (*Oaths*), 'regiel' (*Eul.*, 4), 'se concreidre' (*Eul.*, 11), 'observer' (*Leger*, 23 d), 'roors' (*Leger*, 34 e), etc.; similarly the phrase 'e lo vedent' or 'en lor vedent' (*Pass.*, 118 a), and the place-name 'Lisos' (*Leger*, 17 c), which, though taken by Koschwitz as 'Lisieux,' may well refer to 'Luxeuil' (cf. 'Luxovio' in the Latin version). The use of brackets is not always consistent; single words should be bracketed as additions, *Pass.*, 45 b (him), 103 c (you), *Leger*, 23 d (him), etc.

The translation of the *Life of St Alexis* is based on the critical text of Gaston Paris, while important MS. variants are mentioned in the footnotes. Here again, however, there are occasional inconsistencies, and notes are somewhat sporadic. The following improvements may be suggested: 3 b 'had got'] 'received'; 5 c 'mightily'] 'in perfect faith' (*parfitement*); 12 e 'now do not thou forsake me'] 'if now I do not flee'; 23 b 'makes search for his child'] 'has his child sought for'; 28 e 'comfort herself'] 'behave'; 30 b 'and thus the wife of M. A. spoke indeed'] 'so did the wife of M. A. assuredly'; 36 b 'speak to'] 'pick out'; 37 b 'proof'] 'rumour' (*essample*, cf. *Rol.*, 1016); 45 a 'his son's cry'] 'the appeal in his son's name'; 60 c 'that the city may not go to ruin'] 'that he destroy not the city'; 78 b 'his beard'] 'his white beard'; 89 a 'have heard'] 'have had' (*oi* < *habui*, not *audio*; cf. *Rol.*, 1365); 103 a 'came together'] 'became excited'; 105 b 'seek'] 'will seek' (*querroms*); 107 d 'help'] 'gift' (*mune*). In 28 b the reading 'desperet' < 'dis-parat' is more satisfactory than 'despeiret' < 'de-sperat', in spite of the support given to the latter reading by L; translate 'she so disarrays it that....' The force of 'par' in 2 b and 'buer' in 90 e is not sufficiently brought out; 'buer i alasses' means 'at a good hour wouldst thou have gone to her.' That of the phrases 'metre el considrer', 32 a, 49 d ('to resign oneself to'), and 'ne guardent l'oure', 61 e ('they expect at any hour'), is still less appreciated. The fact that several of these points (32 a 'considrer', 37 b 'essemple', 61 e 'ne guardent l'oure', 89 a 'oi') are carefully explained in the notes to Gaston Paris' edition of 1872, renders such inaccuracies the less excusable.

E. G. R. WATERS.

*The French Procession, a Pageant of great writers.* By MARY DUCLAUX (A. MARY F. ROBINSON). London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1909. 8vo. xiii + 358 pp.

*The French Ideal.* By the same author. London: Chapman and Hall. 1911. 8vo. 312 pp.

Les relations littéraires internationales entrent décidément dans une phase nouvelle. Qu'il faille sortir de chez soi pour juger de la maison du voisin, c'est là un axiome dont la vénérable banalité n'aurait pas d'excuse, si l'expérience ne venait chaque jour nous rappeler la distance qui sépare la théorie de la pratique. (Un Professeur de la Sorbonne n'a-t-il pas jugé opportun, récemment encore, de venir présenter en Angleterre la défense de la poésie française?) Une plus grande sûreté d'érudition, une plus grande souplesse de méthode ont enfin permis à d'excellents esprits d'aborder l'étude des littératures étrangères, dégagés de préventions nationales; qu'il suffise de citer la brillante série d'études sur les écrivains anglais dont s'enorgueillissent les universités françaises. Voici que de ce côté-ci de la Manche, on leur répond, et si, cette fois, MM. les Anglais n'ont pas tiré les premiers, nous n'avons rien perdu pour attendre.

Déjà M. John Bailey<sup>1</sup> nous avait donné une série d'études magistrales sur la poésie française. Mais, en dépit d'une intelligence très fine de certains de nos poètes, M. Bailey semble avoir souffert de la difficulté qu'éprouve maint compatriote de Shakespeare à juger notre grand siècle classique. Son article sur Racine qui lui valut une réponse brillante de M. V. Eccles<sup>2</sup>, eut encore l'heureux résultat d'attirer les protestations éloquentes de Mme Duclaux. Au moment même où M. Strachey, dans un petit ouvrage<sup>3</sup> qui est un chef d'œuvre du genre, rendait au poète français un éclatant hommage, dans la préface de sa *French Procession* en quelques pages pleines de finesse et de charme, Mme Duclaux ébauchait la revision du procès Racine. Personne n'était mieux désignée pour la tâche qu'elle entreprend: l'auteur est à la fois, ne l'oublions pas, Miss Mary Robinson et Mme Duclaux. Poète anglais, dont la prose encore toute pénétrée de poésie, vient de fournir une nouvelle raison d'orgueil à la littérature de son pays d'origine, Mme Duclaux est devenue Française par les circonstances de sa vie et par droit de conquête littéraire. Rare combinaison qui relie les admirateurs d'*Hamlet* à ceux d'*Andromaque*. Souhaitons enfin que la magie du vers racinien ne soit plus, hors de France, un de ces enchantements mystérieux, regardé des profanes avec quelque étonnement et beaucoup de défiance. Pour eux, Mme Duclaux sera l'initiatrice.

Les sympathies de Mme Duclaux ne sont pas limitées au siècle classique, et dans la *French Procession* elle passe en revue quelques grandes figures du cortège littéraire qui se déroule de la Renaissance à nos jours. A une époque de cavalcades et de 'pageants' la métaphore

<sup>1</sup> *The Claims of French Poetry*, by J. C. Bailey, London 1907.

<sup>2</sup> *The Quarterly Review*, 1909, vol. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Landmarks of French Literature in the Home University Library*. Voir la critique de M. Tilley parue dans cette *Revue* en 1912.

est bien choisie. Mais elle a encore, pour Mme Duclaux, une signification profonde : la littérature d'une nation se présente à elle comme un cortège en marche, où chaque figurant paraît, avec son costume, son allure, son idéal, type dont la physionomie reflète une époque, individu qui résume en lui mille influences secrètes, 'idées, traditions et révoltes.' Ils se suivent dans un défilé perpétuel et le flambeau passe de main en main.

En groupant ainsi une série d'articles, l'auteur s'était réservé le droit de croquer au passage telle silhouette qu'il lui plaisait. Néanmoins il est des omissions comme celle de Montaigne qu'on ne peut s'empêcher de regretter. On souhaiterait qu'un chapitre spécial fût consacré à Flaubert. Sa silhouette gigantesque n'apparaît qu'un instant, derrière celle de George Sand, et encore n'est-elle là que pour faire ressortir par son idéalisme farouche de barbare tatoué, le naturalisme (au sens 'Jean-Jacquien' du mot) de la bonne dame de Nohant. Mme Duclaux a parfois des préférences très marquées, et Flaubert n'est pas le seul à en souffrir : on peut la soupçonner d'avoir un peu négligé Bossuet pour avoir trop aimé Fénelon. Mais ce sont là les petits défauts de grandes qualités et si toutes ces esquisses débordent d'une vie intense, rendons en grâce aux sympathies et aux préférences de leur auteur.

L'amour de la vie dans ses aspects les plus divers explique la variété d'un choix où les Liancourt et les Berthelot voisinent avec Victor Hugo et Baudelaire. Mme Duclaux nous avait annoncé un cortège 'd'écrivains'; ce ne sont pas tant des auteurs que nous y trouvons, mais bien plutôt des hommes. Leur art n'est, après tout, qu'une manifestation de leur personnalité, et c'est leur personnalité surtout qui doit nous intéresser. Tout artiste qu'elle est, Mme Duclaux ne s'arrête jamais aux questions d'atelier, mais avec une infaillibilité de coup d'œil vraiment 'classique' elle va droit à ce qu'il y a de profondément et d'universellement humain dans son modèle. Il n'est pas un de ses portraits, pas même celui de Voltaire, qui ne contienne le coup de crayon essentiel, suggestif de tout ce qu'un simple croquis ne saurait exprimer.

La 'manière' des portraits est aussi variée que les modèles. On peut grouper ces petites études, comme l'a fait l'auteur, par époques : 'Au lointain'—'Les Romantiques'—'Les fils de la science.' Dans le premier groupe, Ronsard seul représente le xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle. Vient ensuite Le Roi soleil, précédant son siècle (deux figurants : Racine et Fénelon). Derrière les grandes perruques marche le centenaire Fontenelle, qui rejoint Racine à Voltaire et annonce le règne de la science.

Le xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle se distingue plus nettement ; la foule y est bigarrée. Avec Rousseau, Laclos et Saint Simon le socialiste (sans parler de Goethe en France) nous arrivons au Romantisme. Chaque époque a sa tonalité propre. Au Romantisme est réservé le bénéfice de la peinture anecdotique, et l'on lit comme un roman où les larmes se mêlent aux sourires, l'histoire du mariage de Victor Hugo et de la folie d'Eugène. Avec Taine et Berthelot nous pénétrons dans un décor où il y a des cornues, dans une atmosphère où flottent les formules positivistes, et



après avoir jeté un regard ému au mysticisme troublant du sceptique Renan, nous aboutissons à la désespérance narquoise de M. Anatole France.

Les arrières-plans contiennent parfois des groupes bien venus, comme celui des Quiétistes, aperçus derrière Fénelon, ou encore, à côté de Taine, celui des Universitaires agités de passions diverses à la nouvelle du Coup d'Etat du 2 décembre. Le personnage principal est en général saisi dans une attitude caractéristique : c'est le Michelet de '48, entre ses deux mariages, à la veille de sa *Révolution*, Taine au sortir de Normale. C'est encore Sainte Beuve, rouquin de vingt-trois ans, timide et laid, à son entrée dans le Cénacle. L'enthousiasme de Mme Duclaux pour les *Lundis* va peut-être un loin, lorsqu'elle les déclare plus durables que les œuvres de G. Sand et de Flaubert. Mais le portrait est charmant, et si dans sa manière de peindre, Mme Duclaux doit quelque chose à Sainte Beuve, on peut dire qu'elle le lui a bien rendu.

La *French Procession* a défilé, un peu rapide, et les commentaires qui signalaient le passage de telle ou telle silhouette connue ont pu faire désirer un arrêt du cortège. Aussi est ce avec plaisir que nous saluons un livre jumeau, *The French Ideal*, dans lequel Mme Duclaux a réuni les portraits plus finis, plus fouillés, de quatre grands écrivains français : Pascal, Fénelon, Buffon et Lamartine. Le titre et le choix des sujets indiquent clairement les intentions de l'auteur : quatre des aspects les plus saillants de l'idéalisme français sont décrits dans son œuvre. Le pragmatisme de Pascal—pour employer la phraséologie suggérée par la dédicace—s'y trouve heureusement complété par le mysticisme théosophique de Fénelon, tandis qu'en face d'eux se dresse le 'naturalisme' de Buffon suivi du romantisme de Lamartine. Le choix de Buffon comme adversaire de Pascal (choix suggéré par Sainte-Beuve) a le grand avantage de nous mener au culte de la Nature, au Romantisme dont il est le grand aïeul. La présence de Lamartine est également significative : la religiosité romantique de notre Shelley français est venu rafraîchir des âmes que le rationalisme voltairien avait desséchées. Invinciblement on pense à la renaissance chrétienne qui inspire nos plus récents poètes, et l'enthousiasme de la jeunesse à l'apparition des 'Harmonies' peut nous aider à comprendre un peu l'étrange émotion que nous éprouvons à la lecture des œuvres de Paul Claudel.

Quelques lignes très nettes suffisent à Mme Duclaux pour marquer la position métaphysique de ces quatre grands représentants de l'art français. Mme Duclaux ne s'arrête pas dans les généralités. Son rôle et sa méthode sont ceux d'un psychologue et nous descendons vite dans les choses. Il s'agit d'expliquer la pensée des auteurs par leurs tempéraments, et leurs tempéraments, autant que faire se peut, par leur milieu, etc. (voir, non pas Taine, mais Sainte-Beuve). La méthode a ses dangers, et après avoir suivi Pascal d'Auvergne à Port Royal, à travers ses périodes mondaines et ses conversions, après l'avoir rencontré en compagnie de Méré, de Descartes et d'Arnaud, nous sentons que nous n'avons pas pénétré assez loin dans cette âme, que nous sommes restés dans le vestibule de sa pensée. Nous avons vécu à ses côtés, parmi ses

contemporains, mais précisément comme ses contemporains, nous avons vu trop de l'homme et pas assez du philosophe. Un peu plus de recul, et les observations fines et justes dont est rempli le chapitre sur Pascal prendraient un relief qui leur manque.

Dérangeons à dessein l'ordre chronologique respecté par Mme Duclaux et mettons en face de l'ascète passionné et maladif, Buffon, 'le corps d'un athlète et l'âme d'un sage' ainsi que disait Voltaire. Nous le voyons se promenant 'comme un dieu' dans son Jardin des Plantes. Ce jardin prend une place importante dans l'étude de Mme Duclaux, comme il l'avait dans la vie du naturaliste. Ce jardin, Buffon l'appelait son fils aîné; l'autre fils, 'Buffonet' devait être sacrifié, dans sa vie et dans sa mort, aux exigences et à la gloire du grand frère. Il y a là plus qu'une manière piquante de présenter les choses. Le jardin botanique nous aide à comprendre comment, grand prêtre de la déesse Nature, dont il chante l'unité divine, M. de Buffon fut à la fois le précurseur de l'évolutionisme et l'aïeul des Romantiques.

Entre les quatre articles, on n'hésite pas à donner la palme à celui qui dans le livre tient la place la plus importante: c'est sans doute qu'en parlant de Fénelon, Mme Duclaux se sent en complète sympathie avec son sujet. Déjà une ébauche, dans le livre précédent, nous avait laissé entrevoir à quel point l'auteur goûtait et pénétrait les écrits du doux archevêque. L'atmosphère de mysticisme aristocratique qui entourait Fénelon est admirablement évoqué par Mme Duclaux: la société des Beauvilliers et des Chevreuses, Mme Guyon et ses fidèles revivent à nos yeux, avec toute la noblesse édifiante de leurs caractères—toute la poétique beauté de leur religion. Dans la querelle du Quiétisme, on sent où vont les préférences de Mme Duclaux. Peut-être le sent-on trop, et les admirateurs de Bossuet invoquant la souplesse un peu féline de son adversaire, secoueront la tête devant un Fénelon nimbé de l'auréole des saints. Peu importe, Mme Duclaux a su pénétrer les arcanes de cette âme un peu mystérieuse et sans en ignorer *complètement* les faiblesses, elle a su nous donner de ses précieuses qualités un tableau plein de charme et de vie.

On se demande souvent si la critique peut être un art créateur, et même jusqu'à quel point elle mérite le nom d'*art*. A ces questions Mme Duclaux a donné une éloquente réponse. Ses articles seront utiles à l'étudiant qui y trouvera en même temps qu'une critique fructueuse des beautés (la plus difficile de toutes), une analyse psychologique très personnelle et très suggestive du tempérament des auteurs. Ils seront encore un régal pour tous ceux que la beauté de forme ne laisse pas indifférents. Le style est de qualité rare: tantôt, grave et nombreux, il se déroule sans raideur; tantôt subtil et spirituel jusqu'à l'audace, il éclate en formules heureuses, en ces cliquetis de mots qui ponctuent la pensée<sup>1</sup>. C'est un style varié, très coloré et très vivant;

<sup>1</sup> Quelques exemples:

Under Louis XIV, in that reign of One-ness,  
Didot, the publisher-in-law of Bernardin de S. Pierre.  
Fénelon, other-worldly rather than unworldly.

et partout le charme insaisissable d'une mélodie qui attire et qui retient.

Les deux livres ornés de reproductions de gravures bien choisies, sont dignes par l'impression<sup>1</sup> et la reliure, des bibliothèques les plus exclusives. Le second contient devant chaque article (sauf pour Buffon<sup>2</sup>) une bibliographie sommaire.

E. FANNIÈRE.

OXFORD.

*Goethes Gespräche.* Begründet von WOLDEMAR VON BIEDERMANN. Neu herausgegeben von FLODOARD VON BIEDERMANN. 5 vols. Leipzig: F. W. von Biedermann. 1909-1911. 8vo. xii + 555; 669; 520; 495; xviii + 507 pp.

The publication of the conversations of great men has not infrequently been denounced as an act of impiety. Quintilian blames the compilers of Cicero's *Dicta* for their want of prudence in selecting their collection, and there are still many well-meaning, if narrow, minds, to whom the editor of Luther's *Table Talk* appears guilty of deplorable indiscretion. No such accusation could possibly be raised against the editor of Goethe's *Gespräche*; for, although everything authentic is included in a collection like the present, there are very few conversations in which the poet does not appear great and amiable.

When the first edition of this valuable compilation appeared, it was warmly applauded as bringing together much inaccessible matter. In the present edition the number of conversations has been doubled, although it must be confessed the new items are not always of the first importance. Amongst the most interesting additions are Soret's diaries, reproduced here for the first time in their original French, from the manuscript copy preserved in the Weimar Archiv. In this, as well as in the collections of the Kanzler von Müller, Falk, Eckermann and others we are inclined to question the wisdom of dividing them up to suit the chronological arrangement of the present work. The exact chronological order of these conversations is not a matter on which much weight should be laid, and surely the personality of the interlocutor, which is lost sight of here, counts for something. This is particularly evident in the case of Eckermann whose *Gespräche* must always occupy the first place in such a collection. Eckermann has received his full share of praise and censure. Herr von Biedermann joins the chorus of his detractors; he accuses him of negligence in his dates, and considers him generally untrustworthy. Eckermann never, however, aimed at complete accuracy, and never intended to furnish a stenographically correct report of his daily conversations with Goethe. No one has vindicated his method more successfully than Dr Houben in his recent

<sup>1</sup> Les erreurs typographiques sont nombreuses dans les citations françaises des deux livres.

<sup>2</sup> Pourquoi? Mme Duclaux ne s'est elle pas servie des études de Faguet, de Quatrefages et de Nadault de Buffon?

edition of the *Gespräche*; and it is to be regretted that Herr von Biedermann did not take the opportunity of discussing that editor's arguments in his introduction. Dr Houben shows plainly that Eckermann worked as a productive artist, distributing and arranging his material in order to produce a lifelike picture of his beloved master.

We feel inclined to go a step further than Dr Houben and to look into the origin of Eckermann's motives and principles of composition. He arrived at Weimar when Goethe had entered the last stage of his career as a writer, and was engaged on his life-story, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*; he became Goethe's assistant, and out of the autobiographical atmosphere pervading the master's study the plan of the *Gespräche* was no doubt born. In his record of Goethe's conversations he proceeded on the lines that are implied in Goethe's use, in the title of his autobiography, of 'Dichtung,' the word meaning there, not the deliberate perversion of the truth, but the artistic selection, composition and arrangement of the facts. Thus Eckermann avoids glaring effects, passes over unpleasant events, such as family and other quarrels, and he makes effective use of contrast and preparatory exposition; he often chooses the place of a conversation in order to supply it with a suitable background<sup>1</sup>.

Eckermann, it is true, was too little of the artist to attain a high measure of success with his method, but it is a mistake to deal with his work as if it were a mere chronicle of daily events. He seems himself to have anticipated the dangers to which his book would be exposed at the hands of future editors; for his son, probably acting in accordance with his father's wishes, stipulated with Brockhaus the publisher that the work should be preserved in its original form, lest its accuracy be impaired and its character destroyed, 'das Werk in seiner Ursprünglichkeit zu erhalten und es durch keinerlei Umarbeitung in seiner Wahrheit abzuschwächen' (Houben, p. 658). Contemporaries able to form a competent judgment are practically unanimous in the opinion that Eckermann succeeded in the task he attempted, namely to depict Goethe, the man as he lived, and worked, and suffered. The words of Kanzler von Müller to this effect have been repeatedly quoted. We add a few utterances of members of Goethe's family which have been preserved by Mrs Anna Jameson, the intimate friend of Ottilie von Goethe. Speaking of the first part of Eckermann's *Gespräche*, which had then just appeared, she says: 'When I left Weimar, it was not yet published. There my attention was strongly directed to this book, not so much by the interest as by the *kind* of interest it had excited around me. I remember one of Goethe's grandsons turning over the

<sup>1</sup> Goethe's words uttered in respect of his visit to Bodmer are of considerable interest in this connexion: 'Überhaupt zwar finde ich nicht ganz schicklich, dass Reisende einen bedeutenden Mann, den sie besuchen, gleichsam signalisieren, als wenn sie Stoff zu einem Steckbrief geben wollten. Niemand bedenkt, dass es eigentlich nur ein Augenblick ist, wo er,orgetreten, neugierig beobachtet und doch nur auf seine eigene Weise; und so kann der Besuchte bald wirklich, bald scheinbar als stolz oder demütig, als schweigsam oder gesprächig, als heiter oder verdriesslich scheinen.' (*Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Buch 18.)

leaves as it lay on my table, and exclaiming with animation—"Es ist der Grosspapa selbst! da lebt er!—da spricht er!" Another, habitually intimate with the domestic life of Goethe [von Müller?], said with emotion—"Es ist das buch von liebe und wahrheit." "Whatever may be in that book," said a dear friend of mine [Ottilie], when she placed it in my hands, "I would pledge myself beforehand for its truth. The mind of Eckermann, at once unsullied and unruffled by all contact with the world, is so constituted, that he could not perceive or speak other than the truth, any more than a perfectly clear and smooth mirror could reflect a false or a distorted image<sup>1</sup>."

"Eckermann's book" said she [Ottilie, probably in a letter], "is the purest altar that has yet been erected to the fame of Goethe. In times like these, when the feeling of reverence (Pietät) [*sic*] seems to be fast departing, when a young author of talent takes the pen, as a sort of critical dissecting-knife, mangling and prying where once he trembled and adored; when his first endeavour is to fling down that heaviest burthen upon the soul of an egotist—the burthen of admiration for the merits of another, is it not pleasant to meet with such a book as this? And when everything one reads is so artificial, so *gemacht*, so impertinent, is it not delightful to open a book where in every page we feel the pulse-throb of a warm, true heart? I do not know if I am right, but it seems to me that those who cannot admire, can have nothing in themselves to be admired; then how worthy of admiration must that man be, who thus throws down his whole heart and soul in admiration before the feet of another! the simplicity of this entire abnegation of self lends to it a certain dignity. There is nothing here but truth and love—for Goethe loved Eckermann, and O! how Eckermann loved Goethe!

"I can have no critical judgment here, and ought not to have; I can only bear witness to the general truth of the whole—nothing could be truer. I cannot be, like you, struck and charmed by particular passages. I was too long a sort of Lady High Treasurer to be dazzled or astonished now that the caskets are opened. I greet the gems as old acquaintance" (*l. c.*, pp. 231, 2).

In his introduction, Herr von Biedermann quotes with approval a remark of Gustav von Loeper to the effect that this collection of conversations is the most beautiful biography of Goethe imaginable. Such a statement seems somewhat to exaggerate the importance of the volumes before us, as it would require more than the genius of a Boswell to work these disconnected fragments into anything like a complete and satisfactory life. In the first place, they are far too unevenly distributed over the poet's lifetime. All the large collections were, for obvious reasons, compiled during the second half of Goethe's career; and on turning to the volumes of the present edition, we find that the first contains all known conversations down to 1808, these consisting, during the first forty years, largely of brief and occasional

<sup>1</sup> *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, by Mrs Jameson. 3 vols. London, 1838; vol. i, pp. 173, 4.

notices only. From 1805 onwards, however, the bulk of the conversations increases rapidly. The second volume covers fifteen years, the period from 1808 to 1823, the third comprises the next five years, and the fourth the remaining four years. Thus, the young Goethe is very inadequately represented. We realise from the fragmentary entries taken from Lavater's diaries how much we have missed, and we feel a keen disappointment when we find Jacobi referring to the Düsseldorf visit with the tantalising remark, 'seine Tafelreden hätte ich aufzuzeichnen gewünscht' (No. 71).

Only in later years do the conversations become really valuable for biographical purposes. For here, speaking in the presence of mostly sympathetic and admiring interlocutors, Goethe puts aside much of the reserve characteristic of his later letters and diaries. As the years advanced, the number and variety of people seeking an interview with the celebrated poet increase. Almost all classes, professions and nationalities are represented, and it is surprising to see how wide is the scope of his interests, and how he always contrives to find a topic of conversation suited to the station and profession of his visitor.

There is another aspect in which the collection is seriously deficient: those who were most closely associated with Goethe observe an almost complete silence with regard to their conversations with him. Not merely the companions of his youth have nothing to tell us; but poets and thinkers like Herder, Wieland and Schiller are equally silent; so, too, are Wilhelm von Humboldt, the Schlegels, Schopenhauer. Intimate friends, the Duke, Frau von Stein, and the two men in whom Goethe placed unreserved confidence, Meyer and Zelter, maintain the same reticence. The few records of their intercourse with him that have been garnered by subsequent editors are mere chance fragments. And our regret grows the more intense when we are told by these very friends how overpowering the impressions were that his speech made upon them. Herder, in 1786, remarks, 'Er ist in seiner Naturforschung der freieste, gründlichste, reinste Geist, den ich als Beobachter kennen gelernt habe, ein wahres *exemplar humanae naturae* in diesem Fache, dessen Umgang mein Trost ist, und dessen Gespräche jedesmal meine Seele erweitern' (No. 261).

Varnhagen von Ense expresses himself in a similar strain: '[Das Gespräch] war wie ein Stück Leben, in tausend Wellen fließend, ein Gefühl im ganzen wirkend, ohne die einzelnen Bezüge gesondert festhalten zu lassen; jedes Wort eine Blüte am Zweige des Baums, aus der tiefen dunkeln Wurzel her, aber selber doch nur als luftig heitres Gebild des Augenblickes erschlossen....Schwer würde ich einige besondere Sprüche aus dem lebensreichen Ganzen aussondern; die festesten, kräftigsten Ausserungen, die feinsten, erfreulichsten Wendungen, voll Gestalt im Hervorkommen, zerflossen mir unter den Händen, wie ich sie dem Gedächtnisse zum Behalten und Überliefern einprägen wollte' (No. 1817).

This latter quotation also provides one reason, at least, why Goethe's most intimate friends did not record what they had listened to: his

speech made too deep an impression. And the following words by Johanna Frommann (No. 1820) no doubt accounted for the silence of many: 'Du wärest zufrieden gewesen mit dem, was er sagte, aber nachsagen kann man's besser mal mündlich, als schriftlich, nicht weil's verhänglich wäre, sondern weil einem kaum gefällt, was man ihm nachsagt, viel weniger nachschreibt.'

Another, and perhaps the most powerful reason of all for reticence was the feeling that words spoken in friendship were purely personal property, and should not be profaned by being made public. If this was the sentiment of friends and comrades, how much more sacred must Goethe's conversation have been to his relatives. Mrs Jameson, in the book we have already quoted, tells us that Ottilie, 'was pressed by arguments and splendid offers of emolument to give to the world the domestic life of the poet, or at least to contribute some notes with regard to his private conversations and opinions. She refused at once and decidedly. "I had," said she, "several reasons for this. In the first place, I have not a good memory, and I have a very lively imagination: I could not always trust myself. What I should say would be something very near the truth, and very like the truth, but would it be *the truth*? How could I send into the world a book, of the exact truth of which I could not in my own conscience, and to my own conviction, be assured? A second reason was, that Goethe did not die young; I could not do him any justice he was unable to do himself, by telling the world what he *would* have done, what he *could* have done, or what he intended to do, if time had been given. He lived long enough to accomplish his own fame. He told the world all he chose the world to know; and if not, is it for me—for *me!*—to fill up the vacancy, by telling what, perhaps, he never meant to be told?—what I owed to his boundless love and confidence?—*that* were too horrible!"' (p. 179 f.).

We have several times taken occasion to praise the compiler of this 'Gesamtausgabe' for his diligence in collecting material; but the same cannot, unfortunately, be said of his editing. There are far too many misprints, especially in the French and English passages which would have been all the better for a revision by competent proof-readers. Not all the mistakes are as entertaining as the mutilated quotation from Horace, which reads: 'Sic te *dira* potens Cypri...' (II. 552). Copious indices are added to the fifth volume, and neither are these without serious defects. Although we have made no systematic examination of their accuracy, we have found many omissions and mis-statements. A few instances are given:

Vol. v. p. 378<sup>a</sup> Koethe II. 359, omitted; p. 418<sup>b</sup> Kabale und Liebe I. 386 (the drama is not mentioned on the page indicated); p. 450<sup>b</sup>, line 2, read 288 for 208; p. 457<sup>a</sup> Geschichte, add II. 585; p. 472<sup>a</sup> Tabak, add II. 488, 600; p. 480<sup>b</sup> Stolz, read II. 421 for II. 420; p. 481<sup>b</sup> add references to 'Balladen,' IV. 228, 230; p. 482<sup>a</sup> 'Der Edelknabe und die Müllerin,' omit IV. 398, which refers to 'Der Junggeselle und der Mühlbach,' and should be entered in its proper place; p. 484<sup>a</sup> Der Fischer, add II. 385;

p. 484<sup>b</sup> Der Gott und die Bajadere, II. 500(?); p. 486<sup>b</sup> Der untreue Knabe, III. 248(?).

In the text itself we do not see the necessity of the note of exclamation added by the editor to 'Den Morgen war ich zum Tee bei die (!) Stein eingeladen' (No. 330). There is nothing remarkable in this construction. The accusative after 'bei,' expressing direction, is found in Central German sources, in Luther's language, in Klopstock and Goethe, and may be heard in the colloquial speech of educated speakers at the present day. The editor further places a query after 'ägyptisch-babylonische Grillen' (No. 413); but is it not clear that the expression refers to the stories contained in Genesis and other historical writings of the Old Testament?

We will not, however, close with a note of discord. In spite of faults—often inevitable in a compendious work of this nature—the collection can be heartily recommended to all lovers and students of Goethe. It is a highly valuable, nay indispensable, complement to the Weimar edition. We confidently expect that a new edition will soon be called for; and it is chiefly in the hope of this that attention is drawn to blemishes that may easily be removed.

HEINRICH MUTSCHMANN.

NOTTINGHAM.

*Dantis Alagherii Operum Latinorum Concordantiae.* Ediderunt E. K. RAND et E. H. WILKINS. Oxonii, e Prelo Clarendoniano. MDCCCXII. Roy. 8vo. viii + 577 pp.

*Concordanza delle Rime di Francesco Petrarca.* Compilata da K. MCKENZIE. Oxford, della Stamperia dell' Università. 1912. Roy. 8vo. xvi + 519 pp.

The Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society is to be congratulated on the completion of their series of Concordances to the works of Dante. It is now just on a quarter of a century since the first volume, Dr Fay's valuable *Concordance to the Divina Commedia* (Boston, U.S.A., 1888), was published. This was followed, seventeen years later, by the *Concordanza delle Opere Italiane in Prosa e del Canzoniere di Dante* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1905), edited by E. S. Sheldon and A. White, which was noticed in this *Review* at the time of publication. The present volume, which, like its immediate predecessor, is issued from the Clarendon Press, comprises the whole of the Latin works of Dante. The text followed is that of the *Oxford Dante*, but a certain number of variants from critical editions of several of the separate works (e.g. from Rajna's *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, Albini's *Eclogae*, Barbi's *Vita Nuova*, and Shadwell's *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra*) have been included, with cross-references to the Oxford text. Further, by the courtesy of Dr Moore, editor of the *Oxford Dante*, a few emendations which have been decided upon since the publication of the last edition of that work have been embodied in the Concordance.



As in the case of the Concordance to Dante's minor Italian works, the method adopted is the 'dictionary method,' all verbal forms being registered under the first person singular of the present indicative, and all substantival and adjectival forms under the nominative (masculine) singular. The objections to this arrangement were set forth in the article on the Italian Concordance referred to above, consequently they need not be repeated on this occasion. Suffice it to say that a pretty wide practical experience of both methods has not led us to abandon our preference for the more usual concordance arrangement, whereby every separate part of verb, substantive, or adjective, is registered under a heading of its own. By the adoption of their own chosen method the compilers have been betrayed apparently into what may be described as an interesting blunder on their part; unless, indeed, which in the circumstances seems hardly probable, we are to regard it as a deliberate expression of opinion on a very knotty point. *Argis*, in the sentence 'ex quo scilicet *Argis* hospitalitas a Phrygibus denegata' (*Epist.* v. l. 129), is registered under *Argus*. What does this word stand for? The word is familiar, of course, as the name of the hundred-eyed son of Agenor, but there can be no possible question of Argus Panoptes in the present passage. *Argis* properly should be the locative of *Argi*, 'at Argos.' But, as the present writer has shown in a recent number of this *Review* (Vol. VII, p. 221, n. 1), this is an interpretation which for several reasons it is very difficult to accept here. Our own view is that the correct reading is not *denegata* but *derogata* (see *M. L. R.*, *loc. cit.*), and that *Argis* is the dative of *Argi*, in the sense of *Argivi*, the Greeks. Though there appears to be no classical instance of the use of *Argi* in this sense, such a use was certainly current in the Middle Ages; and, moreover, it is recorded in a work with which Dante was familiar, namely the *Magnae Derivationes* of Ugucione da Pisa. Ugucione says: '*Argos* nomen civitatis in Grecia, neutri generis et indeclinabile in singulari, sed in plurali masculini generis, et declinatur *Argi*, -orum, unde dicti sunt *Argi*, vel ab *Argo* rege dicuntur.' Similarly Papias, in his *Elementarium Doctrinae Rudimentum*, had said 150 years earlier: '*Argi* graece et *argiui* dicti ab *argo* rege filio apis. Iidem *danai* a *danao* rege. Iidem quoque *argolici* ab *argo*.' Were the compilers of the Concordance aware of this fact? We doubt it, and have little hesitation in assuming that they unconsciously coined the word to fit the interpretation of the passage given (ignorantly) by most of the translators of the letter. In view of the difficulties involved it would be preferable to give the non-committal *Argi* as the head-word in the Concordance, and thus leave the interpretation open.

The compilers are not always consistent in their method. For example, *agens* is given as a separate article, besides figuring several times under *ago*; while the instances of *patiens* are registered under *patior* only. The indication, by italicising the reference-numbers, of the passages in which words like *cum*, *quod*, *si*, *licet*, are constructed with the subjunctive can hardly be said to fall within the province of

a Concordance. The work, which has been compiled and printed with very great accuracy (we had noted a few misprints, but found them included in the *Corrigenda* at the end of the volume), cannot fail to be of great value to Dantists, especially to those who are desirous of making a study of Dante's Latinity, an interesting subject to which too little attention has as yet been paid. We trust that the energies and resources of the American Dante Society are not yet exhausted. Much yet remains to be done. For instance, a general subject index to the whole of Dante's works, Italian and Latin, is sorely needed. Such a work could well be produced by the system of collaboration which has worked so successfully in the case of this and of the previous Concordance; and it would be a fitting crown to the labours of the devoted band of American scholars to whom students of Dante all the world over are already so deeply indebted.

The Petrarch Concordance, which appears to be due to the single-handed labours of Mr Kenneth McKenzie, is uniform in appearance and arrangement with the volume just noticed, and so far as we have been able to judge, it is not inferior in accuracy. There being no standard edition of Petrarch's *Rime*, Mr McKenzie had to make his own selection from among the various available texts. He decided in favour of that of Salvo-Cozzo for the *Canzoniere*, and that of Carl Appel for the *Trionfi*, probably in the circumstances the best choice he could have made. The work, which has evidently been a labour of love, has been carefully planned, but it is not free from objectionable features. The most noticeable of these are the preference given to obsolete spellings over the recognised modern standard orthography (*e.g.* *dilecto* for *diletto*, *gratia* for *grazia*, *philosopho* for *filosofo*, and so on); and the disconcerting discrepancies in a great number of instances between the word-forms in the headings, and those in the actual quotations (thus, under *Enone* one finds, not that word, but *Oenone*; under *Eracrito*, *Heracrito*; under *Teseo*, *Theseo*; under *profitto*, *profecto*; under *inesorabile*, *inexorable*; etc., etc.). Such anomalies, which have no apparent *raison d'être*, and are peculiarly out of place in a work of this kind, cannot fail to be a hindrance to rapid reference, which is the first desideratum in a concordance. It is regrettable that the usefulness of a valuable and laborious piece of work should have been diminished by perversities of this description.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

BURNHAM, BUCKS.

*El Romancero Español.* Conferencias dadas en la Columbia University de New York. Por RAMÓN MENÉNDEZ PIDAL. New York: The Hispanic Society of America. 1910. 131 pp.

The first lecture is entitled *El Romancero, sus orígenes y carácter*; the second, *El Romancero, su transmisión a la época moderna*.

In the first, D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal to some extent repeats what

he has explained at greater length in his work on the *Infantes de Lara*, and while there is much that is additional and fresh, there is not quite the same interest of discovery which marks the second lecture. This is a document in the history of ballad poetry such as many students have desired without much hope that it would ever be possible. What it records is the discovery of Castilian ballad poetry in living oral tradition, both at home in the peninsula and abroad in the colonies, and especially among the Spanish Jews of Morocco and the Levant. It is like the story of Scott's raids into Liddesdale for the *Border Minstrelsy*, or like E. T. Kristensen's recovery of the old Danish ballads in the tradition of West Jutland. Only, in these recent Spanish acquisitions the fields are much wider, and the story consequently more exciting. All at once, apparently, in Chile and Peru, in Tangier, Rhodes and Adrianople, in Castile itself, the *romances* which had escaped notice began to be heard, and in a very short time, beginning about 1900, a great number of oral ballads were added to the contents of the *Romancero*.

These new-found *romances* are mostly not of the type which is commonly regarded as proper to Castile, and which is so well described in the first of these two lectures—the ballad which is a fragment of an earlier epic, concerned with the history of Castile and with a Castilian hero—e.g. Fernán González, or the Infantes de Lara, or the Cid. Those Castilian heroic ballads are unlike the popular ballads which are most widely diffused in other countries—the ballads of which Mr Andrew Lang wrote so well and whose motives he understood so thoroughly—ballads like *May Colvin*, *Binnorie*, *Babylon*, *Le Roi Renaud*, *La Biche Blanche*. The strange thing about Castile was that its own strong heroic tradition seemed to have discouraged the simpler kind of lyrical ballad which is happily common in other parts of Spain, according to the studies so admirably summarised and explained by Gaston Paris in dealing with the ballads of Piedmont. The ballads of the North of Italy are part of a stock belonging also to France, to Catalonia, to Portugal—but with this the Castilian *romancero* had little to do. The other nations could not be expected to trouble themselves about the house of Lara or the Cid, and, till quite lately, it looked as if the popular tradition of France and Piedmont, Catalonia and Portugal, had been rejected in Castile through the predominance there of another, viz. the epic fashion of popular poetry. It is true that there were some Castilian versions corresponding to the vague and unhistorical ballad themes of other countries—romances with no trace of the epic:

¡ Quién hubiese tal ventura sobre las aguas del mar  
Como hubo el conde Arnaldos, la mañana de San Juan !

But there was not in Castilian anything like the plenty of such things to be found elsewhere, e.g. in the *Romancerillo catalan* of Milá y Fontanals. The reason appeared to be obvious and convenient. Catalonia had no epic, and so for its ballad poetry it had to live on the common stock, which is generally allowed to be French, and which has

no peculiar national quality but passes easily from one dialect to another. Castile had its *cantares de gesta*, and the *romances* which are descended from the *cantares* kept out the other sort of popular ballad. This is clear and rational; but it turns out to be not exactly true. The same things were repeated in Castile as in the neighbouring countries, along with the *romances* which were the property of Castile alone.

The account given by Sr. Menéndez Pidal of his own discoveries ought to be known to every lover of ballads, particularly his story of the children's songs which he heard in Montevideo, and the ballads sung by the washerwoman at Osma in May 1900. This last passage is one of remarkable beauty, and its value for history is not small.

‘En Mayo de 1900 hacía yo una larga excursión por las orillas del Duero, para estudiar la geografía del Cantar de Mio Cid. Acabada la indagación en Osma, y deteniendome allí un día más para presenciar el eclipse solar que iba á sobrevenir, ocurriósele á mi mujer (era aquel nuestro viaje de recién casados) recitar el romance del Conde Sol á una lavandera con quien hablábamos. La buena mujer nos dijo que lo sabía ella también, con otros muchos que eran el repertorio de su canto acompañado del batir la ropa en el río; y en seguida, complaciente, se puso á cantarnos uno, con una voz dulce y una sonada que á nuestros oídos era tan “apacible y agradable” como aquellas que oía el historiador Mariana con los romances del cerco de Zamora. El romance que cantaba nos era desconocido, por eso más interesante; y á medida que avanzaba, mi mujer creía reconocer en él un relato casi histórico, un eco tardío de aquel “dolor tribulación y desventura” que, al decir de los cronistas, causó en toda España la muerte del príncipe Don Juan, hijo de los Reyes Católicos. Y en efecto, estudiado después, aquel era un romance histórico del siglo xv, desconocido á todas las colecciones antiguas y modernas de España. Era preciso, en las pocas horas que nos quedaban de estancia en Osma, anotar aquella música y copiar aquellos romances, primer tributo que Castilla pagaba al romancero tradicional moderno; y ayudados del maestro de capilla de la catedral, haciendo á la buena mujer repetir sus cantos, se nos pasaron las horas sin tiempo apenas para contemplar el eclipse que entonces ocurría, y que habiéndonos retenido allí, ya poco significaba para nosotros.’ (pp. 100, 101.)

It is pleasant to consider whether this is more like Cervantes or like Scott: and how Scott would have enjoyed it.

The most remarkable thing in these new discoveries is what regards the ballads of the Spanish Jews in exile. The Jews were expelled by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492; they have not only kept the Castilian language but also the Castilian ballads, including some which have been lost to the popular tradition at home: ‘Notable es que Los Infantes de Lara, el Cid y Portocarrero sean cantados en Rodas, en Orán, y en Tánger, cuando no lo son ya en Burgos ó en Andalucía.’

One problem is left, as to which we would gladly have more information from a student who has given us so much. This is nothing less than the old question of the minstrel and his relation to ballad poetry. Is one to make a sharp distinction between the epic recited by a minstrel or *juglar* and the choral ballad? Is the Castilian *romance* of the strictly Castilian order to be regarded as a ballad along with the lyrical choral ballads such as girls sing at their play? Those new discoveries which are described in this book are not only texts of ballads, they are tunes also, and a crowd of facts about the way in which ballads are sung. In Spain the ancient fashion of the *carole* has

not died out; apart from the children's games there are 'las danzas corales de los labradores' (p. 104). There are two separate types of lyrical ballad in Castile. One is descended from the early epics (*cantares de gesta*) and like the *cantares* belonged first of all to the minstrels—at any rate, depended on the minstrels for publication and currency. The other is of the choral fashion common throughout most countries in the middle ages—the true popular ballad, sung by dancers. The distinction seems to be a sound one. But the choral ballad easily may do without the chorus and the dance; it is remembered afterwards by women at their work, and it is touching to find in this book how the ballads in Spain are used for their ancient purpose by 'the spinsters and the knitters in the sun,' and by the washerwomen at the river. The epic recitation of the minstrel and the choral ballad of the dance may come to resemble one another more and more through this sort of popular tradition. Yet originally they are distinct, and deal in different kinds of story. So it may be said, and it seems probable. The value of this distinction, however, is not great if it is left abstract, and there is much to be done in detail before the character of the wonderful ballad poetry of Spain can be thoroughly understood in all its varieties.

The book has waited too long for this inadequate review, which yet may call the attention of some northern students to these new treasures of poetry and of learning.

W. P. KER.

LONDON.

*Il Milione di Marco Polo.* A cura di DANTE OLIVIERI. (*Scrittori d'Italia*, xxx.) Bari: G. Laterza e Figli. 8vo. 317 pp.

*Le Novelle di Matteo Bandello.* A cura di GIOACHINO BROGNOLIGO. (Same Series, ii, v, ix, xvii, xxiii) 424, 446, 486, 496 and 382 pp.

*Le Scelta delle Lettere Familiari di Giuseppe Baretti.* A cura di LUIGI PICCIONI. (Same Series, xxvi) 460 pp.

*Opere di Giovanni Berchet.* A cura di EGIDIO BELLORINI. (Same Series, xviii, xxvii) 438 and 254 pp.

There is certainly no falling off either in the rate of publication or in the quality of the volumes of this series. In a previous notice attention was called to the high standard of printing and editing of this collection. The magnitude of the undertaking, far from damping the enthusiasm of the editor and of the publishers, seems to act as a stimulant to increasing industry and daring. Not only works of first-rate importance in Italian literature are reprinted, but also a number of writings which are often overlooked or forgotten; so that when the whole collection is complete we shall have a truly representative series. Remembering former disappointments, we should perhaps have preferred to see the undertaking begin on a less ambitious scale, and grow steadily as it gained in favour, to greater comprehensiveness. There

appears however to be no justification for such scepticism, seeing that the volumes are following one another at diminishing intervals.

We may be allowed to express our hope that too much energy is not spent on minor works to the detriment of more important ones. We fully appreciate the difficulties inherent in the reissue of some classics on which general attention is focussed; but for an editor commanding the services of such an army of specialists, such difficulties should be anything but insuperable. Meanwhile the comprehensive character of the series compels the reviewer, even if he is unable to keep pace with the publishing, to discuss in one article works of very different times and very dissimilar styles. As an illustration of the wide range covered by the series we propose to pass in review here the reprints of writings belonging to the fourteenth, sixteenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Everyone is conversant with that wonderful book of travel which Marco Polo dictated to Rusticiano of Pisa while both were prisoners of war in Genoa, between 1298 and 1299. Rusticiano wrote out the adventures of his friend in the rather peculiar French, full of Italianisms, that many of his countrymen affected during the thirteenth century, thus drawing upon themselves Dante's fierce denunciation in *Convivio* I, 10. This text, however corrupt, is still the fundamental one, and was rendered familiar to Englishmen by Colonel Henry Yule<sup>1</sup>. Polo seems to have himself revised it after his return to Venice, and a goodly number of more or less differentiated versions in Italian are to be found in manuscript. One of these versions was printed by Bartoli<sup>2</sup>, whereas the present editor, Dr Olivieri, has attempted to reconstruct the translation according to what he assumes to be its original form. Whoever is acquainted with the great differences between the MSS., some of which offer condensed texts, while others preserve texts that have been expanded by later and independent additions, will easily understand that Signor Olivieri has set himself an almost hopeless task. He has been compelled to add a number of variants, while omitting to record the less significant ones. He was perhaps well advised in this peculiar case to avoid bigotry with regard to the usual standards of textual criticism, and not to heed the all too obvious remonstrances which are sure to be made by dissatisfied critics. As the original French text is extant and as the Italian version cannot be regarded as an important specimen of prose, the departure from the usual methods of editing may be warranted, though we should emphatically deprecate such a departure in any other case. It would be easy to point out some passages in which Signor Olivieri's reconstruction is open to criticism; but such suggestions would certainly not be better founded than those he makes; on the whole, he seems to us to have been very successful in his attempt. His concluding note is careful, clear and modest.

The *Milione*, which was so widely read during the fourteenth century, may be taken to represent that new spirit of adventure which

<sup>1</sup> *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London, Murray, 1871.

<sup>2</sup> *I Viaggi di Marco Polo*, a cura di Adolfo Bartoli, Florence, 1863.

rose to its highest point in the age of geographical discovery. A humbler, at times satirical and at times merely frolicsome intention prompted the writers of *novelle*. With the exception of those included in the *Decameron*, no collection is so significant, so far reaching and so instructive as that composed by Matteo Bandello, a much travelled monk, a bishop and, above all, a born *novellatore*. It is impossible to understand fully the Italian Cinquecento without being familiar with these stories. Their importance and that of their short prefaces cannot be overrated. An amazing amount of information has already been gathered from them, and no doubt some gleanings are still to be picked up. In recent years considerable attention has been devoted to Bandello. This is the second complete edition of his *Novelle* issued in this century. Only one story is to be found in an original MS.; another MS., which also contains only one story, has no great authority. Consequently all editors are forced to reproduce the first three sections from the original edition of Lucca, 1554, and the fourth section from the edition of Lyons, 1573. Both however are marred by quite a number of misprints and even of unwarranted editorial corrections; these, which increased enormously in later reprints, have, we are glad to say, been carefully expunged from this reissue, in which, too, Bandello's peculiar orthography is preserved.

Bandello wrote in the full tide of the Renaissance. Baretto was one of the first writers, and not the least important, to promote a wholesome reaction against the literature of Arcadia—so melodious and so barren. Baretto's name is not unknown to the historian of English literature, but he can only be assigned his proper place by measuring his influence on Italian literature. For many years his fame has been based principally on the *Frusta letteraria*; and not until quite recently has he been made the subject of the careful study he deserves. His scattered writings have been collected, and rare books by him like this 'Scelta' have been reprinted. This is an exceedingly interesting work. In the Middle Ages letter-writing was a difficult and laborious art, and it was thought necessary to compose special treatises providing specimens of letters suited to the most ordinary occasions; and Baretto was clearly of opinion that Italians had not increased their proficiency as letter-writers in the eighteenth century. An English publisher asked him to edit an anthology of Italian letters for the use of English readers. Baretto disapproved of the flourished classic style of the Renaissance writers and he felt that criticism alone was inadequate to express his full condemnation of the style of his time. So, without much ado and with considerable assurance, he decided to collect some of his own letters and to write some new ones for this special object. He ascribed the authorship of these letters to several of his friends, and finally published the bulk of them under these fictitious names. The letters may appear to us strongly coloured by Baretto's stylistic peculiarities; we may consider them to be no less artificial in their affected use of colloquialisms and of Tuscan idioms than were in their author's opinion the well rounded missives of sixteenth-century writers;

nevertheless they give us a most useful insight into the character and views of this restless Piedmontese. They are no vacuous rhetorical exercises; even in those which he wrote for this 'Scelta,' he contrived to vent his opinions—and very outspoken opinions they were—on every subject under the sun. They ought, in this careful reprint, for which we are indebted to Dr Piccioni, to be of peculiar interest to the student of the eighteenth century as well as entertaining to the general reader. In some ways Baretta may be regarded as one of the forerunners of the Romantic movement in Italy; he advocated the rise of writers more learned, more catholic in their literary taste, more independent of time-honoured models. But in other ways he was bitterly opposed to the group of young men, who met together in the 'Accademia dei Pugni,' or, a little later, gathered round the periodical *Il Caffè*, and had fallen completely under the spell of the French encyclopaedists. He fought for an innovation of the literary language, which should bring it nearer to colloquial Italian; they, on their part, pretended to be entirely indifferent to style and language, and very often evinced their disregard for them by employing the most objectionable and useless gallicisms. Following on the publication of the 'Frusta' a series of literary battles began, which did not end until the classic-romantic feud was settled and forgotten. But the literary strife was so entangled with purely political matters, that many a critic failed to discriminate the different elements which composed it. Few of the general public had or have the opportunity of looking up the old periodicals in which these furious battles were waged, so that many fundamentally wrong ideas have been fostered and spread. It took time to discover the real continuity of the process of literary evolution amidst such incessant changes. Only lately has it been realised that the Risorgimento was in itself a highly interesting historical period and that it is incumbent on our generation to study it carefully, before the documents bearing on it are lost and dispersed. A number of writings have been reprinted and with the help of this fresh material, it has been comparatively easy to acquire a better and more sympathetic understanding of the period. The controversy about Romanticism was principally fought out in the numbers of another Milanese periodical *Il Conciliatore*; and one of its most active contributors, and most energetic editors, was Giovanni Berchet, the same Berchet who in the early days of the Risorgimento took up with his odes the part which was filled by Mameli in 1848 and 1849. Between them they share the honour of having provided Italian patriots with the stimulus of inspired poetry, an element so difficult to estimate and so often underrated by modern fact-bound historians. Signor Bellorini has bestowed on the works of Berchet many years of study and research, so that he has been in the position to make an entirely reliable collection of the prose writings and the poems of his author. Among the prose works which were hitherto hidden away in the dusty pages of the *Conciliatore*, there are brilliant essays, humorous discussions and shorter articles. The 'Lettera semi-seria di Grisostomo,' the paper 'Del criterio ne' discorsi' and a number of others are among the most illuminating



expositions of the tenets of the Italian Romanticists. There are, however, also reviews and brief notices which aim merely at acquainting the readers with foreign literature; and these are no doubt often superficial. Berchet was not a profound critic, just as he was not a deeply meditative poet. He was the first translator of *The Vicar of Wakefield*; and his poems were published four times (between 1824 and 1830) by Richard Taylor of London, facts which have a special interest for English students of Italian literature. Yet only this reprint and another recent one<sup>1</sup> are complete. Signor Bellorini has divided the poems in five groups, having regard to their previous publication. Such an arrangement is open to criticism, and we cannot say that we find sufficient reasons for it. But rather than lay stress on this point, we should like to call attention to the care shown by Dr Bellorini in tracing unpublished poems and in providing the reader with full bibliographical references. The brief editorial notes at the end of the volumes are models of unpretentious but sound and uncontroversial criticism. Dr Bellorini has already explained how it came to pass that he included a Milanese sonnet (p. 416) among these poems, without realizing that it was known to have been written by Carlo Porta; this is hardly a blemish in a book that is well worthy of the series in which it appears.

CESARE FOLIGNO.

OXFORD.

*The Legend of the Holy Fina Virgin of San Geminiano.* Now first translated from the Trecento Italian of Fra GIOVANNI COPPO, with introduction and Notes by M. MANSFIELD. (*The New Medieval Library*, VI.) London: Chatto and Windus. 1908. 8vo. xlv + 127 pp.

*The Book of the Divine Consolation of the Blessed Angela da Foligno.* Translated from the Italian by MARY G. STEGMAN, with an Introduction by ALGAR THOROLD. (Same Series, V.) London: Chatto and Windus. 1909. xlv + 265 pp.

In the writings of the mystics and in the lives of saints there is often to be found a directness and an emotional power greater and nobler than in works more widely known, and more generally recognised by literary historians. Our age is so interested in primitive literature that both these booklets, though varying widely in character, can hardly fail to attract the attention of sympathetic readers. The holy Fina is in many ways the more fortunate of these two saints. Her life was short and simple; her biography is charming in its simplicity, and so modest in its extent that there has been room here to print the rare Italian text of Fra Giovanni Coppo along with the translation. There are also full notes and a long introduction. The translation is

<sup>1</sup> *Le Poesie originali e tradotte di Giovanni Berchet*, a cura di G. Targioni-Tozzetti, Florence, Sansoni, 1907.

remarkably accurate, and successfully reproduces the spirit of the Italian prose. We have only detected one or two slight misunderstandings. The Italian text, on the other hand, might have been edited more carefully; but, in a book of this kind, it would be invidious to lay excessive stress on minute points, especially when so much labour has been bestowed on the introduction and the notes. Among the most pleasing features of the book are the reproductions of some beautiful frescos which were inspired by the life of the saint. The first of these by Lippo Memmi comes nearest to the spirit of Fina; and those by Gozzoli and Ghirlandaio are a joy to the eye.

The blessed Angela had not such good fortune as to be remembered by great painters; Mezzastris, whose portrait of her is reproduced here, cannot aspire to such rank. The book is adorned by some interesting woodcuts taken from a very scarce edition of 1536. The very length of *The Divine Consolation* has stood in the way of the Italian text being reprinted; but it would have been welcome, if only for the reason that the dearth of information concerning Angela's life has prevented the editor from giving us a more searching and precise introduction. This lack of information is the more to be regretted, because we seem, in the autobiographical pages of the *Consolation*, to hear an echo of a real tragedy of the soul, of hard-fought battles, of bitter trials, defeats and final victories.

C. FOLIGNO.

OXFORD.

*The Baskish Verb.* A Parsing Synopsis of the 788 Forms of the Verb in St Luke's Gospel, from Leizarraga's New Testament of the Year 1571. By E. S. DODGSON. London: Henry Frowde. 1912. 8vo. 200 pp.

Two qualifications are essential for the production of such a work as this—complete mastery over the intricacies of Basque verbal-flexions, and an intimate knowledge of Leizarraga. Both these Mr Dodgson possesses in an eminent degree, and the result is a book of far-reaching usefulness to those students who feel disposed to take up the study of ecclesiastical Basque, this being the most correct form of the language and Leizarraga's New Testament of 1571 the best specimen of it obtainable. Mr Dodgson's book is a very complete and comprehensive piece of sound scholarship and he may justly regard it with pride and satisfaction. In the matter of externals, he has been well served by his publisher.

The author is evidently a martyr to accuracy, ready to break a lance over a wrong accent or other typographical blemish, which, as every page shows, he has done his best to eliminate. That he has not reached the stage of absolute perfection, either in Basque or English orthography is apparent; yet it would scarcely be just on our part to emphasise insignificant errors of detail which in no way detract from the scholarly

character of the book, and to overlook its outstanding merits, as Dr Linschmann has done in the *Literarisches Zentralblatt*, where he himself adds unconsciously to the errors he detects.

To popularise a difficult subject like Basque grammar is not an easy matter, and we doubt if Mr Dodgson's study will awaken that interest which it is his object to attract. The patient care and enthusiasm which he brings to his work deserve success, although the technical nature of the subject, and the absence of information of a popular character will restrict the circulation of the book considerably. Its chief shortcoming is the ignorance it displays of Basque philology, an ignorance which results from the deficiencies of his knowledge concerning the origin of the Basque language and the Indian family of speech to which it belongs. Hence the author's discoveries of Basque words in Mexican, Peruvian, and other non-Indian tongues must be taken with a grain of salt. We have long been convinced that the subject of Basque etymology, as well as that of prehistoric man in Europe, is a closed field to any but those versed in Kolarian comparative philology. Apart from such defects, the student of Basque will learn much from a perusal of this Synopsis, and find that, after all, the Basque language is not so difficult to understand and acquire as is commonly supposed.

W. J. EDMONDSTON-SCOTT.

EDINBURGH.

#### MINOR NOTICES.

In the series of 'Shakespeare Classics' Dr Rouse edits the *Menaechmi*, the Latin text with the Elizabethan translation by Warner, in illustration of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* (Chatto and Windus, 1912). The translation was published in 1595, but had been circulated in manuscript earlier. There is no clear evidence, however, that Shakespeare was acquainted with it when he wrote his comedy, the date of which may probably be as early as 1590. The only verbal parallel is in the expression 'he makes me a stale and a laughing-stock' as a translation of 'ludibrio habeor,' where Shakespeare has 'poor I am but his stale,' and here, if there is any borrowing, Warner may have been the borrower. The editor calls attention to the freedom of the translation generally and the additional liveliness which the translator imparts to the dialogue. In the Elizabethan edition the more notable variations are marked sometimes by an asterisk. Dr Rouse also compares Shakespeare's play with the original, and shews how a touch of pathos was added to what was a mere farce, by the character and

position of Ægeon, and how much more varied and amusing the play was made by the creation of the two Dromios. The pages both of the Latin and the English text are agreeably headed by words selected by the editor to indicate the progress of the story, 'Facinus luculentum,' 'Quis est?' 'Elecebrae argentariae,' 'Alium non me,' 'Etiam derides,' 'Uxori eloquar,' 'Tu, tu,' 'Nimis iracunde,' 'Elleboro opus est,' and so on, with corresponding phrases for the English. The volume is very attractive and readable.

As a contribution to the history of the English Novel Miss Charlotte E. Morgan's monograph *The Rise of the Novel of Manners* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1911) is a very sound piece of work. It is, in fact, an attempt to trace the history of English prose fiction between 1600 and 1740, just stopping short of Richardson. It consists of two main parts, history and bibliography, and while the former is of considerable interest, the latter may be said to be indispensable to serious students of the subject, forming as it does almost a complete record of the output of fiction year after year during the period dealt with. Most people will be surprised to find how large this was, and also what a considerable part was played by women, even at this early period, in the production of it. In the earlier portion of her work the author traces the displacement of the Italian *novelle*, in the first half of the seventeenth century, by the long sentimental romances based upon French models, and then the transition from these romances to the idealistic novel of manners; and she notes the development on the one hand of stories of intrigue and of what may be called 'narrative comedies,' and on the other of the realism of emotional detail, especially in the translations and imitations of the famous *Letters of a Portuguese Nun*. Finally in the early years of the eighteenth century sentimental and didactic tendencies manifested themselves more and more definitely, and at the same time a strong bent towards realism began to characterise fiction. Meanwhile rapid progress was being made in the development of style and structure, and the character sketch was perfected in the *Spectator*. The names of Bunyan, of Addison and of Swift are connected, no doubt, in various ways with the development of the novel, but apart from Defoe the actual purveyors of current fiction both in the earlier and the later period, were for the most part women, Aphra Behn, Mary Manley, Eliza Haywood, Jane Barker, Penelope Aubin; and this fact, which is well brought out by Miss Morgan, has hardly been sufficiently recognised hitherto. Another fact which is very clearly illustrated by the bibliography, is the large part played in this field of literature by translations, especially from the French.

Under a title which will not convey any meaning to the ordinary reader we have here from Mr Vilhelm Bladin a dissertation (*Studies of Denominative Verbs in English*, Almquist and Wiksell, Uppsala, 1911), which is both useful and interesting. The subject of the author's investigation is the tendency, more pronounced in English than in any

other language, to turn nouns into verbs, and the various meanings and uses of the verbs thus formed. The process is one that has been going on throughout the history of the language, but it has been specially developed in modern times, not so much because of the absence to a great extent of inflexional suffixes (for quite enough of these remain to establish distinctions), as in accordance with the traditional flexibility of the forms of speech, based upon the national determination to use language mainly for the practical purpose of clear and vigorous expression, whether in poetry or prose, and not to submit to any academical dictation. The author of this dissertation has collected, chiefly from the *New English Dictionary*, but also to some extent from modern journalism and colloquial speech, a large number of illustrative examples. He endeavours also to analyse the process and to classify his examples under various heads. In this he is not wholly successful, and we do not altogether like his terminology. The application of the term 'semological oscillation' is hardly justified on pp. 22—31, and though the terms 'de-subjective' and 'de-objective' as applied to noun verbs mark a real and important distinction, they cannot be said to be very happily chosen. This however does not much affect the interest of his examples and quotations, for which as we have said, and as he amply acknowledges, he is mainly indebted to the Oxford Dictionary.

G. C. M.

Many a University, in Italy and elsewhere, would be proud to possess the noble series of books set forth in the *Catalogue of the Dante Collection in the Library of University College, London, with a note on the Correspondence of Henry Clark Barlow* (Oxford: printed for University College, London, 1910). The list has been drawn up with the utmost skill by R. W. Chambers, the Librarian of the College; while the printing and general appearance of the volume reflect great credit on the Oxford Press. As is well known, the nucleus of the collection was formed by Dr Barlow, who also endowed the Dante Lectures that bear his name. Additions were made at various times by Prof. James Morris, Mr F. D. Mocatta, Dr Whitley Stokes, and by an anonymous benefactor who is designated as R. We have used the book for some time and have had ample opportunity of testing the accuracy of the numerous entries (which occupy 142 pages); not once have we detected the smallest error. Though the collection does not, of course, pretend to the completeness achieved by a few others, it has been formed with much discrimination and lacks very few books of real consequence; while the number of treasures it contains, in the way of early and rare editions of the poet and of books dealing with the man and his work, is truly remarkable. The correspondence, some interesting specimens of which are given, includes letters addressed to Dr Barlow by Ferrazzi, Emiliani-Giudici, Seymour Kirkup, Frederic Madden, C. E. Norton, A. Torri, Carl Witte and others.

H. O.

The two most recent volumes on German subjects in the series of *Columbia University Germanic Studies*, Dr A. W. Porterfield's *Karl Leberecht Immermann, A Study in German Romanticism*, and Dr Elsie W. Helmrich's *History of the Chorus in the German Drama* (Columbia University Press, 1911, 1912), maintain the high standard of academic work of that series. Dr Porterfield's study might have been more aptly entitled 'Immermann in his relations to Romanticism,' the post-Romantic aspects of Immermann's work being very briefly treated, and that from the negative standpoint of what the author calls 'anti-Romanticism.' But the book is an able and suggestive study of the Romantic side of Immermann's genius and of his relations to the Romantic writers, which distinctly furthers our knowledge of an author who is too little read and appreciated now-a-days. His book, moreover, is a pleasure to read, although we are inclined to take exception to his fondness for German methods of 'statistical' criticism and to his frequent introduction of comparisons drawn from contemporary literature (Hauptmann, Sudermann). Miss Helmrich has cast her net as widely as she well could cast it, including the choral element in the mediæval Church drama at the one end of her story and the Wagnerian music-drama at the other end, a proceeding somewhat open to criticism. Her chapter on the seventeenth century drama strikes us as most satisfactory. The use of the chorus in the eighteenth century, sporadic as it is, would, however, have repaid a more careful study on comparative lines. The author has nothing to say, for instance, of the example of the Italian dramatists, which, if we are not mistaken, was more significant than that of Racine's *Athalie*.

Another American academic dissertation reaches us from the University of California, *Rousseaus Einfluss auf Klinger*, by F. A. Wyneken (University of California Press, Berkeley). This is a careful study, which sets out from the generally, and rightly accepted basis that Klinger was profoundly influenced by Rousseau; and on this assumption it is a useful supplement to existing Klinger literature. Had, however, Dr Wyneken first to prove his thesis, he might not have been justified in some of his arguments. The contrast, for instance, of 'Herz' and 'Verstand'—no doubt in Klinger's case, to be traced to Rousseau—is plentifully represented in the pre-Rousseau German literature; and the 'joy of grief' is even less typically and exclusively Rousseauish. Has Dr Wyneken forgotten how Gellert wept 'mit einer Art von süsser Wehmuth' over *Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*?

J. G. R.

We do not think Professor O. E. Lessing, who is one of the foremost workers in the field of German literary study in America, has been well-advised in publishing this volume on *Masters in Modern German Literature* (Dresden, Reissner, 1912). The book is not only published in Germany, but is also written in an extraordinary German-English, which effectually debars it from being read with any pleasure by readers whose mother-tongue is English. The matter of the book is quite

excellent, without to any considerable extent breaking fresh ground critically—it contains a series of essays on Liliencron, Dehmel, Hauptmann, Holz and the brothers Mann—but here again the point of view and the method of treatment have so little that is American or Anglo-Saxon about them, are so completely focussed to German eyes, that one wonders again why the author should have chosen English as his medium.

J. G. R.

In my review of Mr Wright's *History of French Literature* in the last number of the *Modern Language Review* (p. 127) I assumed that the author had devoted a quarter of his work to the consideration of Old French Literature; the actual proportion is, however, about one-seventh, 122 pages out of 878.

H. O.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS.

December, 1912—February, 1913.

### GENERAL.

- BUSSE, C., *Geschichte der Weltliteratur*. II. Band. Bielefeld, Velhagen und Klasing. 16 M.
- HASLINGHUIS, E. J., *De duivel in het drama der middeleeuwen*. (Proefschrift, Univ. Leiden.) Leiden, Gebr. van der Hoeck. 1 fl. 60.
- HETTNER, H., *Literaturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts*. 6 vols. Vols. I—II, 7th ed.; Vols. III—VI, 6th ed. Brunswick, Vieweg. 40 M.
- PASSY, P., *Petite phonétique comparée des principales langues européennes*. 2<sup>e</sup> éd. Leipzig, Teubner. 2 M.
- STRANG, W., *Imagination and Fancy*. Being the John Oliver Hobbes memorial essay, 1912. London, Hodder and Stoughton. 1s. net.
- Studien zur Literaturgeschichte*. A. Köster zum 7. 11. 1912 überreicht. Leipzig, Insel-Verlag. 9 M.
- THURAU, G., *Singen und Sagen*. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des dichterischen Ausdrucks. Berlin, Weidmann. 4 M.
- WALZEL, O., *Leben, Erleben und Dichten*. Ein Versuch. Leipzig, Haessel. 1 M. 20.

### ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

#### General.

- Bibliotheca Romanica*. 161. Chateaubriand, René. 162.—164. G. Bruno, Candelario. 165.—167. A. de Musset, Théâtre (Barberine, Lorenzaccio). Strassburg, J. H. E. Heitz. Each no. 40 pf.
- GAUCHAT, L. ET JEANJAQUET, *Glossaire des patois de la Suisse romande*. Bibliographie linguistique de la Suisse romande. Tome I. Paris, H. Champion. 7 fr. 50.
- GIUBBINI, A., *Victor Hugo e Giosuè Carducci, come poeti della storia*. Perugia, G. Guerra. 3 L.
- SCHNEEGANS, H., *Studium und Unterricht der romanischen Philologie*. Beiträge. Heidelberg, C. Winter. 3 M. 60.

#### Italian.

- AUBEL, E., *N. Tommaseo, poeta, con una introduzione sulla vita e sulla opere*. Città di Castello, Lapi. 2 L.
- BARBIERA, R., *I poeti italiani del secolo XIX. Antologia, con proemio, biografie, note e ritratti*. Milan, Treves. 10 L.



- BASSERMANN, A., Orme di Dante in Italia. Traduzione di E. Gorra. Bologna, Zanichelli. 3 L. 50.
- BELLATRECCIA, B., Manifestazioni spiritiste intorno al cattolicesimo di Dante nelle sue relazioni con Dio e con la civile società, per cura di E. Celani. (Collezione di opuscoli danteschi inediti o rari, 119—120.) Città di Castello, Lapi. 1 L. 60.
- BETTINELLI, S., Le 'Raccolte' con il 'Parere' dei Granelleschi e la 'Riposta' di G. Gozzi, a cura di P. Tommasini-Mattiucci. (Collezione di opuscoli danteschi inediti o rari, 116—118.) Città di Castello, Lapi. 2 L. 40.
- BINDONI, G., Sull' inno 'La risurrezione' di A. Manzoni. Treviso, L. Zoppelli. 1 L. 50.
- BOCCALINI, T., Ragguagli di Parnaso e Pietra del paragone politico, a cura di G. Rua. Vol. II. (Scrittori d' Italia, xxxix.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.
- CARDUCCI, G., Letture del risorgimento italiano, scelte e ordinate (1749—1870). Bologna, Zanichelli. 3 L.
- CARO, A., Opere, a cura di V. Turri. Vol. I. (Scrittori d' Italia, xli.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.
- Commedie del Cinquecento, a cura di I. Sanesi. Vol. II. (Scrittori d' Italia, xxxviii.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.
- CUOCO, V., Saggio storico sulla rivoluzione napoletana del 1799, a cura di F. Nicolini. (Scrittori d' Italia, xliii.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.
- DANTE ALIGHIERI, La Divine Comédie, L'Enfer, trad. et notes de L. Espinasse-Mongenot, préface de C. Maurras. Paris, Nouv. libr. nationale. 5 fr.
- DANTE's Monarchie. Übersetzt und erklärt von C. Sauter. Freiburg, Herder. 4 M. 50.
- DONATI, A., Poeti minori del Settecento: Mazza, Rezzonico, Fiorentino, Bondi, Cassoli, Mascheroni. (Scrittori d' Italia, xlv.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.
- DUBRETON, J., La disgrâce de N. Machiavel. Florence (1469—1527). Paris, Mercure de France. 3 fr. 50.
- FEDERICO, G., L' opera letteraria di S. Bettinelli (1718—1808). Milan, Soc. Editr. Dante Alighieri. 3 L.
- FOSCOLO, O., Prose, a cura di V. Cian. Vol. I. (Scrittori d' Italia, xlii.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.
- GARDNER, E. G., Dante and the Mystics. A study of the mystical aspect of the Divina Commedia and its relations with some of its mediaeval sources. London, Dent. 7s. 6d. net.
- GNOLI, D., I poeti della scuola romana (1850—70). (Biblioteca di cultura moderna, lxxiii.) Bari, Laterza. 4 L.
- GRÜBER, G., Über die Quellen von Boccaccios Dekameron. (Einführung in die romanischen Klassiker, I.) Strassburg, J. H. E. Heitz. 1 M. 50.
- LOCELLA, M., Dantes Francesca da Rimini in der Literatur, bildenden Kunst und Musik. Esslingen, Neff. 10 M.
- MAUGAIN, G., Boileau et l'Italie. (Bibl. de l'Institut français de Florence, II, 3.) Paris, H. Champion, 2 fr.
- METASTASIO, P., Opere, a cura di F. Nicolini. Vol. I. (Scrittori d' Italia, xliiv.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.
- MIGNON, M., Études de littérature italienne. Paris, Hachette. 3 fr. 50.
- MORETTI, M., I poemetti di Marino. Con prefazione di Vamba. Rome, Tip. Editr. Nazionale. 3 L. 50.
- Novellieri minori del Cinquecento (G. Parabosco e S. Erizzo), a cura di G. Gigli e F. Nicolini. (Scrittori d' Italia, xl.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.

- PAGGI, S., Il 'Cicerone' di G. C. Passeroni. Città di Castello, Lapi. 4 L.
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- PERSICO, T., Gli scrittori politici napoletani dal 1400 al 1700. (Nuova biblioteca di letteratura, storia ed arte, vi.) Naples, Perrella. 5 L.
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- SMITH, W., The Commedia dell' Arte. A Study in Italian popular Comedy. (Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature.) Columbia, Univ. Press (London, H. Frowde). 8s. 6d. net.
- TOMMASEO, N., Canti popolari illirici a cura di D. Bulferelli. Libr. editr. milanese. 5 L.
- VITALIANI, D., Carlo Ridolfi, pittore e scrittore, con documenti inediti. Turin, G. Schoder. 6 L.

### Provençal.

- Canzoniere provenzale, II, della Biblioteca Ambrosiana R. 71. Sup. Ed. diplomatica preceduta da un' introduzione a cura di G. Bertoni. (Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, x, 1.) Halle, Niemeyer. 18 M.
- MORF, H., Vom Ursprung der provenzalischen Schriftsprache. (Aus 'Sitzungsberichte der preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften.') Berlin, G. Reimer. 1 M.
- UC DE SAINT-CIRC, Poésies, publ. avec introduction, traduction et notes par A. Jeanroy et J. J. Salverda de Grave. (Bibl. méridionale, Première série, Tome xv.) Toulouse, Privat. 6 fr.

### Spanish.

- BONILLA Y SAN MARTIN, A., Libro del esforçado cavallero Don Tristan de Leonis y de sus grandes fechos en armas. (Valladolid, 1501.) Madrid, Fortanet. 18 pes.
- GONZALEZ BLANCO, E., Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, su vida y su obra. Madrid, Sucesores de Hernando. 2 pes.
- LOPE DE VEGA CARPIO, Las Burlas Veras. Comedia famosa. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by S. L. Millard Rosenberg. (Publications of the University of Pennsylvania.) Philadelphia.
- SAN JUAN DE LA CRUZ, Obras. Edición crítica, con introducciones y notas del P. Gerardo de San Juan de la Cruz y un epílogo de M. Menéndez y Pelayo. Tome I. Toledo, Palaez. 6 pes.

### French.

#### (a) General (incl. Linguistic).

- GILLIÉRON J. ET M. ROQUES, Études de géographie linguistique d'après l'atlas linguistique de la France. Paris, H. Champion. 10 fr.

#### (b) Old French.

- Bueve de Hantone, Der festländische. Fassung II. Nach allen Handschriften herausgegeben von A. Stimming. I. Band. Text. (Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, x, 3.) Halle, Niemeyer. 28 M.
- Chanson de Roland, La, poème de Théroulde, précédé d'une étude par L. Vitet et suivi des chroniques de Turpin. Paris, E. Flammarion. 95 c.

GUTERSOHN, C., Die Balduin-Episode des altfranzösischen Ogier-Epos. Düsseldorf, A. Bagel. 1 M. 50.

Romanz, Li, d'Athis et Prophilius. (L'estoire d'Athènes.) Nach allen Handschriften herausg. von A. Hilka. 1. Band. (Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, x, 2.) Halle, Niemeyer. 14 M.

VAILLANT, E., Les origines de la chanson française. La langue d'oïl. Les trouvères. Chansons inédites de Gauthier d'Argies, trouvère picard du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Paris, A. Messein. 3 fr. 50.

VORETZSCH, C., Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur. 2. Aufl. (Sammlung kurzer Lehrbücher der romanischen Sprachen und Literaturen, II.) Halle, Niemeyer. 7 M.

(c) *Modern French.*

ALLAIS, G., Les harmonies de Lamartine, nouvelles études. Paris, Soc. fr. d'impr. et de libr. 1 fr. 50.

BALZAC, H. DE, Critique littéraire, introd. de L. Lumet. (Bibl. des Critiques.) Paris, A. Messein. 7 fr. 50.

BALZAC, H. DE, La Comédie humaine, éd. par M. Bouteron et H. Longnon. Tome v—vii. Paris, L. Conard. Each 9 fr.

BAYLE, P., Pensées diverses sur la comète, édition critique, publ. par A. Prat. Tome II. Paris, E. Cornély. 6 fr.

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BOUTARD, C., Lamennais, sa vie et ses doctrines. Tome III. Paris, Perrin. 5 fr.

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JOURDAIN, E. F., An Introduction to the French Classical Drama. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 6s. net.

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LADOUÉ, P., Un précurseur du romantisme. Millevoys, 1782–1816. Paris, Perrin. 3 fr. 50.

LANCASTER, H. C., Pierre du Ryer, Dramatist. Washington, D. C., Carnegie Institution.

- LANSON, G., *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne* Tome IV. Paris, Hachette. 8 fr.
- LATREILLE, C., *Victor de Laprade*. Paris, H. Champion. 7 fr. 50.
- LEVERTIN, O., *Fransk litteraturhistoria*. I. Renässansen. Stockholm, Bonnier. 4 kr.
- MASSON, F., *L'Académie française, 1629-1793*. Paris, P. Ollendorff. 7 fr. 50.
- MONTAIGNE, *Essais*. Reproduction en phototypie de l'exemplaire avec notes manuscrits appartenant à la ville de Bordeaux, publ. par F. Strowsky. 3 vols. Paris, Hachette. 300 fr.
- RIMBAUD, A., *Œuvres*. Vers et proses, rev. et annotées par P. Berrichon. Paris, Mercure de France. 7 fr.
- ROCHE, L., *La vie de Jean la Fontaine*. Paris, Plon-Nourrit. 3 fr. 50.
- SAMAIN, A., *Œuvres complètes*. Tome IV. Paris, Mercure de France. 12 fr.
- SATTLER, H., *H. de Balzacs Roman 'La peau de chagrin.'* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der romanischen Sprachen und Literaturen, v.) Halle, Niemeyer. 5 M.
- SEARLES, C., *Catalogue de tous les Livres de feu M. Chapelain*. (Leland Stanford Junior University Publications.) Stanford University, California.
- SENANCOUR, DE, *Obermann, édition critique*, publ. par G. Michaut. Paris, E. Cornély. 5 fr.
- THIBAUDET, A., *La poésie de S. Mallarmé, étude littéraire*. Paris, Édit. de la Nouvelle Revue Française. 10 fr.
- TOURNOUX, G. A., *Bibliographie verlainienne, contribution critique à l'étude des littératures étrangères et comparées*. Paris, Tournoux. 9 fr. 50.
- TURQUET-MILNES, G., *The Influence of Baudelaire in France and England*. London, Constable. 7s. 6d. net.
- VERLAINE, P., *Œuvres poétiques*, publ. par G. A. Tournoux. Paris, Tournoux. 15 fr.
- WILMOTTE, M., *La culture française en Belgique*. Paris, H. Champion. 3 fr. 50.
- WURZBACH, W. VON, *Geschichte des französischen Romans*. I. Band. (Sammlung romanischer Elementar- und Handbücher, II, ii, 1.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. 7 M.

## GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

## General.

- HELM, K., *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*. I. Band. (Germanische Bibliothek, I. Abt., v. Reihe, II.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. 6 M. 40.
- LOEWE, R., *Germanic Philology*. Transl. by J. D. Jones. London, G. Allen. 4s. 6d. net.
- LÜTJENS, A., *Herzog Friedrich von der Normandie. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen und schwedischen Literatur des Mittelalters*. (Münchener Archiv für Philologie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, II.) Munich, Callwey. 4 M.

## Scandinavian.

- BJÖRNSSON, B., *Gro-Tid. Brev fra Aarene 1857-70*. Utgit av H. Koht. Kristiania, Gyldendal. 12 kr.
- BULL, J. B., *H. Wergeland*. Kristiania, Steenske Forlag. 5 kr.
- Folkeviser, *Danmarks gamle. Danske Ridderviser. Efter Forarbejder af S. Grundtvig udg. af A. Olrik*. III, 3. Copenhagen, Wroblewski. 2 kr.

HARTMANN, J. W., *The Gøngu-Hrólfs saga: a Study in Old Norse Philology.* (Columbia University Germanic Studies.) New York, Columbia Univ. Press. (London, H. Frowde.) 4s. 6d. net.

KROGVIG, A., *Nordisk digtning. Studier og kritikker.* Christiania, Aschehoug. 2 kr. 50.

MARKOWITZ, A., *Die Weltanschauung H. Ibsens.* Leipzig, Xenien-Verlag. 6 M.

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Ordbok öfver svenska språket. Utg. af Svenska akademien. Hæfte 47. Lund, Gleerup. 1 kr. 50.

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SCHÜCK, H., och K. WARBURG, *Illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria.* 2. uppl. II. Stockholm, Geber.

Sveriges Nationallitteratur, 1500-1900. 1. Reformationstiden, utg. af H. Schück. XVIII. A. C. Leffler; E. Ahlgren; A. Agrell etc. utg. af R. G. Berg. Stockholm, Bonnier. Each 2 kr.

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GEZELLE, G., *Dichtwerken.* 2 Dln. Amsterdam, L. J. Veen. 20 fl.

HENDRIK VAN VELDEKE, *Sint Servatius legende.* Bewerkt door M. Koenen. Bussum, P. Brand. 60 c.

PELETIER, W. C. E., *Jacoba van Beieren in het Nederlandsche treuerspel.* Nijmegen, Robijns. 2 fl.

### **English.**

#### *(a) General.*

HUDSON, W. H., *An Outline History of English Literature.* London, Bell 2s. 6d. net.

PETRI, A., *Übersicht über die im Jahre 1905 auf dem Gebiete der englischen Philologie erschienenen Bücher, Schriften und Aufsätze.* (Anglia, xxx, Suppl.-Heft.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. 6 M.

SPIRA, T., *Die englische Lautentwicklung nach französischen Grammatikerzeugnissen.* (Quellen und Forschungen, cxv.) Strassburg, Trübner. 8 M.

#### *(b) Modern English.*

BLEIBTRETU, K., *Das Byron-Geheimnis.* München, G. Müller. 3 M.

CHOISY, L. F., *Alfred Tennyson, son spiritualisme, sa personnalité morale.* Paris, H. Champion. 6 fr.

COOK, E. T., *Homes and Haunts of John Ruskin.* London, G. Allen. 21s. net.

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DANIEL, J., *Les idées sociales de Ruskin.* Paris, Bloud et Cie. 3 fr. 50.

DICKENS, C., *The Complete Mystery of Edwin Drood: the History, Continuations and Solutions, 1870-1912.* Ed. by J. Cuming Walters. London, Chapman and Hall. 6s. net.

*Dictionary of National Biography.* Edited by S. Lee. Second Supplement, Vol. III. Neil-Young. London, Smith, Elder. 15s. net.

- FUESS, C. M., *Lord Byron as a Satirist in Verse*. London, Frowde. 5s. 6d. net.
- HARDY, T., *Works*. Wessex Edition. Verse. Vols. II, III. London, Macmillan. Each 7s. 6d. net.
- HIGGINSON, J. J., *Spenser's Shepherd's Calender in relation to contemporary affairs*. (Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature.) New York, Columbia Univ. Press. (London, H. Frowde.) 6s. 6d. net.
- HOPKINS, R. T., *Oscar Wilde: a study of the man and his work*. London, Lynwood. 2s. 6d. net.
- HULBERT, J. R., *Chaucer's Official Life*. Univ. of Chicago Dissertation. Menasha, Wis., Collegiate Press.
- KEBLE, J., *Lectures on Poetry, 1832-41*. Translated by E. K. Francis. 2 vols. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 12s. 6d. net.
- KITCHEN, G., *Sir Roger L'Estrange: a contribution to the history of the Press in the seventeenth century*. London, K. Paul. 10s. 6d. net.
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- LUNN, A. H. M., *The Englishman in the Alps: a collection of English prose and poetry relating to Switzerland*. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 5s. net.
- MASSINGER, PH., *Dramas*, edited by L. A. Sherman. (Masterpieces of English Drama.) New York, American Book Co.
- MELVILLE, L., *The Life and Letters of William Cobbett in England and America*. 2 vols. London, J. Lane. 32s. net.
- NAYLOR, E. W., *Shakespeare Music: Music of the Period*. London, Curwen. 6s. net.
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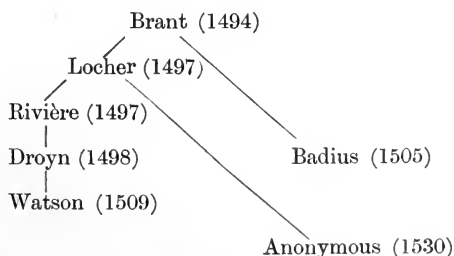
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## ALEXANDER BARCLAY, POET AND PREACHER.

'OUT of Laten, Frenche, and Doche into Englysshe tonge,' 'in the yere of our Lorde god M.CCCC.VII,' Alexander Barclay translated the *Ship of Fools*, a book both notorious and unknown. In scholarship it is well remembered for the quaint fifteenth century woodcuts; and these woodcuts have usually been the limit of scholarly curiosity. For this condition the first great explanation lies in the fact that the poem is both long and dull, consisting as it does of a long catalogue of undifferentiated fools, unrelieved by poetic feeling. The second reason, however, is that the problem of its origin is both complex and difficult, since although the Barclay itself is readily accessible in Jamieson's edition of 1874 and the German in Zarneke's of 1854, the other two elements, the French and the Latin, are extremely rare<sup>1</sup>. And as few scholars have had the opportunity of consulting the versions in all four languages, almost all the recent studies on Barclay have necessarily treated the problem as doubtful. Without the originals, all that could be done was the problematical inference.

Actually, however, the time for inference has gone by. Fraustadt's careful study on the *Ship of Fools*<sup>2</sup> enables us to state definitely Barclay's mode of procedure. The genealogical tree<sup>3</sup> of the poem is as follows:



<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr Wilberforce Eames of the New York Public Library for the use of the first edition of the Barclay, and to the generosity of Mr J. Pierpont Morgan for the great opportunity to consult at my leisure here in New Haven the rare Latin version of Locher and the superlatively rare French version of Droyn.

<sup>2</sup> F. Fraustadt, *Über das Verhältnis von Barclay's Ship of Fools zur lateinischen, französischen und deutschen Quelle*...Inaugural-Dissertation, Breslau, Druck von R. Nischkowsky, 1894. For the use of this dissertation I am indebted to the kindness of the Harvard Library.

<sup>3</sup> Taken from Zarneke, via Fraustadt.

Now Barclay tells us:

But amonge diuers inuencions composed of the sayde Sebastian brant I haue noted one named ye Shyp of Foles moche expedient and necessary to the redar which the sayd Sebastian composed in doche langage. And after hym one called James Locher his Disciple translated the same into Laten to the understandinge of al Christen nacions where Laten is spoken. Than another (whose name to me is unknown) translated the same into Frenche. I haue ouersene the fyrst Inuention in Doche and after that the two translations in Laten and Frenche whiche in blaminge the disordred lyfe of men of our tyme agreeth in sentence<sup>1</sup>.

But as the Droyn version has the name of the translator, 'Et finalement translatee de rime en prose auecques aulcunes additions nouuelles par maistre iehan droyn bachelier es loix et en decret,' the French version referred to by Barclay is that of Rivière. We are concerned then merely with a comparison between the Brant, Locher and Rivière.

This comparison is not so difficult as would first appear. The Brant has 7034 verses, the Locher 5672, the Rivière 17133, and the Barclay 14034<sup>2</sup>. As the tendency of all translators, and in particular of Barclay himself, is toward expansion, *a priori* then the Rivière is not the immediate original. Of the two remaining, the Brant and the Locher, owing to their wide divergence, it is easy to judge. Written in dialect, the octosyllabic couplets of Brant are vivacious and colloquial; the chapters, although the normal length is thirty-four lines, yet have considerable variance; the allusions, as would be natural in a work localized by its dialect, are familiar, drawn largely from the Bible and the Apocrypha. Since the scheme proved unexpectedly popular—there were three additional impressions that same year—the obvious course was to present it free from dialectic limitations for a European audience. With Brant's concurrence<sup>3</sup>, and under his direction<sup>4</sup>, Jacob Locher adapted the poem (*traducta*), as Barclay phrases it, 'to the understandinge of al Christen nacions where Laten is spoken.' But this joint production is far from being a translation from the German. In the first place, it is obviously composed with the printed page in mind.

<sup>1</sup> Jamieson, Vol. I, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> This numeration from Fraustadt.

<sup>3</sup> Nuper ego stultos vulgari carmine scripsi:  
Est satis hic noster notus ubique labor.  
Narragonum quando nobis fabricata carina est:  
Theutonico qualem struximus eloquio.  
Quam deinde ut volui contexere, forte latino  
Scommate pro doctis: principiumque dedi:  
Occurrere mihi tam crebra negotia passim:  
Quae versu exorsum, detinuere pedem.  
Quo fit, ut incaeptum tam dignum opus, ipse reliqui:

Brant: Exhortatio ad Jacobum Philomusum.

<sup>4</sup> The title reads: per Iacobum Locher,...in latinum traducta eloquium: et per Sebastianum Brant: denuo seduloque revisa.

At the top of the page are four lines as a motto, then the woodcut, and then four lines at the bottom; the following page has thirty lines. Consequently the great majority of the Locher chapters are limited to thirty-four lines, and in the exceptions to multiples of thirty with four added, sixty-four, ninety-four, etc. This Procrustean bed necessarily alters the original. For example, the German chapter 'Of disordered love' is cut down from ninety-four to the normal thirty-four lines. To do this he omits the illustrations from the stories of Circe, Calypso, Dido, Medea, Tereus, Nessus, Scylla, Hyacinthus, Leander, Mars, Procris, Sappho, Siraen, Cyclops and Pan, Leucothoe, Myrrha and Adonis, Byblis, Danae, Nyctimine, Echo, Thisbe, Atalanta, David and Bathseba, Samson and Dalilah, Amon, Joseph, Bellerophon, the medieval story of Vergil in the tower, and Ovid. From the German he takes allusions to the Phaedra story, Pasiphae, and Messalina, and expands the Troy story. The mass of his chapter is devoted to Antony and Cleopatra. In general, he changes the stress from biblical to classical characters. Consequently to speak of Locher's work as a translation is scarcely accurate; founded upon the German, and in most cases preserving the ideas and illustrations of the German, it is yet an independent work, on the same subjects and with the same illustrations. The colloquial vivacity has been crushed into sonorous Latin. But it is this poem which had the great effect upon the literature of Western Europe. Consequently while it is Brant in one sense, yet the *Ship of Fools* shows not so much the literary relation between England and Germany, as the wide range of humanistic literature.

This point, once conceded, has a direct bearing upon Barclay because it is not Brant but Locher whom he imitates—imitates avowedly. The confusion which has arisen is due to the fact that Jamieson did not reprint the first edition. There on the title-page credit is given to Locher, and in the second, the 1570 edition, it reads 'è Latino sermone in nostrum vulgarem versa.' Moreover the Latin versions of the various prefaces and chapters immediately precede the English, as Barclay points out—a sentence which has no meaning in the Jamieson edition—'And to the extent yt this my laboure may be the more pleasaunt unto lettred men, I haue adioyned unto the same ye verses of my Actour with dyuerse concordaunces of the Bybyll to fortyfy my wrytynge by the same, and also to stop the enuyous mouthes (If any shuche shal be) of them that by malyce shall barke ayenst this my besynes.' Consequently he is quite careful to differentiate his own envoys, 'Envoy of Barklay to the Foles,' from those he translates from Locher,

'Envoy of the Actour.' Moreover he follows the Latin rather than the German. As a striking example of this, the German alludes to the story of Jonah and the inhabitants of Nineveh; Locher confuses it with inhabitants of the Nile valley, with the result that Barclay comments:

The rightwyse god also dyd sore chastyce  
The Nilicolians and them utterly destroy<sup>1</sup>.

Again, the German illustrates by Diogenes; Locher refers to him only as 'ille cynicus.' Here Barclay mistakes 'cynicus' for a proper name:

Wherfore cynicus a man of great wysdome<sup>2</sup>.

These illustrations might be multiplied *ad infinitum*, showing that the Locher is the basis of Barclay's translation.

But the Locher is only the basis of Barclay's translation. The fact that his readers had the verses of his 'Actour' before their eyes apparently made him feel free to add whatsoever additional matter he saw fit. Rarely he reverts to the German original. Often, however, he adopts the amplification of the French. For example, from the same chapter of 'Disordered Love,' the Latin dismisses the Antony and Cleopatra story in four lines. The details, filling thirty lines in the English, are taken from Rivière. And he feels quite at liberty to add his own material. The 'Envoy of the Actour,' Vol. I, p. 174, has the first verse fairly literally taken, as is indicated; the second, however, is original, without any indication. The same is true, to a still more confusing degree, in the Prologue. Here he translates for four pages from Locher, and then without any indication he adds two pages in the first person and using his own name. With the Latin, it would be perfectly clear; without the Latin, it credits him with many of Locher's opinions on satire. The same is true of the Argument. It opens:

Here after followeth the Boke named the Shyp of Foles of the world: translated out of Laten, French and Doche into Englysse in the Colege of saynt Mary Otery By me Alexander Barclay...

and without any indication the rest of the page is taken from Locher. Naturally readers of the Jamieson have seen a personal reference in such sentences as:

For I have only drawn into our moder tunge, in rude language the sentences of the verses as nere as the parcyte of my wit wyl suffer me, some tyme addyngge, somtyme detractinge and takinge away suche thinges as semeth me necessary and superflue. Wherfore I desyre of you reders pardon of my presumptuous audacite trustyngge that ye shall holde me excused if ye consyder ye scarsnes of my wyt and

<sup>1</sup> Jamieson, Vol. I, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 131.

my unexpert youthe. I haue in many places ouerpassed dyuers poetical digressions and obscurenes of Fables and haue concluded my worke in rude langage as shal apere in my translacion<sup>1</sup>.

Actually, it is but a free version from the Latin. And the next sentence,

But the speciyl cawse that mouethe me to this besynes is to auoide the execrable inconueniencies of ydilnes...and to the utter derision of obstynate men delitynge them in folyes and mys gouernance<sup>2</sup>,

is taken from the French. The following sentences are rather vaguely suggested by Rivière, and the end is original. Thus the Argument is not a bad epitome of the whole. The basis is the version of Locher, which was printed immediately before, but to it Barclay felt at liberty to add whatever he either found in other versions or invented.

This tedious analysis, which might yet be extended to every chapter and every part, has served its purpose if it has shown that Barclay himself has told us exactly what he did. It is 'out of Laten, Frenche, and Doche,' in the order named. Moreover when he takes a chapter, 'Of Folys that ar ouer worldly,' from Gaguin, published in the Badius translation (1505), he carefully notes in the margin that it is by Gaguin. It seems unfair that every critic should comment upon this borrowing without also acknowledging that we know it from Barclay himself. He is so scrupulous that when he makes a distinction in the envoys between 'Envoy of Barklay the Translator,' 'Envoy of the Actour' (Locher), and 'Envoy of the Translator,' I question whether that envoy may not be taken from Badius. It is a problem easy of solution if one might but find a copy of the Badius. This same attitude toward his authors, one of frank acknowledgement of his debt, is shown also in the *Mirror of Good Manners*. There also the Latin runs in parallel columns, and the relationship is stated:

But where as mine Auctour Dominique Mancin  
In his Latin treatise....

In the third poetic work, the 'Eclogues,' there is the same frankness:

First of this thing I will thou be certayne,  
That fiae Egloges this whole treatise doth holde,  
To imitation of other Poetes olde.

<sup>1</sup> Sensus enim duntaxat notasque vernaculi carminis simplici numero latine transtulimus. Quapropter et veniam praesumptae nostrae audaciae ab omnibus lectoribus nos consecuturos confidimus si prius ingenii nostri mediocritatem: et teneros lanuginis annos considerauerint. Poeticas nempe egressiones: et fabulosam obscuritatem studiose praeterii nudisque et natiui verborum structuris: faciliq̃ue sententiarum iunctura: opus absolui. Locher, 1497.

<sup>2</sup> Pour euitier les dommageables et importables ennuytez de oysiuetz...et (a la) confusion derisoire et derision confuse des fols mondains onstinez. Quoted by Fraustadt.

The title reads: 'Certayne Egloges of Alexander Barclay Priest, Whereof the first three conteyne the miseryes of Courtiers and Courtes of all princes in generall, Gathered out of a booke named in Latin, *Miseriae Curialium*, compiled by Eneas Siluius Poet and Oratour.' In the *Eclogues* he stresses the fact of his indebtedness:

So writeth Pius (whom some Eneas call)<sup>1</sup>.

But mate Coridon, I tell thee before  
That what I shall say or yet haue close in store:  
Of diuers aucthours I learned of Codrus,  
And he it learned of Shepherde Siluius<sup>2</sup>.

These be the wordes of Shepherde Stiuius (*sic*)  
Which after was pope, and called was Pius<sup>3</sup>.

No, but harke man what sayth the good pope Siluius  
Lo, this same is he which by his bad counsell  
Causeth our prince to be to us to fell.  
This same is he which rayseth deme and tare,  
This same is he which statned men on rackes,  
This same is he which causeth all this warre,  
This same is he which all our wealth doth marre.  
This is of Commons the very deadly mall,  
Which with these charges thus doth oppresse us all<sup>4</sup>.

In these works, then, he has made abundant acknowledgement of his sources.

The same condition does not hold with the fourth and fifth eclogue which are free paraphrases of Mantuan's fifth and sixth, with part of the seventh<sup>5</sup>. Aside from the general statement in the Prologue, after mentioning Theocritus and Vergil,

And in like maner nowe lately in our dayes  
Hath other Poetes attempted the same wayes:  
As the most famous Baptist Mantuan  
The best of that sort since Poetes first began,

there is nothing to indicate his indebtedness. This variance from his custom is suggestive when the irregularity of the publication is considered. The first three eclogues, those avowedly taken from Aeneas Sylvius, appeared with a prologue stating that there were ten eclogues. Then the fourth and fifth appeared separately. All these early editions are undated. The first collected edition is that of Cawood, 1570, in

<sup>1</sup> *Certayne Egloges* by Alexander Barclay, 1570, Spenser Society, 1885, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7, '...& ille est, inquiet, qui principem nostrum seducit, qui bellum suadet, qui uectigalia auget, qui onera nobis importabilia cumulare facit, & etiam qui verso pollice quos uult ex nobis occidit, quem dii deaque omnes perdant, ne sub eius tyrannide diutius simus.' Aeneae Syluii Pii Opera, Basileae, MDLXXI, p. 723.

<sup>5</sup> *The Eclogues of Mantuan* have been published with an excellent preface by Professor W. P. Mustard, Baltimore, 1911.



which the line in the prologue is corrected to read five. Yet the last two must have been written at the same time as the first three, since the account of the delayed composition is borrowed from the prologue of Mantuan. There may have been an edition now unknown in which due acknowledgement was made—an hypothesis which would explain Bale's note 'ex Mantuano.' In any case the omission of acknowledgement is noteworthy.

In the case of the *Eclogues*, however, whatever doubt there may be as to the source, the authorship is announced in the title-pages. This is not the case with the anonymous translation from Gringoire, *The Castell of Labour*, which offers a problem compared to which the riddle of the *Eclogues* is easy of solution. *Le Chasteau de Labour* was printed in October, 1499<sup>1</sup>. Although published anonymously, the author's name is given in an anagram. Four more editions appeared before the end of 1500. The next edition, Paris, March 31st, 1500-1, according to the title-page, adds 'aucunes ballades et aultres addicions nouvellement composees.' The ballades are not extant; the 'other additions' consist in an interpolation regarding the education of the hero, which is omitted in the English version. Of this English poem there were four editions, all undated except that of Wynkyn de Worde, 1506. This then gives the possible limits of composition, 1499-1506. As one of the editions was published in Paris by Antoine Vérard, and as its type agrees with two published by him in May and June 1503, the probability is strong that that is its approximate date. The omission of the interpolation argues, not so much taste on the part of the translator as Pollard suggests, as that it was taken from the earlier French text and that therefore it was made near the beginning of the century. This question of date becomes important as bearing upon the question of authorship. There are two candidates, both supported impartially by the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The first is John Alcock, Bishop of Ely, who died 1501. He is cited as author in Cooper's *Athenae Cantabrigienses*<sup>2</sup>, but without authority and with the obvious

<sup>1</sup> These bibliographical details are taken from Pollard's edition printed for the members of the Roxburghe Club, 1905. Since it is rather rare—I was unable to find a copy in this country—I have less hesitation in transcribing the facts.

<sup>2</sup> Cooper's *Athenae Cantab.*, Vol. I, p. 3. Warton (Vol. II, p. 425, note d), 'Bishop Alcock's Castell of Labour was translated into English from a French poem by Octavien de Saint-Gelais...viz. "Le Chasteau de Labour en rime françoise, auquel est contenu l'adresse de riches et chemin de pauvreté," par Octavien de S.-Gelais, etc., Paris, Gallyot du Pré, 1536, 16mo.' Warton was misled by the fact that 'Niceron et d'après lui les rédacteurs du catal. de la Bibliothèque du roi, ainsi que l'auteur de la Bibliographie instructive' (Brunet) wrongly attribute to Saint-Gelais the poem of Gringoire. Brunet notes an edition with the same title and same publisher in 1532, but anonymous. There is but one French poem and one English translation, not, as Warton implies, two of each.

misprint, 1536. The early datation makes his authorship not impossible. The claim of Alexander Barclay, however, first made by Bale, is accepted almost universally. Pollard's attitude<sup>1</sup>—'The attribution of the translation to him rests on the statement of Bale, which there is no reason to doubt'—expresses the consensus of scholarship, since Bale is followed by Dempster, Pitts, Wood, Warton, the *Biographia Britannica*, Herbert Ames and Dibdin, by Ward in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and by the last edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. But the doubt arises from the implication of his own words. In the dedication of the *Ship of Fools*, 'translated the yere of our Lorde god M.cccccc.viii,' he says: 'Opus igitur tue paternitati dedicavi: meorum primicias laborum qui in lucem eruperunt'—a statement that if he were the author of a poem which had just gone through four editions would be a gratuitous falsehood, unexplainable by any lapse of memory. On the other hand, Bale's method in compiling his list is seen in his autograph notebook<sup>2</sup>, namely taking lists which he had gotten from 'Nicolaus Brigam et alii,' 'ex officina Roberti Toye,' 'Ex Museo Ioannis Alen,' and 'ex hospitis domo Dublinie,' and striking out apparent duplicates. That Barclay was the author of the *Castell of Labour* appears in but one of these lists. The uncritical nature of the process is shown by the fact that in the final result the *Eclogues* appear four times as four separate works. Therefore at the last analysis, in opposition to Barclay's own statement, this attribution rests upon the unsupported authority of John Allen, of whom we know nothing but that twice he is labelled 'a painter.' Nor is this opinion justified by internal evidence. The style is thus characterized by Pollard<sup>3</sup>: 'The modern reader who expects to find all the lines of a stanza of equal metrical length, or of different lengths arranged in a fixed order, may look askance at the suggestion that Barclay normally uses lines of four accents, but mixes with them (especially towards the beginning of his poem) others of a slower movement with five....I believe that he accepted these alternatives as a beauty, and one which should be imitated.' This position is impossible in regard to the *Ship of Fools*, where with a slight shifting of the stress the lines are all decasyllabic<sup>4</sup>. Yet the one must have followed the other almost immediately. And the author of the *Castell of Labour* is both less

<sup>1</sup> Pollard, Roxburghe Club edition, p. xxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, Oxford, 1902.

<sup>3</sup> Pollard, *ibid.*, p. xl.

<sup>4</sup> This is easily seen by comparing the chapter in the *Ship of Fools*, 'Of Fols that ar ouer worldly' where he is consciously using octosyllabics.

egotistic than is Barclay and follows his text more closely. Consequently I feel justified in denying his authorship.

With this canon of his poems before us, it is possible to discuss his use of material. In the first place the basis of the poem is an avowed foreign original, yet so freely handled that actual translation is but a fraction of the whole. In the worst case this additional matter is merely dilution. Such, for example, is his rendering of the line of Mancinus<sup>1</sup>,

Nil melius Latiis portat mercator ab oris,

into

No merchaundise better in Martes mayst thou finde  
Then this little Booke within it doth conteyne,  
No better thinge bringeth the marchaunt out of Inde,  
From Damas or Turkie, from Damiate or Spaynge,  
From costes of Italy, from Naples or Almaygne.  
In all other Nations most forayne, far and straunge,  
Can man finde no better merchaundise nor chaunge.

Normally, however, it is not simple expansion. The fact that, as he says, 'autoris carmina cum meis vulgaribus rithmicis una alternatim coniunxi<sup>2</sup>,' made him feel at liberty to drive the point home by local allusions, such as remarks about Croydon, Huntingdon, Cist, Cambridge, or comments on various people and illustrations from contemporary literature:

for why my wyll is gode  
Men to induce unto vertue and goodnes,  
I wryte no Iest ne tale of Robyn hode,  
Nor sawe no sparcles ne sede of vyciousnes.  
Wyse men loue vertue, wylde people wantones,  
It longeth nat to my scyence nor cunnynge  
For Phylp the Sparowe the (Dirige) to syunge .

Or he may enlarge the point in gnomonic antithetic phrases:

What difference betweene a great thiefe and a small,  
Forsooth no more but this to speake I dare be bolde,  
The great sitteth on benche in costly furies of pall,  
The small thiefe at barre standeth trembling for colde,  
The great thieves are laded with great chaynes of golde,  
The small thiefe with yron chayned from all refuge,  
The small thiefe is iuged, oft time the great is Judge<sup>4</sup>.

Naturally this stylistic peculiarity allows him to work in a large number of proverbs—a feature that for some reason seems to be counted unto him for righteousness. The effect of such treatment of his material is to make the poems read like original compositions.

<sup>1</sup> *Mirror of Goode Manners*, Spenser Society, No. 33, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ship of Fools*, Jamieson, Vol. 1, p. cxv.

<sup>3</sup> *Ship of Fools*, Jamieson, Vol. 1, p. 303.

<sup>4</sup> *Mirror of Goode Manners*, *ibid.*, p. 34.

And therein lies his art. He is not a poet but a preacher, taking and adapting to his audience whatever he thinks may improve their morals. Thus his works are no more satires than a sermon is a satire. These are sermons versified. It was suggested to him that he modernize a *Confession of Lovers* (Gower's *Confessio Amantis*?), whereupon he produced the *Mirror of Goode Manners*, which

Much briefly conteyneth foure vertues cardinal,  
In right pleasant processe, plaine and commodious,  
With light fote of meter, and stile heroicall,  
Rude people to infourme in language maternall,  
To whose understanding maydens of tender age,  
And rude little children shall find easy passage<sup>1</sup>.

Consequently we find him with the same moral impulse,

Exhorting and praying the dwellers of Englande,  
This new and small treatise to reade and understande<sup>2</sup>.

It is with the same reformatory spirit that he versifies the querulous Latin prose epistle of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. There is little pretence of a literary interest.

But if that any would nowe to me obiect  
That this my labour shall be of small effect,  
And to the Reader not greatly profitable,  
And by that maner as vayne and reprobable,...  
If any suche reade my treatise to the ende  
He shall well preceyue, if that he thereto intende,  
That it conteyneth both laudes of vertue,  
And man infourmeth misliuing to eschue,  
With diuers bourdes and sentences morall,  
Closed in shadowe of speeches pastorall...<sup>3</sup>.

His reward is stated to be

The glorious sight of God my sauour,  
Whiche is chiefe shepheard and head of other all,  
To him for succour in this my worke I call,  
And not on Clio nor olde Melpomene,  
My hope is fixed of him ayded to be  
For to accomlishe my purpose and entent  
To laude and pleasour of God omnipotent,  
And to the profite, the pleasour and the mede,  
Of all them which shall this treatise here and rede<sup>4</sup>.

Naturally, therefore, he disdains the fading laurels of poetry.

No name I chalenge of Poete laureate....  
Then who would ascribe, except he were a foole,  
The pleasaunt laurer unto the mourning cowe<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Mirror of Goode Manners*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Certayne Egloges*, Prologue.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Of course the 'Poete laureate' is the academic degree.

But if this be honestly his point of view, the question at once arises why he should select as a vehicle for the translation from a prose letter the pastoral eclogue, the most artificial of all poetic forms. The usual explanation given is that, along with the substance of the last two eclogues, the form, and the form alone, of the first three are borrowed from Mantuan. While this is partly true, the main impulse seems to have been the French poem, *Le débat du Seigneur de court et du Seigneur des champs*, by Octovien de Saint-Gelays, bishop of Angoulême. This is one of the six small poems preceding *La Chasse et le Départ d'Amours*, published in Paris by Vérard, 1509. In this Saint-Gelays, in a debate between the courtier and the countryman, also versifies the prose tract of Aeneas Sylvius. Consequently Barclay, when in his turn he wished to popularize the Pope's complaints, naturally followed episcopal precedent. The content, however, seems to be taken directly from the Latin<sup>1</sup>. He is even more detailed, in his desire to adapt it to English conditions. Thus Barclay's *Eclogues*, though read to-day for their realistic descriptions of Renaissance manners, were written from a religious standpoint, following the example of a pope and in imitation of a bishop. Not literature, but morality.

And he is not only a preacher, but in the dawn of the Renaissance a medieval preacher. In the floodtime of humanism he tells us:

There is yet in prudence another fault and crime,  
And that is, when people agaynst good reason  
Wasteth and spendeth in vayne study longe time,  
Searching things exceeding their dull discretion,  
For some thinges harde be in inquisition,  
Requiring great study, long time and respite,  
Yet graunte they no profite, no pleasure nor delight<sup>2</sup>.

In the age of Copernicus, he asks

What profiteth it man to search busily  
The courses of the stars hye in the firmament.  
What helpeth this study, here is time mispent;

and in the age of Columbus,

Whereto dost thou study to purchase or obtayne  
The science of artes or craftes innumerable.  
Or to recount the countries and landes variable  
Over all the worlde, where both the lande and water  
Had their first beginning and situation.

<sup>1</sup> I speak with diffidence here as I have been unable to locate the book in America. I know it only through the thesis of the Abbé H. J. Molinier, *Octovien de Saint-Gelays*, Rodez, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> *Mirror of Goode Manners*, *ibid.*, Prudence. Cf. also the chapter in the *Ship of Fools*, 'Of Unprofitable Study,' Jamieson, Vol. 1, p. 142.

His attitude toward women, likewise, is typically medieval—they are unstable and changeable. As his attitude, so are his verse-forms of the age before. The rhyme royal is used in the *Ship of Fools*, the heroic couplet for the *Eclogues*, couplets of sixes in the *Mirror of Good Manners*. His *Balade of the translator* is in eight-line stanzas rhyming ababbcbc, and the panegyric to Henry VIII, which he substitutes for Locher's on Maximilian, consists of forty lines in this same stanza form with but three rhymes throughout and a refrain. Thus writing in 'the yere of our Lorde god MDCCCVIII,' he remains almost untouched by the influences around him.

Almost untouched, because no man can be born out of his century. The Renaissance breaks through in Barclay in his craving for personal expression—in his 'I writ large.'

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## SWIFT'S 'TALE OF A TUB'

IN 1704 there was published a volume containing (1) *A Tale of a Tub*, (2) *The Battle of the Books*, (3) *A Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*. The volume was anonymous and none of the three works had been printed before<sup>1</sup>.

It has never been seriously disputed that Swift wrote all three, and it has been recognised that the larger part of them (or at least of the first two) had been written some time before they were published. But until recently no attempt has been made to investigate the question of date thoroughly. In 1911 Dr Hermann Hofmann published at Leipsic a thesis entitled *Swift's Tale of a Tub*, in which he came to the following conclusions (pp. 53—4):

‘Das Tonnenmärchen ist weder 1697 noch auch zu gleicher Zeit zusammenhängend entstanden. Die Abfassung des 1. Teils der Allegorie (Absch. 2, 4, 6) fällt in frühere Jahre. Er stellt einen Beitrag zur “Popish Controversy” dar und ist in Dublin während des Ausgangs von Swift’s Studienzeit (1687/88) verfasst worden. Swift hat dann dieses Stück liegen lassen und erst um 1700 eine Art Fortsetzung dazu geschrieben, die History of Martin, die die Handlung in derselben Form der Darstellung weiter führt. Diese Fortsetzung ist Fragment geblieben. Sie wurde ersetzt durch den 1703 entstandenen 2. Teil der Allegorie (Abschnitt 8, 11). Während aber die History of Martin sich an das früher entstandene Stück organisch anfügte, bildet dieser 2. Teil eine nur unvollkommene Fortsetzung davon, dem Inhalte wie auch der Form nach. Die ersten 3 Abschnitte der Allegorie sind voll Humor und die Darlegung folgt ruhig, ohne alle Heftigkeit, der geschichtlichen Entwicklung. Die beiden letzten Abschnitte dagegen sind mit unbändiger Leidenschaft und Satire erfüllt, die Handlung ist auf ein Minimum zurückgedrängt. Eine

<sup>1</sup> At the end of all modern editions of *A Tale of a Tub* there is also printed *The History of Martin*. This was first published in 1720. (See below, Section II of this paper.)

Erklärung ist nicht schwer. Bei jenem ersten Teil handelte es sich eben 1703 für Swift nur noch um die endgültige Darstellung einer der Vergangenheit angehörigen Bewegung, die ohne Gefahr vorübergegangen war. Der zweite Teil dagegen ist gegen eine Bewegung der Dissenter gerichtet, in der er noch mitten inne stand, und auf die seine Schrift hemmend mit einwirken sollte. Daher die oft getadelte Schärfe seiner Satire.

Ausserdem entstanden 1702/03 die "Digressions," die sich gegen soziale, politische, literarische und sonstige Schäden der Zeit wenden, und die als die Frucht von Swifts eigner, scharfer Beobachtung während seiner verschiedenen Aufenthalte in London betrachtet werden können.'

The publication of the following notes has been suggested by the appearance of Dr Hofmann's work.

## I.

### THE ORIGIN OF THE ALLEGORY.

#### (a) *John Sharp's Sermons.*

The suggestion that Swift borrowed the allegory of the three brothers in *A Tale of a Tub* from one of John Sharp's sermons seems first to have been made in a letter signed 'Indagator' which appeared in the *Protestant Advocate* for May 1814, and was reprinted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1814, Vol. II, pp. 20—22).

The suggestion has been repeated by the late Professor Churton Collins in his *Jonathan Swift* (1893), p. 47, with considerable amplification: by Mr Temple Scott in his edition of Swift's *Prose Works* (Vol. I, p. xcvi): and more recently by Dr Hermann Hofmann in his dissertation referred to above: but only Hofmann makes any serious use of it.

The sermon in question was delivered on May 9, 1686, at St Giles's Church, London<sup>1</sup>, but was not printed until 1735<sup>2</sup>. It was one of a series preached at a time of controversy on the relative merits of the Roman and English Churches<sup>3</sup>. The title runs:

'Sermon VI. A discussion of the question which the Roman-catholics much insist upon with the protestants, viz. In which of the different communions in Christendom, the only true church of Christ is to be found.

<sup>1</sup> *Life of John Sharp*, Vol. I, pp. 70 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 71: and *The Works of...John Sharp...* 3rd edition...London, 1754. Vol. 7: 'To the Reader.'

<sup>3</sup> Burnet, *History of My Own Times*, ed. 1815, Vol. II, pp. 345 ff.



With a refutation of a certain popish argument handed about in M.S. in 1686.'

Towards the end (p. 106 of ed. 1748) Sharp quotes the argument from a 'little manuscript paper,' and proceeds to answer it. In the course of his reply he says:

The argument is, That if we cannot shew a visible church distinct from the Roman, that hath in all times, from the beginning, opposed the doctrines and practices of the present church of Rome, then it will undeniably follow, that the present church of Rome is the only visible church.

Why now, methinks, this is just such an argument as this:

A father bequeaths a large estate among his children, and their children after them. They do for some generations quietly and peaceably enjoy their several shares, without disturbance from each other. At last, one branch of this family (and not of the eldest house neither) starts up, and being of greater power than the rest, and having got some of the same family to join with him, very impudently challengeth the whole estate to himself, and those that adhere to him; and would dispossess all the rest of the descendants, accounting them no better than bastards, though they be far more in number than his own party, and have a far greater share in the inheritance. Upon this they contest their own right against him, alledging their father's will and testament, and their long possession, and that they are lawfully descended from their first common ancestor.

But this gentleman, who would lord it over his brethren, offers this irrefragable argument for the justice of his claim. If, says he, you deny me and my adherents to be the sole proprietors of this estate, then it lies upon you to shew, That ever since the death of our progenitor, who left us this estate, there hath appeared some of the family who have always opposed my claim to this estate. But *that* you cannot shew; and therefore I have an undoubted claim to the whole estate: I am lord of the whole inheritance.

I do appeal to any man living, whether this plea would pass in any court of judicature; nay, whether any private man, tho' never so unlearned, can believe that this insolent pretender doth offer any fair reason for the disseising the coheirs of their inheritance. And yet this is just the argument with which those learned gentlemen would persuade us to give up our birthright, to depart from that share of the inheritance we have in the catholic church.

Well, but what will the coheirs that are concerned say to this argument? Why there are three things so obvious to be said to it, that if the persons concerned have not the wit to hit upon them, they are fit to come under the custody and guardianship of this pretended heir-general. May they not say to this gentleman that makes so universal a claim,—Sir, your claim was not so early as the death of our forefather, who left us this joint inheritance. Your ancestors and ours lived a great while peaceably together, without any clashing about this estate; and we were suffered for some ages to enjoy our own right, without any molestation from you or those you derive from: And the case being so, there was no need of opposing your pretences, because you made none. But then, (which is the second thing) when you did set up for this principality, and wheedled some of our family, and forced others to join with you, you know you were presently opposed by others of our family, who would not so easily part from their rights. You know, that as soon as ever you made your claim, there were some that stoutly declared against it, tho' they had not power, and strength, and interest enough in the world to stem the torrent of your ambition.

But then thirdly, may they say; supposing it was not so; supposing you had met with no rub in your pretences (which yet you know you did); supposing our family were not so suddenly aware of the mischief that would come upon them from those your usurpations, as to make a present opposition; doth now it follow, that because no opposition was just then made to your pretences, that therefore your pretensions to the whole estate are justifiable? No, we can prove they are not

so; for it is plain by the Testament, by the settlement of our common father, that we have as much a right to our parts in this estate as you have, or as your ancestors ever had. Tell not us, that you were not at first, or that you were not always, opposed in your claim: But tell us by what right or justice you can pretend to be the sole lord of this inheritance. Let the will of our common parent be produced, and that will plainly shew, that we have as much a share in this estate as you have<sup>1</sup>.

This allegory is so pat to our business, and the application of it so easy to our present case, that I think I should injure the most vulgar understanding, if I should suspect his ability to make that use of it which I intend.

'Indagator' was satisfied with pointing out the similarity between this allegory and that of Swift. Churton Collins went further: 'The sermon referred to is one of fourteen [fifteen] which are devoted to an elaborate exposure of the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome, furnishing indeed, even to minute details, the whole text for Swift's satire, which follows Sharp's commentary step by step.' But he made no attempt to illustrate his statement, and in fact it has no foundation. As Hofmann says, 'Die Ähnlichkeiten, die sich ja nicht leugnen lassen, sind rein äusserliche und erklären sich vollkommen dadurch, dass eben Swift und Sharp die "abuses and corruptions" der römischen Kirche aufdecken wollen mit dem von vornherein feststehenden Zweck, durch diese Darlegung der von den Katholiken drohenden Gefahr entgegenzuwirken. Das geschieht hier mit dem ruhigen Ernste eines Predigers, dort mit der Energie eines leidenschaftlichen Satirikers. Dabei mussten sie natürlich auf dieselben Übelstände zu reden kommen. Weiter geht die Übereinstimmung nicht?'

Moreover the sermons were not printed until 31 years after *A Tale of a Tub* was published. Unless Swift heard the sermons, it is most unlikely that he could have obtained such accurate reports of them as to be able to follow them 'step by step' and 'in minute details.' In May 1686 he was in Ireland, and the sermons were preached in London.

But the allegory remains. The sermon in which it occurred was brought to the notice of James II, who instructed the Bishop of London (Compton) to suspend Sharp. Compton refused: and the dispute roused a great deal of public interest<sup>2</sup>. It was the reply to the 'little manuscript paper' which gave offence, and especially the allegory<sup>4</sup>.

One of Swift's fellow students at Trinity College, Dublin, was

<sup>1</sup> Dryden replies to this argument in *The Hind and the Panther* (II, ll. 373 ff.), published in April 1687. Cf. *Religio Laici*, II. 388—93.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.*, Chap. VI.

<sup>4</sup> *Life of Sharp*, I, pp. 73—4.

named Waring. Writing in 1755 Deane Swift, in *An Essay upon the Life, Writings, and Character of Dr Jonathan Swift* said :

Mr WARREN, the *chamber fellow* of Dr SWIFT in the university of *Dublin*, and a gentleman of undoubted veracity, (whose sister had made some very considerable impressions upon the Doctor's heart in the days of his youth) assured a relation of mine, whom he courted for a wife about eight or nine and forty years ago, that he saw *The Tale of a Tub* in the hand-writing of Dr SWIFT, when the Doctor was but nineteen years old; but what corrections or improvements it might have received before its publication in the year 1697, he could by no means declare. (p. 31.)

'Mr Warren' is, of course, Waring.

Now Swift was nineteen years old in 1686. If, then, it can be shown that there is such likeness between Sharp's allegory and Swift's as to make borrowing seem likely, Deane Swift's story receives strong confirmation, and we must admit that *A Tale of a Tub* was very probably begun while Swift was still at Trinity College.

This is Hofmann's view, though not in his words.

The question is much complicated by other considerations, but for the moment we may ignore them. A comparison of the two allegories shows that the resemblance is very slight. It is practically confined to this: that both Sharp and Swift illustrate the disputes between the Churches of Rome and England by a comparison with the disputes of heirs to an estate, and in both cases there is reference to a will.

In Swift the heirs are three, in Sharp their number is not stated: in Swift they are sons, in Sharp they are descendants removed by 'some generations': in Swift the main part of the allegory concerns the coats which the father gives his sons, in Sharp there is nothing corresponding: and there is nothing in Swift corresponding to the argument of the 'insolent pretender' in Sharp. In fact there is nothing in common but the ancestor, the descendants, and the will.

So much of Sharp's sermon might have reached Swift and might have remained in his mind for years before he used it. But it is plain enough that Swift might have thought of the father, sons, and will for himself. Nothing is commoner in the Christian religion than a reference to the Fatherhood of God.

Deane Swift's statement will be dealt with further in Section III of this paper.

It should be added that Sharp may possibly have taken a hint for his allegory from the story dealt with in the next section.

(b) *The Story of the Three Rings.*

The story of the three rings exists in several different forms. In general the outline is as follows: a father gives or bequeaths a ring to each of his three sons, and tells each that his ring is the only genuine one. The owner of the genuine ring is to be the heir to the father's estate. The rings are so similar that it is impossible to distinguish between them.

At this point the stories divide into two classes. In one class the sons are never able to decide which is the genuine ring, in the other the true ring is known by its power to heal the sick, or by some other virtue which it exhibits. In either case the father is God, and the three rings represent the Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan religions. The purpose, details, and setting of the stories vary according to the different purposes of the writers who tell them<sup>1</sup>.

Forms of the story appear in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, Day 1, Tale 3<sup>2</sup>: in the *Gesta Romanorum*<sup>3</sup>: and (after Swift's time) in Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*. Swift may well have read it in either the first or the second of these.

The likeness of the story to the allegory in the *Tale* was first noticed by the writer who adapted the *Tale* in French under the title *Les Trois Justaucorps, Conte Bleu, Tiré de l'Anglois du Reverend Mr. Jonathan Swif* [sic],...*A Dublin, MD. CC.XXI*. At the end of his work he printed a poem entitled *Les Trois Anneaux*. In the *Avertissement* he writes 'On a ajouté les trois Anneaux, qui y sont citez dès la première page. C'est une Nouvelle tirée de *Bocace*, qu'on ne sera point fâché de trouver à la suite de ce Conte.' At p. 1 he writes 'Il y eut jadis, dans un certain coin de l'Empire Romain, un bon Père de Famille qui avait trois Garçons, que sa Femme lui avoit mis au Monde d'une seule couche. Ils étoient si ressemblans, que la sage Femme ne put certainement dire lequel étoit l'Aîné. Cette question se trouva aussi difficile à décider que celle des *trois aneaux*, que le Juif

<sup>1</sup> For full information see A. C. Lee, *The Decameron: its sources and analogues*, pp. 6—13: Gaston Paris, *La Poésie du Moyen-Age*, II, pp. 131—163 (this contains abstracts of the stories): Marcus Landau, *Die Quellen des Dekameron*, pp. 183—8: *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley, p. 726 (O. cites the parallel in Plutarch, *Numa*, 13): further references will be found in Traversari, *Bibliografia Boccaccesca*, under *Anelli, novella de' Tre*: Jacobs' ed. of *Painter's Palace of Pleasure*, Vol. I, p. lxxi: Gaston Paris, *La Légende de Saladin*, pp. 13 ff.: E. Schmidt, *Lessing*, II, pp. 327 ff.: and *Nathan der Weise*, ed. J. G. Robertson, pp. xxi—xxv.

<sup>2</sup> This form was translated in *Painter's Palace of Pleasure* (ed. Joseph Jacobs, Vol. I, pp. 116—8).

<sup>3</sup> Tale LXXXIX in Swan's translation.

*Melchisédech* proposa autrefois à *Saladin*, Soudan de Babilone, lesquels étoient si semblables que les experts n'en purent faire la différence....'

Voltaire wrote in *Lettres Philosophiques*, xxii, 'Sur M. Pope et quelques autres poëtes fameux' (*Œuvres*, 1879 etc., Vol. 22, p. 175), 'Ce fameux *Conte du Tonneau* est une imitation de l'ancien conte des trois anneaux indiscernables, qu'un père légua à ses trois enfants....' (Cf. *Lettres à S. A. M<sup>re</sup> le Prince de \* \* \* \* \** v, 'Sur Swift,' in *Œuvres*, Vol. 26, pp. 489—91.)

It has since been several times affirmed and as often denied that Swift was indebted to this story. On the one hand it is to be noticed that both the story and the allegory in the *Tale* deal with three conflicting forms of religion, both employ the imagery of a father giving or leaving to each of three sons objects exactly similar to one another, and in some cases the story agrees with the allegory in favouring one son at the expense of the others. On the other hand, in the allegory the likeness of the coats causes no dispute, because nothing is made to depend upon distinguishing between them, and the allegory differs from the story by proceeding with the history of the three sons and their treatment of their father's gifts from the point at which the story ends. A testament is only mentioned in some versions of the story, and then no further than to say that the father left instructions how the true heir was to be recognised. In the *Tale* the interpretation of the will plays a large part in the allegory.

(c) *Fontenelle's 'Histoire de Mréo et d'Eénegu.'*

In the *Lettre sur M. Pope &c.* quoted above, Voltaire said that the *Tale* was also an imitation of Fontenelle's *Histoire de Mréo et d'Eénegu*. The *Histoire* pretends to be a letter written from *Batavia dans les Indes Orientales* and tells of the disputes between two rival Queens of Borneo. Mliséo<sup>1</sup> queen of Borneo had died: she was succeeded by her daughter Mréo (= Rome) who introduced several vexatious regulations—all her ministers were made eunuchs *d'une certaine façon*: the public feasts were retrenched: the price of bread was raised by the machinations of certain magicians: she set up a *salle des cadavres* and exacted homage to them from all who approached her; and so forth. The people of Borneo were angered by these things, and a new queen Eénegu (= Genève) arose who said that she was the real daughter of Mliséo, and alleged in proof her likeness to Mliséo. She abolished all

<sup>1</sup> Mr G. C. Macaulay suggests to me that Mliséo is an anagram for Solime, i.e. Solyma (Jerusalem).

the innovations and Mréo attacked her. When the letter was written the quarrel was still undecided.

The *Histoire* appeared in Bayle's *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* in January 1686 (*Article X*, pp. 86—91). (See Louis Maigrón: *Fontenelle*, pp. 180—96 and 282.) The likeness to Swift's allegory is not striking. The chief points in favour of Voltaire's suggestion are that the allegory deals with the Roman Catholic and Calvinistic Churches (Swift deals with the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinistic Churches), speaks of them as children of a common ancestor, and makes one introduce novelties which the other abolishes.

The *Histoire* caused a good deal of interest when it was published, and it appeared in a volume which Swift might well have seen in Temple's library. It will be noticed that it was published in 1686, the date twice mentioned in section (a).

(d) *Optatus' 'De Chismate Donatistarum.'*

In *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, Vol. II, p. 5 (see also p. 55), it was suggested that Swift derived the allegory in the *Tale* from a passage in one of the works of S. Optatus. The passage is to be found in *Sancti Optati...Opera* (Paris 1631), pp. 84—5.

Optatus is speaking of rebaptism, and remarks that it is difficult to find impartial judges of the question at issue. He continues:

Quaerendi sunt iudices: Si Christiani, de utraque parte dari non possunt: quia studiis ueritas impeditur. De foris quaerendus est iudex: Si paganus, non potest nosse Christiana secreta. Si Iudaeus, inimicus est Christiani baptismatis: Ergo in terris de hac re nullum poterit reperiri iudicium, de cœlo quaerendus est iudex. Sed ut quid pulsamus ad cœlum, cum habeamus hic in Euangelio testamentum? Quia hoc loco recte possunt terrena cœlestibus comparari: tale est, quod quiuus hominum habens numerosos filios. His, quamdiu pater praesens est, ipse imperat singulis: non est adhuc necessarium testamentum. Sic & Christus, quamdiu praesens in terris fuit (quamuis nec modo desit) pro tempore quicquid necessarium erat, Apostolis imperauit. Sed quo modo terrenus pater, cum se in confinio senserit mortis, timens ne post mortem suam, rupta pace, litigent fratres, adhibitis testibus, uoluntatem suam de pectore morituro transfert in tabulas diu duraturas, Et si fuerit inter fratres contentio nata, non itur ad tumultum, sed quaeritur testamentum: Et qui in tumultu quiescit, tacitus de tabulis loquitur: uiuus, is, cuius est testamentum, in cœlo est. Ergo uoluntas eius, uelut in testamento, sic in Euangelio inquiratur.

In this passage we have the father, the sons, and the will. The suggestion that Swift borrowed from it cannot be dismissed on the ground that the work in which it occurs was not likely to have been known to him. Swift's reading was extraordinarily wide, as the annotations of any edition of the *Tale* will show at once. But, in any case, there was not much in the passage for him to borrow.

(e) *Selden's 'Table Talk.'*

The following passage in Selden's *Table Talk* (1689) has been suggested as a source of the allegory (see *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Ser., XII, p. 451).

Religion is like the Fashion, one Man wears his Doublet slash'd, another lac'd, another plain; but every Man has a Doublet: So every Man has his Religion. We differ about Trimming (p. 102 of Arber's ed.).

In this there is nothing like the *Tale* except the use of the simile from clothing. In this point the likeness is undeniable.

(f) *Buckingham's 'Letter to Mr Clifford: and Conference with an Irish Priest.'*

Writing in 1705 William Wotton in *A Defense of the Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* said of the author of the *Tale*:

...his *Wit* is not his own, in many places. The *Actors* in his *Farce*, *Peter*, *Martin*, and *Jack*, are by name borrowed from a Letter written by the late Witty D. of *Buckingham*, concerning Mr. *Clifford's Human Reason*: And *Peter's Banter* upon *Transubstantiation*, is taken from the same D. of *Buckingham's Conference with an Irish Priest*... (p. 540).

The first passage will be found in *Buckingham's Works* (1715), Vol. II, p. 187.

For when the first heat once was over, and considering Men began to reflect, that the Reformation offer'd nothing but Words, that it gave no intire Freedom to Consciences and Enquiries, they saw no satisfactory Motive of quitting their old *Mumsimus* for a new *Sumsimus*, and cou'd find no real Advantage in withdrawing from Father *Peter*, to Father *Martin*, and Father *John*....

The second passage is in the dialogue entitled *A Conference between the late Duke of Buckingham and An Irish Priest* (*ibid.* pp. 153—77). In the *Conference* an Irish priest is sent by James II to convert the Duke to Roman Catholicism. The Duke receives the priest and calls for a bottle of wine which the priest shares with him. He then tells the priest that the cork of the bottle is a horse. The priest thinks him insane and contradicts him. The Duke accepts the contradiction but later when the priest is about to speak of *Transubstantiation* the Duke recalls the argument about the cork and uses the priest's reasons against him.

Swift himself admitted that the coincidence in the names of the first passage was striking: the second is rather trivial and needs no particular examination.

(g) *Swift's Statements.*

In the *Apology* prefixed to the fifth edition of *A Tale of a Tub* (1710) Swift wrote (speaking of Wotton's *Defense*, quoted above)

...he concludes his pamphlet with a Caution to Readers to beware of thinking the author's wit was entirely his own: surely this must have had some allay of personal animosity at least, mixed with the design of serving the public, by so useful a discovery; and it indeed touches the author in a very tender point; who insists upon it, that through the whole book he has not borrowed one single hint from any writer in the world; and he thought, of all criticisms, that would never have been one. He conceived, it was never disputed to be an original, whatever faults it might have. However, this answerer produces three instances to prove *this author's wit is not his own in many places*. The first is, that the names of Peter, Martin, and Jack, are borrowed from a letter of the late Duke of Buckingham. Whatever wit is contained in those three names, the author is content to give it up, and desires his readers will subtract as much as they placed upon that account; at the same time protesting solemnly, that he never once heard of that letter except in this passage of the answerer: so that the names were not borrowed, as he affirms, though they should happen to be the same; which, however, is odd enough, and what he hardly believes: that of Jack being not quite so obvious as the other two. The second instance [from the *Conference*]...the author confesses to have seen about ten years after his book was writ, and a year or two after it was published....It was necessary that corruption should have some allegory as well as the rest; and the author invented the properest he could, without inquiring what other people had writ; and the commonest reader will find, there is not the least resemblance between the two stories.... (Swift's *Prose Works*, ed. Temple Scott, Vol. I, pp. 19—20<sup>1</sup>.)

This statement covers all the suggested sources for the allegory. It is as complete and solemn as possible, and one cannot doubt that Swift was sincere when he wrote it. But it seems to me fairly certain that Swift was indebted for at least the outline of the allegory to one or more of the books cited.

His *Apology* was written 12 or 13 years after the main body of the *Tale*, possibly more. And it is very likely that in the interval he had forgotten some of the circumstances of its inception. Moreover a writer may borrow much without realising it. Ideas pass into the mind and grow and transform themselves, 'occulto velut arbor aevo<sup>2</sup>'.

## II.

## THE HISTORY OF MARTIN.

The facts concerning the publication of the *History of Martin* cannot be made out from any of the modern editions of *A Tale of a Tub*, or from any of the modern authorities on Swift. Little or nothing has been said about its authorship: and it has been reprinted

<sup>1</sup> Corrected by reference to the original text.

<sup>2</sup> For a parallel see Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, ed. A. MacMechan: Introduction, pp. xix—xxi.



with no attempt to indicate the original sources of the text. It seems to have found its way into the modern editions without any examination of its credentials.

So far as is known the *History of Martin* was printed three times during Swift's life. It appeared in

(a) MISCELLANEOUS WORKS, Comical & Diverting: by T.R.D.J.S. D.O.P.I.I. IN TWO PARTS. I. The TALE of a TUB; with the *Fragment*, & the BATTEL of the BOOKS; with considerable *Additions*, & explanatory *Notes*, never before printed...LONDON, Printed by Order of the Society *de propagando*, &c. M.DCC.XX.

(b) A TALE OF A TUB...A new Edition, with the Author's Apology, and Explanatory Notes, by W. Wotton B.D. & others. LONDON M.DCC.XXXIV.

(c) THE HISTORY OF MARTIN...By the Rev. D—N S—T... LONDON: Printed for J. TEMPLE, near *S<sup>t</sup> Dunstan's Church, Fleet-[street]*.

The *Miscellaneous Works* of 1720, and the *Tale of a Tub* of 1734 appear to be pirated editions. The first of these is sometimes referred to as 'Dutch'.<sup>1</sup> The date of the third is unknown. The copy in the British Museum Library has been badly cut in binding. The date on the title-page (if there was a date) has been cut off: it is supposed to be 1735 or 1742. No other copy of this edition is known.

The first volume (a, above) opens with a statement by the Book-seller, who prints part of a letter from 'an ingenious gentleman' who claims to have seen a MS. containing 'a great deal more than what is printed' [i.e. of the *Tale*], and says that he has 'writ down the heads of the most material' parts 'as near as' he 'can now remember.' The text of the *Tale*, of the *Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, and of the *Battle of the Books*, follows this statement. The texts are followed by an *Analytical Table*. After the analysis of Section X of the *Tale* is printed the *History of Martin* under the heading 'Abstract of what follows after Sect. IX in the manuscript.' Why the 'Abstract' should not have been printed after the analysis of Section IX is not explained.

The text will be found in Temple Scott's edition of Swift: but the text there printed is Sir Walter Scott's, which is a compound of the preceding editions. It will be simplest to indicate, by reference to

<sup>1</sup> The volume has been submitted to two experts, but neither is able to say whether it was printed in England or abroad.

Temple Scott's edition (here referred to as B), what was printed in each of the three early editions.

(a) *Edition of 1720.*

This edition does not contain the heading in italics (B p. 145): the remainder is as printed in B (pp. 146—51), but without the sentence (p. 151) '*Here the author...line since.*'

After the sentence '*N.B. Some things that follow...print*' follow the analyses of Section XI and the Conclusion. After these comes the analysis of the *Discourse concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*. Lastly is printed *A Project for the universal benefit of mankind* (B pp. 152—53). It concludes with the sentence '*Here ends the Manuscript, there being nothing of the following piece in it.*' The 'following piece' is [the analysis of] the *Battle of the Books*.

(b) *Edition of 1734.*

The *History of Martin* is printed in the *Analytical Table* after the analysis of Section X, as in the edition of 1720.

It does not contain the heading in italics (B p. 145): the remainder is as printed in B pp. 146—51, but without the sentence (p. 151) '*Here the author...line since.*' After the sentence '*N.B. Some things...print*' follow the analyses of Section XI, of the *Conclusion*, of the *Discourse*, and of the *Battle*. The *Project* (B pp. 152—53) is omitted entirely.

(c) *Edition of 1735 (or 1742).*

In this edition the text is changed by the omission of the word 'How' wherever it occurred in the previous editions, and by such alterations as this omission makes necessary. The heading in italics (B p. 145) is from the title-page of this edition. The remainder is as printed in B pp. 146—51; but without the sentence '*N.B. Some things...print.*' The *Project* (B pp. 152—53) is omitted entirely.

The other differences in the three texts are verbal only. (c) appears to have been printed from (a): (b) has a good many small variations from (a).

In the edition of 1720, then, the *History of Martin* is printed not as the original text but as an abstract made from memory by an anonymous 'ingenious gentleman,' and printed by an anonymous bookseller. The *Society de propagando* is a jest.

The contents are no more reassuring than the method of publication. As a member of the Church of England Swift could not have written it (see the references to the Church of England B pp. 147—49 and 150—

51): to have printed it would have been fatal to his hopes of advancement. The allegory in it is of the kind that Swift avoided, and that a less intelligent writer would be sure to attempt. Its weakness is that it can have no end—the author has brought it down nearly to his own day, and there has to abandon it. In the *Tale* Swift stopped at the point where the history of the Church of England would have begun, contenting himself with his satire on the Roman Catholics and Non-conformists. He never intended to satirise his own church.

It is a minor detail that the story told is inconsistent with what Swift printed in the *Conclusion* of the *Tale* (B pp. 140—41).

In the *Supplement* to Swift's Works printed by Nichols in 1779 the editor wrote of the *History* (p. 332):

Though certainly not the Dean's; they appear to have been written by someone, who had very attentively considered the subject. If we might be allowed to guess at their author, we should say, that it was *Thomas Swift*....

In Sir Walter Scott's edition of Swift (2nd ed., Vol. x, p. 205, Note), the editor wrote:

...the hints or fragments of allegory, here thrown out, are not in unison with the former part of the *Tale*, either in political principle or in conduct of the fable. The tone of many passages is decidedly not only *Whiggish*, but of the Low Church, and the author is forced, somewhat awkwardly, to introduce *two* Martins instead of *one*, the first representing the sect of Luther, the second the Church of England. The fragment...to me has much more...the appearance of a rough draught, thrown aside and altered, than of any continuation of the original story.

One cannot discuss the style of the *History of Martin* because it does not profess to preserve Swift's language exactly. In any case the *History* ought not to be regarded as of equal authority with the *Tale*, *Discourse*, and *Battle*: and in all probability it is no more than one of the numerous imitations of Swift.

[To be continued.]

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LONDON.

## GOLDSMITH'S INDEBTEDNESS TO JUSTUS VAN EFFEN.

VOLTAIRE, having conducted his Amazan, the hero of *La Princesse de Babylone*, into the country of the 'Bataves,' 'cette terre de liberté, d'égalité, de propriété, d'abondance, de tolérance,' makes him leave that blessed shore in search of a certain island called Albion, of which he had heard the Batavians speak with the highest praise. The people of Albion were, in the 18th century at any rate, not greatly inclined to return the compliment. It was not their eulogy that induced Oliver Goldsmith, that Voltairian philosophic vagabond, to cross to Helvoetsluys and visit the Dutch. He came with the preconceived notion that the Hollanders were an ill-mannered, ox-like species of man, 'the oddest figures in nature.' How far he ever got to know them is matter of conjecture only. Neither what length of time he spent among them, nor how that time was employed, are questions that can be answered satisfactorily. His name is not on record in the *Album Studiosorum* of the University at Leiden. Nor is it to be found in the so-called 'census rolls' (*recensierollen*) that were kept by the university beadles<sup>1</sup>. That he did study there is beyond all doubt, in view of the evidence of his fellow-student Ellis. But the short remarks on Holland and the Dutch that are scattered through his writings do not show that insight into the Dutch mind which might be expected from such a shrewd observer as the author of *The Citizen of the World*. His letter from Leiden to his uncle Contarine does not contain the superficial criticism of a first impression; it contains no impression whatever, only the traditional

<sup>1</sup> Mr Du Rieu, the editor of the *Album Studiosorum*, believes that Goldsmith was erroneously registered as *William Oliver Anglus 22 Med.*, which name is recorded on Sept. 21, 1753. I do not know what reasons Du Rieu had for identifying this W. Oliver with the poet. The census-rolls do not confirm the hypothesis. It appears from these that William Oliver lodged at the house of Mr Frans Floot, whereas Goldsmith's landlady was Mad. Diallyon, to the care of whom he asked his uncle Contarine to address a reply to his letter: cf. *Handelingen en Mededeelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden*, 1895—96, pp. 153 f.

witticisms in the manner of Marvell's famous *Satire on Holland*. He might have written that letter in Edinburgh for what it tells his uncle about the Dutch. The wise and far-travelled Lien chi Altangi observes in one of his letters to Fum Hoam: 'The genius of a country should be investigated with a kind of experimental inquiry: by this means, we should have more precise and just notions of foreign nations, and detect travellers themselves, when they happened to form wrong conclusions.' It would have been better if Goldsmith, during his residence in Holland, had practised this maxim of his Chinese fellow-cosmopolitan. But 'the slow canal' may have infected his natural indolence and made him slow of observation.

There is, however, one passage in his writings where, instead of the traditional ridicule, praise is bestowed upon an institution, from his knowledge of which it might be inferred that he had studied the Dutch and their manners and had 'viewed them closer' than his other references to them would seem to imply. I mean his praise of the Dutch institution of the 'peace-makers' mentioned in the essay 'Upon political Frugality,' the first in the fifth number of *The Bee*. Can that troublesome disorder 'which of all nations the English bear worst', and which with him had become a chronic disease, can the 'maladie de poche' have involved him in difficulties with his Leiden landlady, and, in that way, have made him experimentally acquainted with the peace-makers' office? Such an event would have supplied him with excellent matter for a humorous description of his litigation with a Dutch landlady, a beauty of Chinese charms, broad face, short nose and black teeth<sup>2</sup>. But personal experience was not his source of information. The title of a short pamphlet of Voltaire's, which I found quoted in an article on 'Voltaire et la Hollande,' by George Bengesco, in the *Revue de Paris* (Vol. XIX), led me to the right track. The title in question runs as follows: *Fragment d'une lettre sur un usage très utile en Hollande*; and its contents are summarised by Bengesco as being 'une courte apologie du tribunal des conciliateurs.' Goldsmith's eulogy of the peace-makers appears to be a literal translation of the entire fragment. He may have known the '*Recueil de pièces fugitives en prose et en vers*, par M. de V.\*\*\*' published in 1740, in which it is contained.

To enable the reader to judge for himself as to the literalness of the rendering, I subjoin Voltaire's letter in full and the corresponding paragraphs from the doctor's essay in juxtaposition:

<sup>1</sup> *Present state of Polite Learning*, Ch. XIII.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Citizen of the World*, L. III.

Il serait à souhaiter que ceux qui sont à la tête des nations imitassent les artisans.

Dèsqu'on sait à Londres qu'on fait une nouvelle étoffe en France, on la contrefait. Pourquoi un homme d'état ne s'empressera-t-il pas d'établir dans son pays une loi utile qui viendra d'ailleurs ? Nous sommes parvenus à faire la même porcelaine qu'à la Chine ; parvenons à faire le bien qu'on fait chez nos voisins, et que nos voisins profitent de ce que nous avons d'excellent.

Il y a tel particulier qui fait croître dans son jardin des fruits que la nature n'avait destinés qu'à mûrir sous la ligne : nous avons à nos portes mille lois, mille coutumes sages ; voilà les fruits qu'il faut y transplanter : ceux-là viennent en tous climats, et se plaisent dans tous les terrains.

La meilleure loi, le plus excellent usage, le plus utile que j'aie jamais vu, c'est en Hollande. Quand deux hommes veulent plaider l'un contre l'autre, ils sont obligés d'aller d'abord au tribunal des conciliateurs, appelés *feseurs de paix*. Si les parties arrivent avec un avocat et un procureur, on fait d'abord retirer ces derniers, comme on ôte le bois d'un feu qu'on veut éteindre. Les *feseurs de paix* disent aux parties : vous êtes de grands fous de vouloir manger votre argent à vous rendre mutuellement malheureux ; nous allons vous accommoder sans qu'il vous en coûte rien. Si la rage de la chicane est trop forte dans ces plaideurs, on les remet à un autre jour, afin que le temps adoucisse les symptômes de leur maladie. Ensuite les juges les envoient chercher une seconde, une troisième fois. Si leur folie est incurable, on leur permet de plaider, comme on abandonne au fer des chirurgiens des membres gangrenés : alors la justice fait sa main.

Il n'est pas nécessaire de faire ici de longues déclamations, ni de calculer ce qui en reviendrait au genre humain si cette loi était adoptée. D'ailleurs je ne veux point aller sur les brisées de

It were to be wished that they who govern kingdoms would imitate artisans.

When at London a new stuff has been invented, it is immediately counterfeited in France. How happy were it for society, if a first minister would be equally solicitous to transplant the useful laws of other countries into his own. We are arrived at a perfect imitation of porcelain ; let us endeavour to imitate the good to society that our neighbours are found to practise, and let our neighbours also imitate those parts of duty in which we excel.

There are some men who in their gardens attempt to raise those fruits which nature has adapted only to the sultry climates beneath the line. We have at our very doors a thousand laws and customs infinitely useful : these are the fruits we should endeavour to transplant ; these the exotics that would speedily become naturalized to the soil. They might grow in every climate and benefit every possessor.

The best and the most useful laws I have ever seen, are generally practised in Holland. When two men are determined to go to law with each other, they are first obliged to go before the reconciling judges, called the *peace-makers*. If the parties come attended with an advocate, or a solicitor, they are obliged to retire, as we take fuel from the fire we are desirous of extinguishing. The peace-makers then begin advising the parties, by assuring them, that it is the height of folly to waste their substance, and make themselves mutually miserable by having recourse to the tribunals of justice ; follow but our direction, and we will accommodate matters without any expense to either. If the rage of debate is too strong upon either party, they are remitted back for another day, in order that time may soften their tempers and produce a reconciliation. They are thus sent for twice or thrice ; if their folly happens to be incurable, they are permitted to go to law, and as we give up to amputation such members as cannot be cured by art, justice is permitted to take its course.

It is unnecessary to make here long declamations, or calculate what society would save, were this law adopted.

M. l'abbé de Saint Pierre, dont un ministre plein d'esprit appelait les projets 'les rêves d'un homme de bien.'

Je sais que souvent un particulier qui s'avise de proposer quelque chose pour le bonheur public se fait berner. On dit: De quoi se mêle-t-il?

Voilà un plaisant homme, de vouloir que nous soyons plus heureux que nous ne sommes! ne sait-il pas qu'un abus est toujours le patrimoine d'une bonne partie de la nation<sup>1</sup>? Pourquoi nous ôter un mal où tant de gens trouvent leur bien? A cela je n'ai rien à répondre.

I am sensible, that the man who advises any reformation, only serves to make himself ridiculous. What! mankind will be apt to say, adopt the customs of countries that have not so much real liberty as our own? our present customs, what are they to any man? we are very happy under them: this must be a very pleasant fellow, who attempts to make us happier than we already are! Does he not know that abuses are the patrimony of a great part of the nation? Why deprive us of a malady by which such numbers find their account? This I must own, is an argument to which I have nothing to reply.

Goldsmith's praise of the Dutch for possessing 'the best and the most useful laws' he ever saw is so unexpected as to arouse suspicion of its sincerity. The only sentence which Goldsmith inserted in the fragmentary letter of Voltaire agrees much better with his usual opinion of the Dutch. To follow Voltaire's advice were to follow the example of a nation which has not so much real liberty as the English! Where Goldsmith indulges in his own speculations on Holland's 'patient sons,' they are described as the slaves of tyrannical laws:

'In every republic the laws must be strong, because the constitution is feeble; they must resemble an Asiatic husband, who is justly jealous because he knows himself impotent. Thus in Holland, Switzerland, and Genoa, new laws are not frequently enacted, but the old ones are observed with unremitting severity. In such republics, therefore, the people are slaves to laws of their own making, little less than in unmixed monarchies, where they are slaves to the will of one, subject to frailties like themselves<sup>2</sup>.'

This passage might serve as a commentary on the well-known line of *The Traveller*, in which the Dutch Republic is stigmatized as 'A land of tyrants and a den of slaves,' and explain how Goldsmith could apply to Holland these words which, two years earlier, had been used to describe the 'unmixed monarchy' of Persia: 'Into what a state of misery are the modern Persians fallen! A nation famous for setting the world an example of freedom, is now become a land of tyrants and a den of slaves<sup>3</sup>.' The analogy between the passages from the 49th

<sup>1</sup> This remark may have suggested to Goldsmith his satire on the English administration of justice in Letter xcvi of his *Citizen of the World*: 'Why have we so many lawyers but to secure our property? Why so many formalities, but to secure our property? Not less than one hundred thousand families live in opulence elegance, and ease, merely by securing our property.'

<sup>2</sup> *Citizen of the World*, L. xli.

<sup>3</sup> *Citizen of the World*, L. xxxiv.

of the Chinese Letters and the poem does not stop here. In the letter the judgment pronounced on the laws of such republics as the Netherlands is followed by the praises of the English constitution as creating 'the most perfect state of civil liberty of which we can form any idea.' In *The Traveller*, after the denunciation of 'the land of tyrants and the den of slaves,' the poet concludes with the exclamation 'How much unlike the sons of Britain now!'

But the passage from *The Citizen of the World* is the utterance of a theorising philosopher, who does not pretend to state what is, but concludes what is bound to be. In *The Traveller*, on the other hand, the philosophic vagabond speaks from his own experience; trusting to better authority than inference, the testimony of his own eyes. We can forgive the theorist for arriving at false conclusions. For theory, with logic for her guide, has only one way to go by, the high-road of generalisation, which she dare not leave for the maze of reality's meandering bypaths, lest logic should fall out with her and leave her to shift for herself. But the experimental philosopher ought not to travel in that manner. Observing the infinity of possibilities, where theory can see one fact only, he must realize that the proper course to his goal may lie along one of the various winding tracks. What is true for the republic of Genoa must be true also for the republic of the Dutch, says the generalising high-road traveller. But the philosophic vagabond should not have repeated the phrase. He might have seen, if he had used his own eyes, that civil freedom could be reconciled with a republican constitution. But refusing to believe the evidence of his eyes rather than an accepted theory, he fell into the strange error of calling that country 'a land of tyrants and a den of slaves' which had been praised by Voltaire as 'cette terre de liberté, d'égalité, de propreté, d'abondance, de tolérance.'

Goldsmith might have known better. For he was acquainted with the French writings of a Dutch author, who in one of his letters, which Goldsmith had read and translated, claims for his countrymen a feeling of pride and self-esteem hardly compatible with the abject serfdom for which Goldsmith despises them. The first number of *The Bee* contains 'A Letter from a Traveller' to his 'Dear Will,' dated from Cracow, August 2, 1758. The writer is travelling in Poland in the retinue of a prince. He can hardly believe that he is in the country which was once so formidable in war and spread terror over the Roman Empire. The population are an abject, shrinking race, whom nothing but blows and threats can make amenable to their duty. 'How different these



from the common people of England, whom a blow might induce to return the affront sevenfold.' Read 'Holland' instead of 'England' in the last sentence, and the original tenour of the passage is restored. What seems a genuine outburst of English patriotism is a translation from a Dutchman's French. Of this letter as it stands in *The Bee* only the first two and the concluding paragraphs were conceived in Green Arbour Court. The bulk of the epistle was written nine years before the editor of *The Bee* was born. The writer was the Dutch essayist Justus van Effen, the country through which he travelled was Sweden, and Goldsmith's nameless prince was the prince of Hessen-Philipsthal, who, in 1719, had gone to Stockholm on a visit to his cousin, the consort of the Swedish queen. He had chosen Justus van Effen for his travelling companion, to whose letters, written in French to a friend in Holland, we owe the account of their journey. They were collected under the title of *Relation d'un Voyage de Hollande en Suède, contenue en quelques lettres de l'auteur du Misanthrope*, and printed for the first time in 1729, at the end of *Le Misanthrope*, a collection of essays in imitation of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*. The letter in question is the sixth of van Effen's *Relation*. The following transcripts may show what use Goldsmith made of his French original. The letter from *The Bee* is printed in full:

CRACOW,

Aug. 2, 1758.

My dear Will,

You see by the date of my letter that I am arrived in Poland. When will my wanderings be at an end? When will my restless disposition give me leave to enjoy the present hour? When at Lyons, I thought all happiness lay beyond the Alps; when in Italy I found myself still in want of something, and expected to leave solicitude behind me by going into Romelia; and now you find me turning back, still expecting ease every where but where I am. It is now seven years since I saw the face of a single creature who cared a farthing whether I was dead or alive. Secluded from all the comforts of confidence, friendship, or society, I feel the solitude of a hermit, but not his ease.

The prince of \*\*\* has taken me in his train, so that I am in no danger of starving for this bout. The prince's governor is a rude ignorant pedant, and his tutor a battered rake; thus between two such characters, you may imagine

Le moyen de m'imaginer que je me trouvois dans la patrie de ces Goths fameux, dont autrefois les terribles peuplades inondèrent l'univers, et en conquirent une grande partie, toujours soutenues par de nouvelles Armées, qui se succédoient les unes aux autres, comme les ondes de la mer.

nous eûmes souvent pour postillons des enfans d'onze ou douze ans.....

Ce n'est pas tout, nous courûmes plus de vingt postes menés par des filles, qui s'en acquitoient dans la dernière perfection. .... on leur faisoit présent à chacune d'un Carolin, qui peut valoir cinq sols, ce qui les renvoyoit contentes comme des Reines : elles se montroient ce riche présent les unes aux autres d'un air d'extase, elles faisaient cinquante révérences au Prince....En général nous étions mieux servis par les jeunes gens de l'un et de l'autre sexe que par les graves vieillards, dont un bon nombre sembloit communiquer leur gravité aux chevaux. Il nous était aisé de démêler parmi ces derniers, ceux qui avoient été soldats d'avec ceux qui n'avoient jamais porté les armes, et je ne sache pas que nous nous soyons jamais trompé dans les conjectures que nous faisions à cet égard. Ces vétérans se distinguoient par un air éveillé, gaillard, et un peu relevé : d'ailleurs ils alloient rondement en besogne, et faisoient leur devoir en braves gens. Les simples manans au contraire avoient quelque chose de plus lourd, de plus sombre, et de plus stupide ; un intérêt

he is finely instructed. I made some attempts to display all the little knowledge I had acquired by reading or observation ; but I find myself regarded as an ignorant intruder. The truth is, I shall never be able to acquire a power of expressing myself with ease in any language but my own ; and, out of my own country, the highest character I can ever acquire, is that of being a philosophic vagabond.

When I consider myself in the country which was once so formidable in war, and spread terror and desolation over the whole Roman empire, I can hardly account for the present wretchedness and pusillanimity of its inhabitants ; a prey to every invader ; their cities plundered without an enemy ; their magistrates seeking redress by complaints, and not by vigour. Everything conspires to raise my compassion for their miseries, were not my thoughts too busily engaged by my own. The whole kingdom is in a strange disorder : when our equipage, which consists of the prince and thirteen attendants, had arrived at some towns, there were no conveniences to be found, and we were obliged to have girls to conduct us to the next.

I have seen a woman travel thus on horseback before us for thirty miles, and think herself highly paid, and make twenty reverences, upon receiving, with ecstasy, about twopence for her trouble.

In general we were better served by the women than the men on those occasions.

The men seemed directed by a low

grossier et direct sembloit les gouverner uniquement ; leur grand but était de ménager leurs haridelles ; quand on les prioit honnêtement de fouëtter, ils ne s'en remuoient pas plus que des souches, c'était un langage qu'ils n'entendoient pas. Pour les émouvoir, il falloit leur parler d'un ton foudroyant, et lever la canne sur eux, comme si on alloit les abîmer de coups. Quelquefois il étoit absolument nécessaire de frapper tout de bon. Quelle différence entre ces âmes serviles, et nos gens du commun en Hollande, qu'on révolte par une parole rude, et que les manières douces et honnêtes portent à servir avec ardeur ceux qui les emploient ! Quelle mortification pour un homme raisonnable et humain, d'être forcé à respecter si peu dans un autre l'excellence de sa propre nature, et à considérer son prochain comme une bête de charge faite exprès pour l'esclavage ! Mais ces pauvres gens, à force d'être maltraités perdent le respect qu'ils se doivent à eux-mêmes ; ils ont contracté l'habitude de regarder la contrainte comme la grande règle de leur devoir ; je m'imaginerois dans ces tristes occasions, suivre les opérations machinales de leur esprit. Quand on les traitoit avec douceur, ils ne sentoient pas qu'on étoit leur maître, et par cela même ils ne le croyoient pas ; ils s'égalotent à ceux qu'ils devoient servir, et peut-être cette humanité continuée et soutenue les auroit rendus insolens. Mais le ton impérieux, les menaces, les coups, changeoient en même tems leurs sensations et leurs idées ; leurs oreilles et leurs épaules faisoient rentrer leur âme dans la servitude, dont pendant quelques momens elle s'étoit cru sortie.

sordid interest alone ; they seemed mere machines and all their thoughts were employed in the care of their horses. If we gently desired them to make more speed, they took not the least notice ; kind language was what they had by no means been used to. It was proper to speak to them in the tones of anger,

and sometimes it was even necessary to use blows to excite them to their duty. How different these from the common people of England, whom a blow might induce to return the affront sevenfold !

These poor people, however, from being brought up to vile usage, lose all the respect which they should have for themselves. They have contracted a habit of regarding constraint as the great rule of their duty.

When they were treated with mildness, they no longer continued to perceive a superiority.

They fancied themselves our equals, and a continuance of our humanity might probably have rendered them insolent : but the imperious tone, menaces, and blows, at once changed their sensations and their ideas ; their ears and shoulders taught their souls to shrink back into servitude, from which they had for some moments fancied themselves disengaged.

The enthusiasm of liberty an Englishman feels is never so strong, as when presented by such prospects as these. I must own, in all my indigence, it is one of my comforts (perhaps, indeed, it is my only boast), that I am of that happy country ; though I scorn to starve there ; though I do not choose to lead a life of wretched dependence, or be an object for my former acquaintance to point at. While you enjoy all the ease and elegance of prudence and virtue, your old friend wanders over the world, without a single anchor to hold by, or a friend, except you, to confide in.

Yours, &c.

In a note Goldsmith announced his intention of continuing this correspondence occasionally. 'I shall alter nothing either in the style or substance of these letters, and the reader may depend on their being genuine.' There is a sly humour in the underlying truthfulness of this misleading remark. The sequel to the letter from Cracow did actually appear in *The Bee*. The discovery of the original of the Cracow epistle gave me a clue to Goldsmith's source of information for *Some Particulars relative to Charles XII not commonly known*, which form part of the second number. They are skilfully pieced together from the eighth and the twelfth letters of Van Effen's *Relation*. Only in two insignificant details has the translator deviated from his French original. The letter-writer has seen in the Arsenal in Stockholm 'the bloody, yet precious spoils of the two greatest heroes the North ever produced. What I mean are the clothes in which the great Gustavus Adolphus and the intrepid Charles XII died by a fate not unusual to kings.' The French text reads the exact opposite of 'not unusual': 'Je veux parler des habits dans lesquels ont péri, par un sort peu ordinaire aux Rois, le grand Gustave-Adolphe, et l'intrépide Charles XII.' The other instance occurs in the passage describing how prince Charles, in a fit of fever, boxed the ears of a gentleman who was in the act of covering him up in his bed. 'Some hours after, observing the prince more calm, he entreated to know how he had incurred his displeasure, or what he had done to have merited a blow. A blow! replied Charles, I don't remember anything of it; I remember, indeed, that I thought myself in the battle of Arbela, fighting for Darius, where I gave Alexander a blow which brought him to the ground.' According to van Effen, however, the prince excused himself by saying, 'je rêvois que j'étois à la tête de l'Armée Impériale en Hongrie, que je combattois ces rebelles, et que d'un coup de sabre j'emportoïis la tête à un de leurs chefs.' In the two pages which follow this anecdote in van Effen's narration, and which Goldsmith has left out, the Dutch author observes that the King had, at an early age, imbibed exalted ideas of chivalry from reading Quintus Curtius' *Life of Alexander*. 'En se familiarisant avec Quinte-Curce on l'avait habitué à l'admiration des sublimes extravagances d'Alexandre, on l'avait excité à le prendre pour modèle.' This may have suggested to Goldsmith his new version of the anecdote.

Dr Johnson, in his epitaph on Goldsmith's tomb, bears witness to his friend's versatility and genius:

Nullum fere scribendi genus non tetigit,  
Nullum quod tetigit non ornavit.

And Goldsmith himself declared in the fourth number of *The Bee*: 'quae non fecimus ipsi, vix ea nostra voco.' It is, therefore, no small honour for Justus van Effen that the man who added beauty to whatever he touched did not scorn to let some prose of his 'quod non ipse fecit' pass with the public for his own. But Van Effen had deserved better from the English world of letters than to be borrowed from without acknowledgement. Many an English author owed his fame on the Continent to Van Effen's French translations. In 1710 he published at the Hague an *Essai sur l'usage de la raillerie et de l'enjouement dans les conversations qui roulent sur les matières les plus importantes*, translated from the English of Shaftesbury. In 1721 appeared from his pen, *Le Conte du Tonneau, contenant tout ce que les arts et les sciences ont de plus sublime et de plus mystérieux. Avec plusieurs autres pièces très curieuses. Par le fameux Dr Swift. Traduit de l'Anglois*. He was, probably, also the translator of *Robinson Crusoe*, published in Amsterdam in 1720 and 1721. Mandeville's *Free thoughts upon Religion and publick liberty or happiness*, appeared in a French rendering by Van Effen in 1722 (*Pensées libres sur la Religion, l'Eglise et le bonheur de la nation*). And in the following year he brought out *Le Mentor Moderne, ou Discours sur les mœurs du siècle: traduits de l'Anglois du Guardian de Mrs Addison, Steele, et autres auteurs du Spectateur*. He paid a final tribute to the literature of England, which he admired so much, when, in 1731, on the twentieth of August, he issued the first essay of his masterpiece, *De Hollandsche Spectator*, in imitation of its illustrious English predecessor, which he was to continue until April 1735, the year of his death.

A. J. BARNOUW.

THE HAGUE.

## INDEFINITE COMPOSITES AND WORD-COINAGE.

RECOGNITION of 'blending' as a mode of word-formation, the telescoping of two or more words into one, as it were, or the superposition of one word upon another, is not new among etymologists, although the subject has never been given separate or very elaborate treatment. Some instances of these factitious amalgam forms, the 'portmanteau words' of Lewis Carroll's *Through the Looking Glass*, the blend or fusion forms of etymologists or lexicographers, are *dumbfound* from *dumb* and *confound*, *dang* from *damn* and *hang*, *gerrymander* from Elbridge Gerry and *salamander*, *electrocute* from *electric* and *execute*; probably *boost* from *boom* and *hoist*, *lunch* from *lump* and *hunch*, *luncheon* from *lunch* and the now obsolete *nuncheon*, *scurry* from *skirr* or *scour* and *hurry*, *squirm* from *squir* and *swarm*; also numerous mongrel slang or dialect forms, often jocular in intention, like the American *slantendicular*, *solemncholy*, *happenstance*, *grandificent*, *sweatspiration*, or the English dialectal *rasparated*, *boldacious*, *boldrumptious*. Blend forms have been noted for French, German, and other European languages, and probably have an antiquity which it would be futile to try to trace. Wiclif and other writers, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, use *austern*, a composite of *austere* and *stern*; Shakespeare uses *bubukle* from *bubo* and *carbuncle*, and *porpentine*, which may be a crossing of *porcypine* and *porpoint*; and undoubtedly many such forms have won acceptance, from time to time, in the history of the language; although, in most cases, they would be difficult to solve, after use long enough for the striking or whimsical quality which gave them vogue to become dimmed.

Nevertheless it is safe to affirm that factitious blends are being made with the greatest frequency, and have their widest diffusion, at the present time<sup>1</sup>. For one thing, the modern bent toward conscious analysis of language, the persistent interest in etymology, and the

<sup>1</sup> In a forthcoming study entitled *Blends: their Relation to English Word Formation* to be published in the 'Anglistische Forschungen' series, the author expects to illustrate fully their vogue and the frequency of their coinage at the present time, and to note their various usages and characteristics.

increased knowledge of the processes of word-formation, have led to increased self-consciousness in the handling of language. They have brought greater relish of peculiar or characteristic usages, and hence more effort—sometimes desperate and varied effort—to reach new linguistic effects. Other factors that may have helped to give special impetus to the present inclination toward fusion forms are the popularization of writing of all kinds through the spread of education and the multiplication of readers, the creation of a class of professional humorous, or semi-humorous writers, mainly journalistic, and lastly the growth of realism, which has swept into print a mass of dialect forms, whimsical, perverted, and fantastic, such as never crossed the linguistic horizon of the average reader of a hundred years ago. Especially frequent of creation at present, and accepted in standing, are blend-formations in scientific nomenclature, as *chloroform*, or *formaldehyde*, and designations created for various newly invented articles in trade, as *Nabisco* wafers, made by the National Biscuit Company, *Sealpacker-chief*, for a sealed package of pocket-handkerchiefs, *Pneu-Vac*, for a vacuum cleaner, or *Locomobile*, for a certain variety of automobile.

But there has not been recognition, at least not specific or definitely formulated recognition, of the fact that vague or indefinite blending exists as a mode of word-formation alongside the more obvious and intentional amalgamation which has challenged and monopolized attention hitherto. The suggestion may be speculative or conjectural, rather than concretely demonstrable; but the hypothesis here put forward, if valid, sheds light in a few dark corners of the etymological field. The most usual modes of creating folk-words at the present time are through imitation of natural sounds, as *fizz*, *kersplash*, *chug-chug*; through analogical extension or enlargement, as *judgmatical* or *splendiferous*; through curtailments, like *bus* from *omnibus*, *auto* from *automobile*; through the creation of new words from proper names, as *mercerize*, *mackintosh*, *pasteurize*, *boycott*, and the like. Alongside these familiar methods of language creation or modification, many words peculiarly perplexing to etymologists probably originate in a sort of indefinite or eclectic fusion of certain vaguely recollected words, groups of words, or elements in words, already existing in the language. Nor is it unlikely that echoic composites of this class may equal or outrank, in number and importance, the more intentional and recognizable fusion forms which have hitherto attracted the attention of linguists.

The process of word-coinage which, for expediency in classifying the words involved, or in characterizing their manner of origin, I have

called in this paper *indefinite blending*, or *reminiscent amalgamation*, borders not only upon blending or fusion proper—definite blends of few and easily recognizable elements being the more likely to be conscious formations and to retain unimpaired the potency in implication of their various elements—but also upon *onomatopœia*, or direct imitation of natural sounds, and upon the *unconscious symbolism of sounds*<sup>1</sup>. The latter arises partly from the nature of the sounds themselves; for example from the difference in suggestive power between open or close, high or low vowels; in the quality of certain consonant combinations; in the difference between explosives and continuants, between voiced consonants and voiceless. Poets in particular are likely to avail themselves of this principle to attain what is called ‘tone color.’ But the symbolism may also arise, or find its suggestive power, partly through *association* with familiar established words in which these sounds occur. The subtle suggestion of combinations of letters is a subject as yet little investigated.

To proceed to specific illustration, it is obvious that certain consonant groups are likely to retain the associations of prominent words in which they are found; as the initial *sq-* of *squeeze*, *quelch*, *squirt*, *squirm*, may unconsciously convey the idea of impetus or motion, rather violent motion, perhaps. The final *-sh* of *crush*, *crash*, *splash*, *wash*, *gush*, *dash*, *squash*, *mash*, *swash*, etc., also suggests motion, in this case motion which is continuous, as symbolized by the final spirant. The factitious English and American *squish*<sup>2</sup>, or *squush*, and the English *squish*, which have these sounds, may be direct blendings, the one of *squeeze* and *crush*, the other of *squeeze* and *swish*; but it seems more likely that they are indefinite or eclectic composites, which derive their suggestive power from the associations or symbolism of their prominent elements. *Squish* is defined in Wright’s *English Dialect Dictionary* as used in the sense of *squeeze*, *squirt*, *squash*, *gush*, *mash*, and these words, vaguely recollected, may well have entered into its composition. Similarly, take the case of the initial *sn-* of *sniff*, *snout*, *snuff*, *sneeze*, *snore*, etc., words associated with the nose, or the sense of smell. The fairly recent

<sup>1</sup> For a suggestive passage on the symbolism of sounds, having some bearing on the matter under discussion, see L. P. Smith, *The English Language*, pp. 102—105 (1912). ‘Echoic composites’ might be a better name than ‘indefinite composites’ for the type of blends treated in this paper, were it not for the fact that ‘echoic’ is usually employed by philologists not in its primary meaning—that which it would have here—but in the meaning of onomatopoeic, given it by Dr Murray, Mr Bradley, and others. But see especially H. Bradley, *The Making of English*, pp. 156—159 (1904).

<sup>2</sup> ‘If I went fust down th’ ladder I could click hold on him and chock him over my head, so as he should go squshin’ down the shaft, breakin’ his bones at every timberin’... Kipling, ‘On Greenhow Hill,’ in *Soldiers Three and Military Tales*.



*snuzzle*, now admitted into the dictionaries, may be a combination of this *sn-* with the ending of *nuzzle*, *muzzle*, *guzzle*; although *snuzzle* might be solved as a direct blend of *snuff*<sup>1</sup> and *nuzzle*; or merely as the latter word with adscitious initial *s*. The factitious *slosh*, also admitted to the dictionaries, gains probably from the associations or symbolism of the group *slush*, *gush*, *wash*, *splash*, etc. The occasionally appearing *squdged*<sup>1</sup>, or *squudged*, implies *squeeze*, *crush*, *crowd*, *scrouge*, and the like.

In general it is obvious that in words so formed there would arise a feeling of natural and inherent fitness for the idea expressed. Vague conflation of this sort is an easy and tempting method of word creation<sup>2</sup>, and it accounts readily enough for many forms for which the zealous have vainly sought foreign originals or cognates. There might be doubt as regards which words so arose; a fixed list of 'indefinite composites' might not be possible; but there can hardly be doubt of the existence of the method itself.

Distinctive of this variety of blends, if they may be called such, is the fact that they so often suggest or involve onomatopœia, as the words cited have shown; also the fact that they are not felt as specific composites, as are recognized fusion forms; e.g., *promptual*, *fidgited*, *insinuating*, *sneakret*, the *universanimous* of Lowell's *Biglow Papers*, or Wallace Irwin's *kissletoe-vine* and *nightinglory bird*<sup>3</sup>. There is always the sense of intrinsic fitness for the idea expressed, but not a sense of definite elements in amalgam. However, the line between blends proper and conjectural or indefinite blends is sometimes hard to draw. The now well-established though lately formed *squawk* may be a welding of *squeak* and *squall*, but *squeal*, *shriek*, *hawk*, etc., may have haunted the mind also in its creation. *Scurry*, of doubtful etymology, may be a 'portmanteau form' from *scour*, older *skirr*, and *hurry*; but, were it a recent instead of an older word, one would be tempted to think that *scud*, *scoot*, etc., might have played some part in its formation. Into *splurge*, for which no etymology has been proposed, might enter the elements of *splash*, with its variants *splatter*, *splutter*, and *large*.

<sup>1</sup> 'They've put us into boots,' said Una, 'Look at my feet—they're all pale white, and my toes are squdged together awfully.' Kipling, 'Cold Iron,' in *Rewards and Fairies*.

<sup>2</sup> A decade or more ago (see Leon Mead, *How Words Grow*, xii, 1902), the London Academy offered prizes for four new words. Among those suggested were *snumble*, to signify a child's effort to express the sensation felt in the nostrils when one drinks an effervescing mineral water, *screele*, the sensation produced by hearing a knife-edge squeal on a slate, *scrungle*, the noise made by a slate pencil squeaked on a slate, *twink*, a testy person full of kinks and cranks, and several similar formations obviously having their origin in a sort of reminiscent amalgamation.

<sup>3</sup> 'Letters of a Japanese Schoolboy,' in *Collier's Weekly*, vi, viii, xix, vols. 41, 42.

*Flaunt* has been thought to blend the elements of *fly*, *flout*, *vaunt*<sup>1</sup>, etc. The *myowl*, used by Kipling and others, may combine *meow* and *yowl*, but it involves also the suggestive power of *howl*, *wail*, *yell*, etc. Perhaps, if it is expedient to attempt to draw a definite line at all, blend words proper may be defined as, or restricted to, those having two, or at most three, elements in combination; as the mongrel *quituate* from *graduate* and *quit*, *interturb* from *interrupt* and *disturb*, or *compushity* from *compulsion*, *push*, and *necessity*, or *compushency* from *compulsion*, *push*, and *urgency*, or *boldrumpitious* from *presumptuous*, *bold*, and *rumpus*. Those that recall, or seem vaguely to have the potency of four words or more, might then be classed as indefinite blends. In factitious words of the first type, the elements are often deliberately and consciously chosen. In words of the second type this is by no means to be implied. But much emphasis should not be placed on the *number* of elements entering into blends. Of more importance surely is the distinction that coinages of the type treated in this paper are created under the influence of indefinite rather than definite suggestion. Many words which are properly to be classed as indefinite composites might depend on no more than two or three words vaguely present in the user's mind.

To some, the words under discussion are 'imitative words<sup>2</sup>' or 'imitative variants' of existent established words. In the sense that the onomatopoetic factor enters into many, as already noted, the name is often valid; but it is less good if 'imitative' is meant to imply that they are made in direct imitation of other words. The impelling motive in their creation is less conscious imitation than vague recollection, with resultant fusion, of certain elements in other words; elements which have come—largely through association or reminiscence—to have a certain symbolic power.

To attempt a fixed or exhaustive list of indefinite blends would no doubt, as already noted, prove neither very successful, nor perhaps very profitable. The short list which follows—a list which might have been indefinitely extended—is meant to be suggestive only; it supplements the illustrative words already cited. Unless entry otherwise is made, the forms listed are from Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*, and

<sup>1</sup> L. P. Smith, *op. cit.*, *supra*, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> See *slump*, originally meaning to fall or sink in a bog or swamp. The *New English Dictionary* calls this word 'probably imitative' in origin; but compare the group *slip*, *swamp*, *plump*, *thump*, *bump*, etc., from which it might well have been built. The *Century Dictionary* enters words of the character of *croodle*, *flump*, etc., as perhaps 'imitative words.'

no etymology, or theory of origin, was given for them there. The list is purposely confined mainly to contemporary dialect words. After all, it is these words which one approaches with fewest predilections, and concerning which, since they are contemporary, our *Sprachgefühl* ought to be most reliable. As has been often pointed out, the processes of living dialect speech are often much more important for the investigation of the problems of linguistics, than is investigation of the literary language.

**bash**, strike, beat, smash. 'Aa bashed me head,' 'Ye've bashed yer hat.' Barrère and Leland, *Dictionary of Slang*, following the *New English Dictionary*, suggest Scandinavian origin, and compare Swedish *basa*, strike; but note the group *beat, bang, mash, smash, crush*, etc.

**blash**, a sudden blaze or flame. 'Light sticks only make a blash,' 'His een blashed fire,' 'A fire into which paraffin had been thrown was said to blash up.' Note *blaze, flare, flash*, etc.

**bumble**, bungle, blunder, halt, stumble. 'He bummed on an' spoiled his work.' Note *bungle, fumble, jumble, stumble*, etc.

**cangle**, quarrel, wrangle, haggle, cavil. 'We may not stay now to cangle.' Called 'perhaps onomatopoeic,' in the *New English Dictionary*. Noted in *The Century Dictionary* as apparently a voiced frequentative of a verb *cank*, from *camp*, with possible Icelandic cognates. But cf. the group *cavil, quarrel, wrangle, jangle, haggle*, etc.

**chelp**, chirp, squeak, yelp, chatter. 'Children nowadays will chelp at you and sauce you,' 'The magpie chelps at ye.' Cf. *chirp, cheep, chatter, yelp*.

**chirl**, chirp, warble. 'The laverock chirlt his cantie sang.' Cf. *chirp, cheep, trill, shrill*, etc.

**chittle**, twitter, warble. 'The birds are chittlin' bonnily.' Cf. *cheep, chirp, twitter, warble*.

**criggle**, wiggle, creep, crawl, wriggle. 'I can feel 'un (the devil) just as if he was a-crigglin' and a-crawlin' in my head.' Cf. *creep, crawl, wiggle, wriggle*.

**croodle**, huddle, crouch, curl, cringe, cuddle, fondle. 'The lads croodled down,' 'Come to mother and 'er'll croodle yo.' Cf. *crouch, cuddle, huddle*, etc.

**crunkle**, rumple, crease. 'A yellow crunkled scrap.' Cf. *crinkle, crumple, crease, wrinkle, rumple*, etc.

**flawp**, go about vulgarly and ostentatiously dressed; also a name given an awkward slovenly person. 'Flaupen aboot frae mornin' ta neet,' 'A girt idle flawp.' Cf. *flaunt, flout, flip, flop, flirt, awkward*, etc.

**flaze**, flare up, blaze. 'This floor can't flaze, for it's made o' poplar.' Cf. *flare, flame, flash, blaze*, etc.

**flerk**, jerk about, flourish, flip or flop. 'Don't keep flerking that in my face.' Cf. *flourish, flip, flop, jerk*.

**flump**, fall heavily, or headlong; a fall accompanied by a noise. 'He went down such a flump,' 'A hawk flumps or flops as a bird'; 'He fell down full flump.' Cf. *fall plump, thump, bump*, etc.

**friddle**, trifle, potter, waste time. 'He was friddlin' on at his work.' Cf. *fritter, trifle, fiddle, frivol*, etc.

**glumpish**, glum, gloomy, sullen. 'Mary is glumpish to-day.' Noted in *The Century Dictionary*. Cf. *glum, gloomy, lumpish, dumps*, etc.

**scrawk**, scratch, scrawl, mark; also squeak, shriek, scream. 'Just scrawk yer pen through this.' 'Wha'dgee scrawk fur?' Cf. *scratch, mark, scrawl; scream, squall, squawk, shriek*, etc.

**screek**, shriek, scream, creak, make a grating noise. 'She skreek'd oot like a cat yawlin',' 'It skreeks so it gets my teeth on edge.' Cf. *shriek, scream, squeak, creak*, etc.

**screel**, cry, shriek, squeal, scream. 'What wi' screalin' wimmin.' Perhaps built from *scream, shriek, shrill, squeal*, etc.

**scrowge**, squeeze, press, crowd, crush. 'Such pushing and scrooging, you never seen the like,' 'What be all you childern a scrowgin' on that ther vorm vor?' Note *squeeze, screw, crowd*, etc.

**snaggle**, giggle, snicker. "'It must be a very fine game to have such a large score," I snaggle.' *Letters of a Japanese Schoolboy*, xxxvii, by Wallace Irwin. Cf. *snicker, giggle, gag, haggle*, etc.

**snuddle**, nestle, cuddle. 'Snuddled together like birds in a nest.' Built from *snuggle, cuddle, huddle*, etc.

**troddle**, toddle, go. 'The young things trodlin'.' Note *trudge, trip, trot, toddle*.

That words of this type are the special product of modern times or contemporary conditions is by no means to be assumed. They are likely to be as old in language history as are fusion forms, or hybrids, or composites in general. The words in the list cited are aggressively dialectal, it is admitted. Like all indefinite blends they tend to be telling, forceful words, not neutral; also they are predominantly rather ugly or unbeautiful formations. In words of special folk or dialect coinage there seems in general to be little striving for the attractive or agreeable. There is marked tendency toward the jocular; but still more characteristic is the focussing of interest in the *expressive*.

It is probable enough that the words in the short illustrative list cited are not especially well selected from the many that suggest themselves. No doubt some among them may be in origin direct amalgams, or contaminations; others may not really be amalgams at all; they may have had, for example, a purely onomatopoeitic origin, or they may be loan words; or they may be mere accidental or capricious perversions of forms already in existence. But some are surely obscure blendings, or reminiscent amalgams, of the type under discussion.

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## CONCERNING AN ASPECT OF CONCETTISMO.

THE problem of the origin and causes of that literary phenomenon which we call Seicentism, Gongorism, Preciosity, etc., presents two aspects which must be kept clearly distinct: the historical aspect and the philosophical aspect. The one regards the conditions which in a given period determine a peculiar florescence of the *concetto* in its various manifestations, to such an extent as to make of it the distinguishing feature of the age; the other regards the origins and the nature of that mental attitude toward life, which, in any age and in any country, produces a predilection for *concettistic* expression. Any discussion of the first must of course be based upon the second; for any specific instance of the predominance of the *concetto* in literary art will be due simply to special conditions favouring the development of the fundamental state of mind.

The deficiencies of the various designations currently applied to this phenomenon have frequently been pointed out: they all fail in using local terms for what is essentially a universal thing; Seicentismo is scarcely more characteristic of the seventeenth century in Italy than it is of the tenth century in France; no more conspicuous in Gongora or Marino than in Pliny the Younger. This fact eliminates at once the use of the methods borrowed by esthetic criticism from the school of biological evolution: we cannot explain the Seicento by studying Seicentismo in the Cinquecentisti; for it is obvious that these two occurrences, or any other two we might select, far from bearing to each other the relation of effect and cause, are but the product of underlying causes, identical in quality though varying in force for each. Temporal contiguity may indicate the trend of the causes; it does not reveal the causes themselves. These, in the last analysis, will be purely psychological; and we can arrive at an estimate of them by considering the real nature of the *concetto* as a process of thought, then by discovering the conditions which favour or inhibit such a process.

Now if we take a *concetto* of simple type, we find that it consists essentially in the use of analogy: between two objects, or two subjects, in reality distinct, an identity partial or complete is established by

comparing their points of similarity or contrast. It is obvious that this transference of thought, far from being vicious in essence, is rather a necessity of expression, revealing, as it does, the unknown in terms of the known. The rôle of this form of expression in human thought is enormous: it has made possible nearly all that is best in wit and humour and it remains in all ages one of the chief instruments of clarity and incisiveness themselves.

The virtue of this instrument consists precisely in its effectiveness for clarity and incisiveness: in other words, the *concetto* is an ideal type of expression when the analogy it utilizes is exact, and when the similarities on which it plays are real. Or, to state the situation in positivistic terms, the ideal image suggested by the *concetto* is forceful and true, when the analogy it sets up corresponds to the facts as they may be empirically established. If we take accordingly a *concetto* of the extreme type, it is seen that these conditions are not fulfilled. The analogy is drawn between objects the similarities of which are purely incidental. There is always a species of dualism in the mental state objectified: the thought is made intelligible by considerations wholly foreign to the objects suggested in the analogy; and is therefore complete without the presence of these objects; which remain present in the resulting mental state simply as distracting elements. The thought indeed is not intelligible at all until we have shaken it free from these objects and restated it in simpler and exact terms. In other words, there is involved in the analogy a logical fallacy, which consists in confusing the accident with the subject, treating the accident as the subject.

Now when the style of a given author affects preeminently the *concetto* of this first type, we call it epigrammatic; if the *concetto* of the second type prevails, we call it Seicentistic; nor is this distinction in connotation without its worth; since between the two there is an actual qualitative difference, namely that between logic and lack of logic, between sense and nonsense. This does not mean necessarily that Seicentistic art is bad; for clearly the noblest and most original concepts can be expressed in Seicentistic fashion. But in such a case, a correct esthetic judgement would recognize the duality of the expression, distinguishing the essential thought from the useless imagery in which it is involved.

It follows that if Seicentistic art has gone out of style, it is because the modern age has returned to a more intimate contact with reality, or at least with reality as we understand it. And I believe, in fact,

that if we were to follow through the ages the history of what we call Seicentismo, or better of concettismo, we should find the rise and decline of such forms of art accompanying closely the rise and decline of certain views of reality. For we must assume that in ages where the use of illogical analogy predominates, there must have been behind it the existence of some premise which stripped it of its illogical appearance; else innate common sense would have corrected its abuses. We have changed our notions of astrology and witchcraft by destroying to our own satisfaction the premises on which those aberrations rested. But if we admit the premises of our forefathers, we are obliged to follow on to their conclusions. And so, *mutatis mutandis*, for questions of esthetics and art.

Mr Santayana in his essay on Dante has admirably stated the two views of the empirical world which have prevailed in the philosophy of Western civilization down to the beginning of modern experimental science, the one regarding the universe as a body of facts to be explained by an investigation of causes, the other regarding it as a phenomenon to be exploited by discovering its purpose and its uses. In the second we are interested here; especially because it controlled through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance the Peripatetic movement, which in turn controlled the Church and through the clergy all branches of education. Let us remember also for the moment that in Catholic countries, the Council of Trent returned to a more tenacious affirmation of this philosophy, while in Protestant regions little progress was made in its overthrow for yet a hundred years or more; and that even in our own age, so far as religious dogma is influential, it tends to perpetuate a similar point of view.

It will be observed that this teleological view of the natural world in some of its tendencies is anti-scientific; in others, on the contrary, it is strongly stimulating to scientific research. If we see in the universe the working of a Divine Hand, which through the material world reveals itself to humanity, our approximation to a full vision of the divine nature will be more close in proportion as our knowledge of the material universe is more extensive and more exact. The hierarchies of every age have not been averse to studies of an encyclopedic character, whenever the gatherers of facts, the observers of phenomena have been willing to leave untouched those problems of causation to which dogma has already given an exhaustive answer. Teleology becomes unscientific only when it begins to treat the significance of the materials it has collected. Its categorical assignment of God as

the first cause, and its insistence that this answer is sufficient for all purposes of science, devitalizes at the outset all its erudition, all its empirical acquisitions; for it thus inhibits any inference as to the divine nature not provided for by dogma. The interpretation of the material world becomes a matter of dialectics, of introspection, to such an extent that the material world is subjectified and science becomes the hand-maiden of religion<sup>1</sup>.

This introduction of the subjective element into the contemplation of the empirical universe means chaos and anti-science. A material phenomenon is no longer the resultant of certain causative forces which are fixed and unalterable; but is the resultant of a divine fiat, which can be intuited only after an intellectual process. Properly it cannot be considered a resultant at all, but rather the symbol, the reflection of a state of the divine mind. There is no adequate check on our guesses as to what this state may be. The significance of a given phenomenon may be diversely interpreted with equal logic by any number of observers; and the more subtle the observer, the more wanton will be his interpretations. In a world of symbolism the imagination reigns supreme. With a little acumen, anything may be the symbol of anything else. In our attempt to grasp, to arrive at a full intuition of a given object, we identify its accidents with the mental state that happens to be present in our minds. These various accidents are brought into relation with that mental state in any possible way. The objective sensation, in fact, serves merely to initiate a train of thought, which in its widest rambles is still associated with the original sensation which started it on its way.

This quest for a vision of the divine will in the chaos of subtleties is equally attractive in a more practical way. For it is a corollary of the teleological premise, that if in creation there exists a divine purpose, this divine purpose exists in relation to man. Of a certain portion of the material world the utility to man is sufficiently apparent; and in respect to this portion, the answer to the question of God's purpose in relation to man as expressed therein, is ready. For the rest of the universe, philosophy is thrown back on the same process of subjective speculation. To see the number of moral lessons that can be deduced from a single object one has only to follow the history of various themes through the writings of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The vagaries of the Bestiaries and the Lapidaries are

<sup>1</sup> Philosophy itself has not been free from these shackles, nor has it helped science much in freeing itself from them. The dependence of idealistic philosophy on dogmatic teleology is apparent from the Cartesians down to Fichte and modern idealists.



nothing but exact parallels to the symbolical speculations we find in the more elegant dress of conceitistic academic productions of modern epochs.

In illustration of this attitude toward the empirical world, may I cite from an unedited canzoniere of the Seicento, a sonnet or two, which will be found typical certainly of the age<sup>1</sup>?

*La Cranatiglia.*

Questo che mesto piange ed è pur fiore  
E trova piede human che lo calpesta,  
Merta ch' ogni alma pia lo porti in testa,  
Anzi ch' ogni cristian l' habbia nel core;  
Sacro panegirista del signore,  
La tragedia di Cristo manifesta:  
Sembra un avanzo di mortal tempesta,  
Imago natural del suo fattore.  
Che dico imago? Egli è il mio Cristo istesso:  
Già col focil d' amor nel cor mel stampo  
Per portar Cristo in fior nel cor impresso.  
Per te, bel fior, di vivo fuoco avampo!  
Deh fa, Cristo, il mio cor degno recesso,  
Ove germoglia un Dio ch' è fior del campo.

It is not necessary to point out the symbolistic motive of this sonnet, nor is it possible to state the symbolistic intention more clearly than the author does himself. The constituent elements of the concetto, even in this playing about the similarities of the destiny of the flower with the life of Christ, are equally apparent. The essential thing is to note that the concetto depends for its existence on the symbolism, and that the poem ceases to be nonsense only when we admit the truth of the symbolistic method. As it is, the poem is not without merit, for the mood of religious melancholy is initiated and sustained by the symbolical contemplation of the plant.

What can be the possible rôle in this universe of a corn on the bottom of one's foot? The intelligent symbolist has a facile answer:

*Sopra il Calo.*

Atomo doloroso e punto inflato,  
Che misuri a trafitte i passi miei,  
Remora ossuta, o pure scoglio sei,  
Sì spesso a naufragar è il piè guidato.  
Napello delle piante avvelenato,  
Di Vulcan sconzio germe io ti direi,  
Zoppicante biastema, e in certe 'ohime!'  
Della Stigia palude umor gruppato.  
Ah di Stige non è, ch' è voce muta  
Del cielo; e il mio tormento e ogni ferita  
È simbolo fatal di mia caduta:  
Passa al core il dolor e si m' addita  
Che se mi duole allor ch' il tempo muta,  
Pur dorrei col dolor mutar la vita.

<sup>1</sup> Venice, Codex Correr, 254, p. 56 ff.

As we run down through this canzoniere we find similar sonnets on the kite (*Il volante*), the gun (*Il scioppo*), the grasshopper, the flea, the mosquito (*La zenzalla*), the fall of a Venetian campanile, a picture of the ox in the Presepio, the nails of the cross, and so on for some forty titles each more puerile than the other. Yet these are themes that are to be found in the works of recognized geniuses. One could cite an endless series from the *Adone* of Marino, from Achillini, from Stigliani, from Melosio, from Zoppio, to say nothing of the writers of the late Cinquecento. The symbolism is turned not necessarily to moralizations, but to love, to philosophy, to narration, to eulogy. The prevailing method is to objectify the mental state in terms of the material world, by finding in the material world suggestions of the mental state.

The popularity of these curious themes has been a matter of common observation, but critics have been more ready to condemn than to explain. If we put ourselves in a Peripatetic frame of mind, it is no longer a question of condemnation; for the mental insight that sees so many 'sensi perfetti,' so much 'alta dottrina' in the grandeurs of nature will *a fortiori* demonstrate its keenness the more in unravelling the subtle implications of the insignificant and the common-place phenomena that obtrude on every hand. By this expansion of the common things of life into idealistic realms of thought, the subjective universe is enriched and beautified *ad infinitum*. This may be only one element, but at least it is an important element in the formation of that sensualistic tendency so conspicuous in writers of this school.

It would be absurd to affirm that teleological philosophy is any more than one of the numerous causes of Seicentismo. But I would insist that this view of life interacts individually and collectively with those several other causes that have justly been assigned to concettismo. The search for novelty, placed by Belloni at the base of Seicentismo, the search for novelty of subject and novelty of form, is itself only a phase of the sensualistic impulse—the reaching out into the objective world to discover its recondite bearings on the spiritual life. The divorce of literature from reality that Rossi sees gradually developing during all the Renaissance is the teleological premise in action, the severance of literature from reality becoming more wide in proportion as the symbolistic process is carried to its remoter consequences. The doctrine of ornament and imitation, so well exposed by Croce, is the formalization and the acceptance of the symbolistic theory, operating on the classical heritage as an objective entity in itself and as, in a certain sense, a part of the material world. The political, economic and social

influences clear the ground from progressive tendencies antagonistic to dogma in which teleology lies entrenched. The development of empirical science, which in course of time will bear more solid fruits, in its beginnings enlarges the body of material fact without a corresponding development in theoretical treatment, which is still hampered by the restrictions of dogmatic tradition, and must turn inward upon itself. But all these forces (and their number could be much increased) contribute only to the quantitative aspects of Seicentismo.

This phenomenon, in its vicious manifestations will reproduce itself in localities and epochs widely separated, whenever we have wide erudition, an aggressive intellectual atmosphere and an external restriction on the scope of speculation, whenever, that is, the aggressive intellect is forced to interpret a body of facts according to theoretical standards not controlled by those facts. Far from representing intellectual decadence, Seicentismo represents intellectuality of great power. Its fallacy consists in cramming into a given circle of ideas consequences and refinements greater than those ideas can bear. As long as the natural field of such ideas remains incompletely explored, as long as the teleological premise suggests inferences that are logical, concettismo will be present, but within legitimate and logical limits. That is why Seicentismo is a recurrent and not a constant phenomenon, why vast intellects like that of Dante, though essentially concettistic, seem yet so vastly more alive than those of the versifiers of the seventeenth century. Conversely, the decline of Seicentismo corresponds either to a widening of the limits of thought with its essential type remaining unchanged, or to a fundamental revolution in thought as a whole.

I believe, finally, that in studying the Seicento we need to give more attention to its relations to the School and to the scientific movement, scrutinizing especially works like those cited above, where the movement reveals its true nature in clearest terms. I believe the whole movement to be rather one of logic and psychology than of rhetoric and genre evolution. The Seicento is not an aberration of taste but an aberration of thought, which was corrected not by a reform in art but by an emancipation of intelligence.

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## AN ANGLO-NORMAN APOCALYPSE FROM SHAFTESBURY ABBEY.

THE manuscript in question consists of a rhyming version of the Apocalypse with a prologue and commentary, followed by a short dissertation on the effects of the Seven Deadly Sins. The language is Anglo-Norman<sup>1</sup> and the manuscript belongs to the middle of the fourteenth century. The text of the Apocalypse and commentary agrees substantially with a well-known French prose version which appeared in the first half of the thirteenth century<sup>2</sup>. The author of the poem, as the scribe tells us at the end of it, was William Giffard, Chaplain of the 'Church of St Edward,' the old name of Shaftesbury Abbey. The French language would be chosen in preference to Latin, for the benefit of the nuns, the majority of whom would not be expert Latin scholars, and the poetic form was adopted that the work might be more easily committed to memory<sup>3</sup>.

There is no reason to suppose that the manuscript was removed from the Abbey until the Dissolution. Not much is known of its later history. It came to the present writer from the representatives of the late Mr Peter Alfred Taylor, sometime member for Leicester. Upon the fly-leaf one John Atridge has scribbled his name in a manner which suggests that he made use of the vellum to practise different forms of signature. Amongst Mr Taylor's papers is a document<sup>4</sup>, dated Dec. 29, 1718, appropriating a pew in the church of South Weald, Essex, to Mrs Rebecca Taylor. At the foot 'John Atridge' signs as Churchwarden and the signature corresponds with some of those on the fly-leaf of the Apocalypse. It seems probable that the manuscript

<sup>1</sup> I have ventured to retain the old-fashioned expression 'Anglo-Norman' on the ground that the French language of England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was founded on the Norman-French introduced by the Conqueror. The term 'Anglo-French,' though it indicates the later contribution from French dialects other than Norman, fails to recognise the main source or the connection with the Norman Conquest.

<sup>2</sup> The present writer has endeavoured to show that the prose version was produced between 1239 and 1250; see *Modern Language Review*, vol. vii, 445.

<sup>3</sup> See the latter portion of the prologue quoted below, p. 343.

<sup>4</sup> British Museum, *Add. MS.* 37682, fol. 165.

passed from John Atridge to the family of Rebecca Taylor, to which Peter Alfred Taylor belonged. How Atridge became the owner of it is not known<sup>1</sup>.

The manuscript, which was sewn together but coverless when acquired by its present owner, originally consisted of 87 leaves of vellum (being 10 quires of 8 leaves, followed by 7 leaves), measuring 8½ by 5 inches, but the first leaf is missing. Four blank leaves have been bound with the book at the commencement, on the first of which are the signatures of John Atridge and on the second the words 'au noume du pere' in a mediæval hand. The Apocalypse, containing about 4600 lines, occupied the first 85 leaves and a page. The last three pages contain some lines on the author and the dissertation on the Seven Deadly Sins. The missing leaf contained part of the prologue. The rest of the prologue, the Scriptural text and the commentary are complete and legible throughout. The pages containing the commencement of chapters iv, viii, xii, xv, xviii and xxi of the Authorised Version have marginal illuminations in gold and colours. Probably these, with the illumination which no doubt decorated the missing first leaf, were intended to correspond with the Seven Visions of the Apocalypse<sup>2</sup>. The Scriptural text is divided into 81 sections with initial capitals coloured blue and decorated with flourishes in red extending into the margin, and each section of text is followed by its commentary, similarly distinguished. Text and commentary are differentiated by the initials. The text initials are confined to the vowels A, E, and I; the commentary initials to the consonants C, L, P, and S<sup>3</sup>. The commentary alone is divided into paragraphs by the sign ¶, alternately red and blue, and is thereby further distinguished from the Scriptural text.

<sup>1</sup> He was a butcher by trade and a landowner and died in 1741. The MS. is not mentioned in his will (*Wills proved in the Archdeaconry Court of Essex*, Principal Probate Registry, Godwin, 66).

<sup>2</sup> See the latter of the two portions of Giffard's prologue quoted below, p. 343.

<sup>3</sup> At first sight it seems remarkable that 162 sections should be represented by only seven denominations of initial-letter but the explanation is simple. Of the 81 sections of text, 72 begin with the letter E (generally representing *Et*) and this corresponds with our authorised version of the Book of Revelation in which the great majority of the verses begin with the word 'And.' Of the remainder, 6 sections begin with 'Apres,' 2 with 'Joe' and 1 with 'Johan.' Certain set phrases account for most of the commentary initials. C appears 25 times (e.g. 'Coe ke Seint Johan vit...signifie' &c.); P 24 times (e.g. 'Par les vint & quatre maiurs...sunt signifie' &c.); L 30 times (Le, Li, La, or Les); S once. The single exception to the rule is found in the last paragraph of the commentary which begins with 'Iscl.' The same rule applies to MS. Charles V, the typical manuscript mentioned below, in which the sections are in some instances in shorter portions and number in all 202. The scribe of that manuscript begins the sections of his text with A, E, or I and, as a rule, the sections of his commentary with C, L, P, or S, but in 7 instances the sections of the commentary begin with a vowel. As in Giffard, the last section begins with I.

The only attempt at pictorial illustration is the figure of a dragon forming part of the design at the head of chapter viii, and small grotesque heads in black ink are inserted in initial letters here and there and in some of the catch-words connecting the quires. Perhaps the nuns of Shaftesbury helped to transcribe and illuminate the manuscript, for the abbey was under the Benedictine rule and the copying of manuscripts was one of the regular occupations of the nuns of that Order<sup>1</sup>.

The manuscript begins with a prologue in rhyming couplets, of which the last 94 lines are preserved. Following the prologue, come the Scriptural text and commentary, also in rhyming couplets. Next follow eight lines by the scribe, giving an account of the author, and the manuscript ends with the short dissertation known by the title 'Effets des sept péchés capitaux,' the text of which will be found at the end of this article.

Eight other French manuscripts of the Apocalypse in verse are known; in these the Scriptural text only is in verse, the commentary, where it exists, being in prose. The Giffard manuscript differs from them in having text and commentary in verse. Seven of these manuscripts are described by M. Paul Meyer in *Romania*, xxv, 174. The eighth is described in *The Old French versified Apocalypse of the Kerr Manuscript*<sup>2</sup>. M. Paul Meyer, in conjunction with M. Delisle, has given an account of the prose manuscripts in *L'Apocalypse en français au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, published by the Société des Anciens Textes Français in 1901<sup>3</sup>. It is clear from a comparison of the Scriptural text and commentary of the Giffard manuscript with the other rhyming versions that, if all are based on the same prose version, as appears to be the fact, Giffard's poem was composed independently of the others. Giffard follows substantially the prose version of MS. fr. 403 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, a typical form of the thirteenth century Apocalypse and commentary, which MM. Delisle and Meyer have printed at length and have entitled 'MS. Charles V<sup>4</sup>.' With this manuscript two others have been collated, viz. MS. Bibl. Nat. fr. 9574 (MS. 'B') and MS. Arsenal 5214 (MS. 'C') and the variations are given by M. Meyer.

<sup>1</sup> Montalembert, *The Monks of the West*, ed. Gasquet, v, 136.

<sup>2</sup> *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (1903), N.S., vol. II, pp. 535—577.

<sup>3</sup> See p. ccxxvi for a list of the manuscripts. A longer list is given by Dr James in his introduction to the *Trinity College Apocalypse*, edited for the Roxburghe Club in 1909, but this list contains many Latin Manuscripts and many French ones (the Trinity College MS. itself included) which do not contain our French commentary. MM. Delisle and Meyer's work will be hereafter cited as 'Delisle and Meyer.'

<sup>4</sup> This MS. omits the prologue. M. Meyer thinks the omission accidental and gives a typical form of prologue from MS. Bibl. Nat. fr. 9574 (Delisle and Meyer, cclviii—cclx).

We take for comparison with Giffard the passage in the commentary referring to the Number of the Beast (ch. xiii, 18) which will show that Giffard was more concerned to follow the original than to produce good verses :

## GIFFARD MS.

- ¶ Coe ke le nombre de sun nun, si  
cum einz dis,  
Est sis centz & seisaunte & sis  
Signefie ke ausint cum le fiz de  
Jhesu (*sic*)  
A sa venue pur nus sauver est & fu  
Verei lumere ke tuz elumine & en-  
brace  
Ceus ki en lui bien creient par sa  
grace,  
Tut ausint antecrist le fiz de per-  
diciun,  
Quant il vendra od sa grant traisun  
La pueple deu deceivre apertement,  
Serra dit lumere fausement  
Pur les granz vertuz ke il fra  
E pur les granz essaumples ke il  
durra.
- ¶ E coe les lettres del nombre signe-  
fient  
De sun nun & a tuz apertement le  
dient.  
Car ceste lettre .d. signefie cink centz  
E .c. autaunt cume un cent.  
Par .l. puet lem cinquante entendre  
E par .x. de dis le nombre rendre.  
Par .v. puent cinc bien signefier  
E un en nombre puet len par .j.  
demustrer.  
Des ore mes les lettres de cest num-  
bre joignez  
E .j. entre .c. & .d. al joindre metz.  
Si averez .dic. tut le mot en tier.  
Mes entre .l. & .x. lessez .u. ester  
Si averez .lux. pur veirs en latin  
Ore avez del nombre tute la fin  
Dunc puet lem dire ke le nombre  
de sun nun  
Ki est sis cenx & seisaunte & sis  
par raisun.  
Ki le veut par le sis lettres mercher  
e escrivere  
Avant numez pur plus brefment en  
sun livre  
Mettre en latin .dic. autant  
Cume dic lux? & coe est en rumaunt

## MS. CHARLES V

(Delisle and Meyer, p. 69)

Ceo qu'il dist que sun nombre est sis  
cenx sexante sis signefie que, ausi comme  
le fuiz Deu a sa venue por nus sauver  
fu &<sup>1</sup> est veraie lumiere qui enlumine<sup>2</sup>  
tuit ceus<sup>3</sup> qui bien croient en lui de sa  
grace, tout ausint le fuiz de perditium,  
quant il vendra pur le poeple deceivre &  
mener a perdiciun, sera dit lumiere fause-  
ment pur les vertuz qu'il fera & por  
essample qu'il donra; & ceo signefie les  
letres del nombre de sun nun, kar *d* sig-  
nefie cinc cenx, *c* un cent, *l* cinquante,  
*x* dis, *v* cinc, *i* un. Ore juingnez les  
lestres de cest nombre & mestez *I* entre  
*D* et *C*, si<sup>4</sup> averez *DIC*; mettez *V* entre  
*L* e *X*, e averez *LUX*. Dunc pout l'en  
dire la nombre de sun nun, que est  
*DCLXVI*, dit autant comme *dic lux*, ceo  
est 'di<sup>5</sup> lumiere'; kar antecrist sera  
fausement dit lumiere, si comme Jhesu  
Crist veraïement est<sup>6</sup> lumiere.

<sup>1</sup> C omits *d*.

<sup>4</sup> BC *e*.

<sup>2</sup> B *eslumine*.

<sup>5</sup> C *oy*.

<sup>3</sup> BC *iceus*.

<sup>6</sup> BC *Jhesu Crist est veraie*.

Di lumere. kar auntecrist sera fause-  
ment  
Apele lumere si cume est jhesu crist  
veraïement.

Except for a few additions made for the purpose of completing the verses or for the instruction of his readers, Giffard follows the Scriptural text of the prose version. One of his additions is found in the passage corresponding with chapter iii, verse 21 (A.V.):

Ki veintra jo le frai seer  
Ove mei en mun throne et veer  
Si cume jo ai vengu et sez od mun pere  
En sun throne *veaunt ma mere.*

Again to the statement (ch. xiii, 16) that the Beast caused all men to receive a mark in their right hand or in their forehead, Giffard adds, as if it formed part of the Scriptural text, 'u le croiz deust estre.'

Giffard's prologue differs considerably from the prose version but is to some extent founded upon it. The lines, 65 in number, which intervene between the two portions quoted from Giffard below, correspond roughly with MS. Bibl. Nat. fr. 9574, but Giffard omits the last 2 lines of p. cclix and the first 18 lines of p. cclx, as printed by MM. Delisle and Meyer. Agreeing in this respect with the prose manuscripts, Giffard begins the Scriptural text of chapter i at verse 9: 'Johan vostre frere,' etc.<sup>1</sup> The portions of Giffard's prologue not contained in the prose version are as follows:

PROLOGUE (GIFFARD MS.)

(The earlier portion is wanting)

Einz fu en sepulcre od le cors  
E deske a enfern od lalme pur traire hors  
Descendi a adam & a ses amis<sup>2</sup>  
Ke deables aveit en sa prisun mis.  
❧ Au tierz jor de mort releva  
E as suens apertement se demustra  
En cors & en alme od sa deite  
Pus est veaunt tuz deske en ciel munte  
Uil siet a la destre sun pere  
E est nostre avocat & nostre frere.  
❧ De il uek vendra al jugement  
Pur rendre a chescun certainement  
Sulum co ke il avera deservi  
Bien u mal tant cum il vesqui  
Assuens durra joie & vie pardurable  
E as autres peines de enfern od deable.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. vii, p. 448.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, chaps. xiii—xxii.



E des chapitres ki veut la cunte rendre  
 Vint e deus ia par acunter  
 Plus ne meins visent huen user  
 Mercherz serunt od les visiouns<sup>1</sup>  
 Sus en margene par devisiouns.  
 Des ci orrez la signifiance od lestoire  
 Bien eit ke les mettra ben en memoire.  
 ¶ Seint johan lapostle comence a dire  
 Co ke il veeit & coment li sire  
 Par sa voiz le a monesta  
 De escrivre co ke illi demustra  
 E il nus a de par deu est livre escrit  
 De sa mein destre & de sei meimes dit  
 Johan vostre frere  
 E en tribulaciun parcenere . . . .

The prologue is found in the following manuscripts but none of them contains the passages just quoted:

British Museum.—Old Roy. 15 D II (fol. 104); 19 A II; 19 B xv; Harl. 4972; Add. 17399; Add. 38118 (Huth bequest).

Lambeth Palace.—MS. 75.

MS. of Mr Yates Thompson.

Bodleian.—Selden supra 38; Douce 180 (ends with ch. xvii v. 18); Linc. Coll. c. 16; New Coll. D 65; Univ. Coll. E 100.

Cambridge.—Univ. Lib. Gg. I i fol. 407; Corpus Christi Coll. 394.

Huth MS. (Lot 232 in Sotheby's catalogue of the Huth sale, 15 Nov. 1911<sup>2</sup>).

To these must be added two of the three manuscripts edited by MM. Delisle and Meyer, viz. Bibl. Nat. fr. 9574 and Paris Arsenal 5214. The third, MS. Charles V, has no prologue (see p. 340, note 4 above).

The earlier of the two portions of Giffard's prologue quoted seems to be part of a paraphrase of the Creed. From the reference to twenty-two chapters in the second portion one would expect to find corresponding divisions in the text. There is however no mark to distinguish the beginning of a chapter beyond the capital letter which denotes the beginning of a section or of the commentary on a section, each portion of text which corresponds to a chapter of the Authorised Version containing several sections<sup>3</sup>.

An examination of Giffard's Scriptural text and commentary proves that he followed closely the French prose version. In several places he uses the expression 'cume le Latin dit', which suggests that he had a

<sup>1</sup> 'E après tuit cest fet sa narraciun, dunt il fet sun livre, ke est partie en set visiouns' (MS. Charles V, Delisle and Meyer, cclx).

<sup>2</sup> This manuscript was sold at the auction for £3550.

<sup>3</sup> The initial letter of chapter i is larger than the ordinary section initial and the beginnings of chapters iv, viii, xii, xv, xviii and xxi are marked by an illuminated page.

<sup>4</sup> See also the line 'Le rumaunz a fet apres le latin,' quoted at p. 347 below.

Latin commentary as well as the French Version before him. It has been shown that many passages of the French prose version correspond with the Latin commentary of Bishop Haymo<sup>1</sup>, and it seems clear that Giffard made use of the same or a similar Latin commentary. Proof of this is found in the fact that Giffard contains passages which are omitted in the majority of, perhaps all, the other French manuscripts, while a considerable quantity of the omitted matter is found in Haymo's commentary<sup>2</sup>. Giffard's additional passages are quoted here, together with the corresponding passages of Haymo where correspondence exists:

## GIFFARD'S ADDITIONAL PASSAGES.

(1) *Commentary on ch. iv, verse 6.*

Par la mer ke sembla veire  
E fu devant le sege a neire  
Est baptesme signefiez  
Le leve les genz de lur pechez  
Par la vertu de la mort jhesu crist  
Ki de sa grace tel poer imist.

(2) *Commentary on ch. viii, verse 10.*

Par lesteille ke chei del ciel  
Est signefie le deable ennuvius & cruel.

(3) *Commentary on ch. ix, verses 20, 21.*

Par ces ki ne sunt occis de ces plaies  
des einz  
E ne unt fet penaunce des oeuvres de  
lur meins  
Ke il aurassent deable & ydles de or  
& de argent  
Signefier puet trestut apertement  
Ke li mescreaunt & ceus de male vie  
Ke ci servent deable & ne se repentent  
mie  
Ne deu ne volent remistre ne honurer  
As peines de enfern vunt od deable  
saunz returner.

(4) *Commentary on ch. xiv, verse 12.*

Coe ke il dit ke ci est la pacience des  
seintz  
Ki gardent la fei & de deu les comaun-  
dementz  
Signefie ke par veraie fei & oevere de  
penaunce  
Est precheur rescus de peine infernal &  
receit vie saunz dutance.

## HAYMO

(1) Per mare autem debemus intel-  
ligere baptismum.

(2) Ipse autem designatur per stel-  
lam...antiquus videlicet hostis.

<sup>1</sup> See above, vol. vii, 448. Haymo's Commentary is in Migne, *Pat. Lat.* cxvii, 937.

<sup>2</sup> The French manuscripts examined are those mentioned on p. 343, together with Brit. Mus. Add. 18633 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi, 20, in both of which the Scriptural text is in rhyme and the commentary in prose. These make a total of 21 manuscripts. The following, contained in MM. Delisle and Meyer's list (p. cxxvi), have not been examined: Bruxelles Bibl. Roy. 2<sup>e</sup> série 282, Paris Arsenal 5091, Bibl. Nat. fr. 375, Ditto 9575, Ditto N. acq. fr. 6883, Sémur Bibl. Municipale 41 (42). The Eton College MS. 177 in this list, having no commentary, is not available for comparison.

(5) *Commentary on ch. xviii,  
verses 12—14.*

Ke les merz signefient des biens celestiens

Ke par or est entendu sapience

E par argent devine eloquence.

Par perre precieuse est entendu jhesu crist

E par les gemes ses apostles ke il choist.  
Le cheinsil signefie des seintz les justefiement

E le purpre vrai pur deu martirementz.

Par la seie est entendu virginite

E la ruge colur riche signefie charite.

Le fust de tyin constauce en bien est entenduz

E par les vesseus de yvoire beaute de vertuz.

Par le areun est entendu longamine en latin

E par fer est entendu anguesce de sutil engin.

Le marbre signefie veraie humilite

U force de ferine de obediencia a signefie.

Par canele & riches espees [espices] odor de bones vertuz

E par encens ureisuns des seintz sunt entenduz.

Les oignementz signefient de la deite le incarnaciun

E le vin de enyverer le evaungille ke nus lisum.

La uile signefie les graces del seint esperit

E la flur deugee la char jhesu crist

Dunt ses feeus se refunt en seinte iglise

Par le sacrement del autel deske al grant juisse.

Par le cler furment est entenduz

Vrai fei dunt nus sumes sustenuz.

Les juments les eslitz dampne deu signefient

E les berbiz ses disciples resignefient.

Les chevaux signefient les precheurs deu en seinte iglise

E les serjauntz ceus qui sunt suzgetz a sun servise.

Par les pumes de desir sunt entenduz

Les delitus fruz de tutes vertuz.

Par les choses grasses & cleres ke perissent

Sunt entenduz espiriteus leesces ke aveentissent

A tuz ceus ke trop eiment ces munde a tort

E pur coe se tendrunt forment quant il vendrunt a la mort

Kar dunc a parcerunt veraiment

Ke les duns de grace userent fausement.

(5) In auro itaque radians sapientia significatur, de qua scriptum est: *Accipite sapientiam sicut aurum*. Argenti autem nomine sacra figurantur eloquia. De quibus Psalmista dicit: *Eloquia Domini eloquia casta, argentum igne examinatum* (Ps. xi). Lapidis vero vocabulum cum singulari numero ponitur, ipse Salvator omnium per eum designatur, de quo scriptum est: *Ecce pono in Sion lapidem summum angularem electum pretiosum, et qui crediderit in eum non confundetur* (1 Pet. ii). Cum autem plurali numero inseritur, membra ejusdem Redemptoris per eum figurantur, quibus Apostolus Petrus dicit: *Et vos tanquam lapides vivi superedificamini domos spirituales* (1 Pet. ii). Margarite etiam nomine, in singulari numero Dominus Jesus Christus; in plurali vero apostoli ejusdem figurantur. De quibus in hac eadem apocalypsi dicitur: *Et duodecim margarite sunt per singulas* (Apoc. xviii). In bysso vero justificationes sanctorum intelliguntur. In purpura martyrium. In serico virginitas. In cocco vera charitas. In ligno thyino, ac pretioso, constantia durabilis. In ebore virtutum pulchritudo. In aere fortitudo et longanimitas, vel certe predicationis sonoritas. In ferro subtilitatis acumen. In marmore invicta humilitas.... Per cinnamomum quippe et amomum, odor designatur virtutum.... In diversorum vero odoramentis pigmentorum et thure, orationes exprimuntur sanctorum.... Unguenti quoque nomine ipsa divinitas incarnatur intelligitur.... Per vinum quippe novum designatur testamentum, quod auditorum mentes debrians, mundi concupiscentiis insensibiles reddit, unde Dominus in nuptiis aquam vinum fecisse narratur. Quid autem per oleum nisi unctio Spiritus sancti figuratur?... Per similem vero et triticum caro Redemptoris nostri exprimitur, qua fideles quotidie sanantur.... Jumenta quippe electos significant, qui cum Psalmista dicunt: *Ut jumentum factus sum apud te* (Ps. lxxii). Oves quoque sanctos exprimunt quibus Dominus ait: *Ecce ego mitto vos sicut oves in medio luporum* (Matt. x). Et Petro dicitur: *Pasce oves meas* (Joan. xxi). Sed et equorum vocabulo predicatorum intelligi nulli dubium est, dicente propheta: *Misisti in mare equos tuos*.... Mancipiorumque vocabulo ipsi exprimuntur electi, qui toto mentis desiderio Dei se subjiciunt servituti, in cujus potestate

(6) *Commentary on ch. xxii, verse 15.*

Mortel e pere & mere ne averunt honurez

En cest vie si cume deu lad en sa lei comaunde

Dunt ceus de egypte pur coe ke ne empirent cest comaundement

Furent flaelez cume chiens de deu omnipotent

Par une manere de musches ki sunt chenine

E cynomies<sup>1</sup> sunt apelez en exode en lei divine.

Kar chiens ressemblent tuz ceus ki mordent de lur denz

Les uns & les autres par detractiun ausi cum de autres gentz.

Par malice mes dient de pere & de mere

E ne desportent hautz nevas ne suer ne frere.

consistere se noverunt....Poma vero in sacro eloquio virtutes sanctorum significant....*Et omnia pingua*: id est crassa; *et præclara perierunt a te et amplius illa jam non invenient*. Ista ad gustum vel gastrimargiam redigenda videntur. Hæc itaque omnia, quæ secundum quinque corporis sensus reprobi tractant, per eunte mundo deplorant, quia nesciunt aliud cogitare, nisi quæ exterius considerant. Et dum vident alios transire per mortem et afflictionem ab hac vita, ipsi eorum superstites interitum illorum qui mundi gaudium reliquerunt, deplorant, timentes ne sibi similia eveniant.

MS. Charles V shows on the face of it<sup>2</sup> that even if the copyist had the above passages numbered (1), (3), (5), and (6) before him he could not insert them for want of space, and this might point to their having existed in an earlier manuscript. On the other hand there is the fact that the great majority of the French manuscripts, perhaps all, omit these passages, and it seems unlikely that Giffard had access to a version denied to all the other scribes. It seems probable, therefore, that Giffard himself constructed the additional passages with the aid of a Latin text. This view is confirmed by a reference to some of the 14th and 15th century English translations of the French commentary, none of the additional passages being found in the following English manuscripts which have been examined:

British Museum.—Roy. 17 A xxvi; Harl. 171; Harl. 874; Add. 5901.

Bodleian.—Laud 33; Laud 235.

Cambridge.—Magd. Coll. F. 4. 5; Pepys 2498.

A comparison of Giffard's text with the three published by MM. Delisle and Meyer shows that Giffard had access to at least two of the three, viz. MS. Charles V and MS. Bibl. Nat. fr. 9574 or to corresponding manuscripts. Giffard's division into sections differs from that of MS. Charles V and agrees with MS. 9574. The passage 'Qui a oreilles de oir oie ces que l'Esperit dit as eglises,' which occurs four times in MS.

<sup>1</sup> κυνόμυια, dog-fly; Exod. viii, 22, Septuagint.

<sup>2</sup> This manuscript has been reproduced in phototype by the Société des Anciens Textes Français.

Charles V (ch. ii, 11. 17; iii, 6. 13), is omitted in every instance by MS. 9574 and Giffard, and other passages or phrases found in MS. Charles V, but wanting in MS. 9574 and Giffard, might be cited. On the other hand there are many phrases in Giffard which are found in MS. Charles V and not in 9574.

As MS. Charles V is the oldest of its class extant, so also it would seem to have been the source of the other known manuscripts. This is suggested by the fact that we find in MS. Charles V the portion of Scripture (ch. xviii, 12—14) on which the above additional passage no. (5) is a commentary, whereas in all the other prose manuscripts referred to above, both Scriptural text and commentary are wanting<sup>1</sup>. It looks as if the scribes who followed MS. Charles V, when they found no commentary on those verses, omitted the verses themselves. Giffard, following MS. Charles V, inserted the verses and supplied the commentary from Haymo or some other similar Latin commentary.

The following lines are at the end of Giffard's Apocalypse:

Cest livre treita willame giffard  
 Chapelein del iglise seint edward  
 Pur deu loer & tute seinte iglise  
 A solaz de tuz ceus ke eiment sun servise.  
 Le rumaunz a fet apres le latin  
 Des le comencement deske a la fin.  
 La signefiaunce imist a pres lestoire.  
 Deus eit lalme de lui & nus la memoire.  
 A                    m                    e                    n.

It would seem that the scribe was a member of the community to which Giffard had formerly belonged and that the latter was dead before the transcript was made.

In a previous article<sup>2</sup> it has been pointed out that several passages in the commentary of the French prose version seem to have a bearing on contemporary events. Giffard adopts these passages with some variation. A comparison of the following extracts will show how far he differs from the prose version:

MS. CHARLES V.

*Commentary on ch. ix, verses 1, 2.*  
 subtil heresie.

GIFFARD MS.

sutil mescreaunce.

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 5901 (English) contains verses 12—14 of ch. xviii without the commentary on them, but the Scriptural text of this manuscript is entirely separate from the commentary and according to a note on the fly-leaf was transcribed from Harl. MS. 5017, an old English version of part of the Bible, without commentary, and unconnected with the French Apocalypse. MS. 5901 is a late transcript (about 1700) and includes a translation of the French commentary separate from the Scriptural text.

<sup>2</sup> See above, vol. vii, 448, 451.

*Commentary on ch. xiii, verses 14, 15.*

Ceo que cil sunt ocis qui ne voelent  
aorer le ymage signefie que erramment  
sunt escomigiez et tenuz maintenant por  
rebelles cil qui ne voelent consentir au  
mauves prelaz<sup>1</sup>.

Coe ke ele fist ke tuz ceus seient oscis  
Ke ne volent aourer le ymage ne oir  
ses ditz

Signefie ke tut erraunt sunt escumenger  
Tut erraunt de lur chateus robbez  
Cil ki ne se volent tantost cunsentir  
As mauveis prelatz ne fere lur pleisir.

*Commentary on ch. xiv, verses 9—11.*

li faus prelat & li faus clerc.

li faus prelat & les ypocrites.

*Commentary on ch. xvi, verse 13.*

la fause doctrine de ces preescheors et  
des herites.

la fause doctrine de ces precheurs.

*Commentary on ch. xvi, verse 14.*

Tut ausi avient il ore en S. Glise que  
li diables, par faus prelaz et faus clers,  
fet miracles et marveilles<sup>2</sup>.

Tut ausint avient ore suvent en seinte  
iglise

Ke li deables, par faus prelates, tut a  
devise,

Fet miracles & grantz merveilles appa-  
reir.

Giffard's omission of the reference to heretics in the passages quoted suggests that he had less in mind the south of France where heresy had been rampant<sup>3</sup> than England where it hardly gained a foothold in the thirteenth century. His omission of false clerks makes the reference to false prelates more pointed and it looks as if in the commentary upon chap. xiii, verses 14 and 15, he was aiming at that oppression of the English Church by papal legates and nuncios and foreign bishops in the middle of the thirteenth century which helped to bring about the revolt of the barons. It may be that the author of the prose version had the same object in view, though, taken as a whole, that version seems to be the work of some one who is more concerned with the affairs of the continent than with those of England<sup>4</sup>.

The name of William Giffard, the chaplain, is not to be found in the Shaftesbury Register (Harl. MS., 61) but the family to which he probably belonged was one of note. Hugh Giffard, who married Sibyl, daughter and coheirress of Walter de Cormeilles in the first year of Henry III, was Constable of the Tower of London in 1234 and subsequently had the custody of the king's children. Hugh Giffard died in 1246 in his

<sup>1</sup> Bibl. Nat. fr. 9574 has: 'signefie que errant sunt escomigiez errant sunt robez cil que ne voelent consentir as faus prelaz e mauveis.'

<sup>2</sup> As an example of such a miracle the commentator goes on to relate how an infant, who cannot guard an apple, is made the guardian of thousands of souls, alluding to the practice of appointing children to benefices and even to bishoprics (see above, vol. vii, 452, note (1)).

<sup>3</sup> See above, vol. vii, 460.

<sup>4</sup> See above, vol. vii, 460—468; M. Meyer thinks that the author of the original work was French—perhaps Norman (Delisle and Meyer, *cevi*, ccx).

wife's lifetime and left the following children, amongst others: Walter, Archbishop of York and sometime Chancellor of England, who died in 1279; Godfrey, who succeeded his brother as Chancellor and afterwards held the bishopric of Worcester for thirty-three years, dying in 1302; William, Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1272, who died between 1300 and 1302; Mabel, Abbess of Shaftesbury from 1291 to the time of her death in 1302. These Giffards were kinsmen of Baron Giffard of Bromsfield, a valiant soldier and son of Elias Giffard, one of the barons who resisted King John. Members of both branches of the family owned lands in the neighbourhood of Shaftesbury and the names of several of them appear in the Shaftesbury Register<sup>1</sup>.

There is an entry in the records which may possibly refer to William Giffard the chaplain of Shaftesbury. In April 1242 letters patent issued for conferring upon 'William Giffard, son of Hugh Giffard' some church in the King's gift of the value of from 20, 30, 40, or 50 marks a year<sup>2</sup>. This William, an ecclesiastic, cannot have been the William, son of Hugh and Sibyl mentioned before, because the latter William was certainly a layman when advanced in years, his wife and son being named as legatees in Bishop Godfrey Giffard's will, and his son being referred to as the bishop's heir. It is not impossible, however, that Hugh should have had two sons named William, especially if the elder of them had been devoted to the Church. Hugh was a member of the king's household and he and his wife were special objects of the royal bounty at this time. In June 1239 the king's first child was born. In March 1241 the king granted to Sibyl, the wife of Hugh Giffard, an annuity of £10 for life in consideration of her good service to the Queen at the time of her first child-bearing<sup>3</sup>. In April 1242 a writ of protection was granted to Hugh Giffard so long as he should have the custody of Edward, the king's son<sup>4</sup>. In the same year Hugh Giffard received a royal grant of 30 marks to marry his daughter<sup>5</sup>. There is no record of any other Hugh Giffard at the time in special favour with the king, who, as successor to Alfred, the founder, exercised certain prerogatives over the Abbey of Shaftesbury. The king's consent was necessary to the appointment of the abbess and the convent was bound to furnish a pension for one of his clerks upon the occasion<sup>6</sup>. The king's influence

<sup>1</sup> See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; Foss, *Judges of England* and *Biographia Juridica*; *Shaftesbury Register* (Harl. MS. 61); Dugdale, *Monasticon*; *Registers of Bishop Godfrey Giffard and Bishop Ginsborough* (Worcestershire Historical Society); *Calendars of the Public Records*.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1242, 283.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 1241, 247.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 1242, 280.

<sup>5</sup> Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, 30.

<sup>6</sup> *Close Rolls*, 13 Edward III, Pt. 2, m. 14 d; and see *Victoria Hist. of Dorsetshire*, II, 76.

would have weight on the appointment of a chaplain to the abbess and a chaplaincy might be conferred on the royal nominee if a benefice were not available. The chaplains of Shaftesbury occupied an important position in the establishment, for the charters of the abbess were granted 'consensu communi nostri et capellanorum nostrorum' (Harl. MS. 61). These facts point with some probability to a family connection between William Giffard the chaplain and Hugh Giffard the tutor of Edward I.

With regard to the chaplain's version of the Apocalypse, the date proposed for its composition is after the middle of the thirteenth century and not many years after the production of the French prose version. The manuscript in which it comes down to us, judging by the inscription to the author, must have been written after his death, and the date fixes itself by the handwriting in the middle of the fourteenth century.

In his commentary on ch. xvii, 9, Giffard, following the prose version, tells us that the seven mountains on which the scarlet woman sits signify 'les set mortel pechez.' Below, is the text of the dissertation on this subject with which the manuscript ends<sup>1</sup>:

Orgueil fet home	{	Avanter sei des biens quil nat mie en sey
		Feindre sei autre quil ne seit
		Cuntrover noveleries
		Estriver saunz bosoign
		Inobedient a deu & sun proesme
		Fet home porvers & contrarius
		Tencer saunz acheisun.
Envie	{	Fet home fere detractiun de sun proesme
		Aver joie dautri mal
		Hair les biens dautri
		Grocer pour autre avaancement
		Estre homicide
		Estre de amer corage
		Depraver autri biens.
Ire	{	Fet home enfler
		Forsaner
		Crier
		Eschamer sun proesme
		Manascer
		Reprucher
		AvoeGLE lentendement quil ne pousse entendre verite.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. Meyer's article on the Manuscripts of Trinity College, Cambridge (*Romania*, xxxii, 40), in which this dissertation, known as 'Effets des sept pechez capitaux' is discussed. The manuscripts known to the present writer are Trinity Coll. Camb. B. 14; 39, 40, fo. 81 and Emmanuel College I, 4, 4; 83.



- Accidie { Fet home enure [enuie?] de chescun bien & de sa vie  
 { Pensaunt & pecus [precus?] & sompnolent  
 { Neggligent en co ke il deit fere  
 { Pourus plus quil nait mester  
 { Plentius de pesaunte chiere  
 { Meinte feiz en des espeir  
 { Estre sanz solaz del seint espirit.
- Avarice { Fet home purpenser noveleries coment il pusse decevir sun proesme  
 { Desirer la mort sun proesme  
 { Mentir & parivrer & tesmoiner faus  
 { Embler e ravir atort  
 { Losenger les mauveis  
 { Cunsentir a tuz pechez  
 { Duner faus jugement.
- Lecherie { Fet home ord en cors & en alme  
 { Puir devant deu & ses aungles  
 { Fol de sage devenir  
 { Parler de ordure & de vilanie  
 { Penser de mal  
 { Blaundir & losenger  
 { Enchace le seint espirit e dissolt & desafeit.
- Glotonie { Fet home ublier deu  
 { Destrut naturels biens  
 { Abrege la vie del home  
 { Tout sen & memoire  
 { A menuse la force & la biaute del cors  
 { Engendre yveresce ke rien ne fet celer  
 { Fet home jangler & pro...<sup>1</sup> abhominaciun.

J. C. Fox.

STREATLEY-ON-THAMES.

<sup>1</sup> The Emmanuel College MS. has *pronuncier*.

## FOUR CHANSONS DE GESTE: A STUDY IN OLD FRENCH EPIC VERSIFICATION.

THE use of the strophe is the most obvious and most important metrical characteristic of the Old French epic; the formal trait that most sharply differentiates it from the classic and English epic, the determining cause of many of its idiosyncrasies. A strophe system offers some advantages to the epic poet—it lends itself admirably to the representation of isolated scenes, to the working up of an emotional crisis—but its use for narrative purposes is fraught with great difficulty. Long drawn out strophes tend to lose all individuality and become wearisomely monotonous; short ones are equally apt to produce a jerky effect and give a disconcerting sense of stopping and starting, strangely out of place in narrative on a large scale. To all epic poets using this metrical form the combination of smoothness and continuity of story with sufficient variety is a problem difficult enough to tax their technical skill to the utmost. The authors of the *Chansons de Geste*, doubtless, disposed of one of the most favourable types of strophe systems but even the freedom and elasticity of the irregular, mono-*assonancing* ‘*laisse*’ could not save them from this inherent difficulty. They overcame it or evaded it in widely different ways.

Many made their task singularly light. Intent only on telling their story, the later writers secured continuity at the cost of the epic form, putting in place of the strophe long irregular stretches of lines cut short arbitrarily, when their vocabulary failed to supply new words for *assonance* or rhyme. Others however, the earlier poets, could not be content with so easy a solution of the problem. To them the epic was not merely a chronicle of deed, it was still a form of poetry to be sung; the strophe a thing of account in itself, possessing a certain completeness, ‘a beginning, a middle and an end.’ Continuity of narrative had to be secured without the sacrifice of the singable quality of the verse; the strophe must take its place as a link in the

story, but it must also be so handled as to retain something of its individuality, its lyric possibilities.

No light task was set the poets here and only one poet achieved it completely—the author of the *Chanson de Roland*. In many passages of other *Chansons de Geste* partial success is obtained but it is Turol<sup>1</sup> alone that overcomes all the difficulties of the system of versification of his time; it is the *Chanson de Roland* alone that reveals the metrical possibilities of the 'laisse.'

Close study of Turol's technique of versification must therefore serve to throw considerable light on the aims and methods of the Old French poets; a comparison between the way he has handled his versification and the methods employed by the makers of the earlier *Chanson de Willelme* and of the later *Aliscans* and the *Lorrains* may make clear some of the stages in the history of the Old French epic.

#### A. THE 'CHANSON DE ROLAND.'

The technical problem set Turol is the adaptation of the strophe to continuous narrative—in other words the adaptation of a form of verse that is lyric in function to epic purposes—and that without the sacrifice of its individuality. In his solution Turol appears to me to rely mainly on two devices:—skilful variation in the construction of the strophe and calculated use of repetition. By his method of construction of the strophe he adapts it to narrative purposes, by the use of repetitions he keeps something of its lyrical quality. The two methods are not sharply separated however. The structure of the strophe often serves to bring out the underlying emotion while the repetitions not infrequently link together parts of the narrative.

##### I. *Structure of the Strophe.*

According to the poet's ordinary practice strophe and incident coincide, one strophe containing one incident or definite portion of an incident, one incident fitting into one strophe. Change of assonance thus regularly marks an advance in the story. Deviations from this practice are comparatively rare and always calculated.

Composite strophes, i.e. strophes containing two or more themes, fall into two well marked groups. Sometimes for the purposes of quick narrative the poet summarises several comparatively unimportant occurrences.

<sup>1</sup> I assume here, without discussion, that Turol is the author of the *Roland*.

Thus strophe XI<sup>1</sup> contains the summarised description of the entertainment of the pagan messengers and the emperor's procedure before the convening of his court; in LV the poet brings before us in quick succession the departure of Charlemagne, the raising of Roland's standard and the march of the pagans; CLXXXIX narrates the summons to Baligant and all his preparations, and the most marked instance of all, CCLXXIII, combines in one strophe the brief description of the garrisoning of Saragossa, and all the stages of the return journey, including the disposal of the coffins and of the oliphant.

A variety of this type is seen in the few strophes in which an incident, complete in itself, is preceded or followed by several lines of a description or summarised statement of insufficient weight to form a strophe to themselves, e.g. LXVIII, a 'composite' strophe introduced by a description of foregoing events.

CCXLIV, containing a description of Baligant's army preceded by the account of his own action.

CIX and CX (separated in Digby MS.), in which the description of the battle is followed by a succinct summary of events to come.

CXXVII, a 'composite' strophe containing the conversation of Roland and Oliver about Turpin and the account of their deeds of prowess, followed by a summarised account of the numbers of the slain and the course of the five onslaughts.

CLV, Turpin's prowess and the summarised attestation of it in the 'geste.'

The second group of composite strophes consists of those containing two incidents of about equal importance linked together by assonance to indicate closeness of connection. Occasionally the relation between them is indicated by the use of an introductory formula (e.g. 'A icez moz'), at other times it is left to be gathered from the general tenor of the passage.

To this second set belong: LXXVIII containing Chernuble's boast and the immediate assembling and arming of the pagans (cf. l. 990 'A icez moz li XII per s'alien'), LXXIX the description of the pagan pomp and clamour and consequent discovery by the French ('Granz est la noix si l'oient Franceis'), CXXVII Roland and Oliver's conversation about Turpin's prowess and return to his assistance ('A icest mot l'unt francs recumencet'), CCXXVIII, CCXXIX (separated in Digby MS.) Charlemagne's prayer and immediate preparations for the battle, CCXCV the judgment of the hostages and their immediate execution.

Of this same type also is strophe XX containing the designation of

<sup>1</sup> The edition used is Groeber's reproduction of the Oxford MS. in the *Bibliotheca Romanica*.

Ganelon by Roland and the consequent emotion and bitter speech of the former. It is a strophe that has been the subject of much discussion. It is intact only in the Digby MS.; all other MSS., both V<sup>4</sup> and the *Roman de Roncevaux*, break it up and separate its parts. Its structure too is unusual, for the chorus-like speech of the French ('Dient Franceis: Car il le poet ben faire') in line 278 is unique in an internal position<sup>1</sup>. But M. Bédier<sup>2</sup> has recently vindicated the order found in the Digby MSS. and indeed in a scene like this in which the poet is concerned to show us the suddenness of Ganelon's emotion—emotion breaking through all the habitual restraints of the decorum observed by the emperor's barons—the unusual linking of motives is entirely in accordance with the practice we have just observed. A similar failure to observe the poet's purpose has led the remanieurs on to an equally mischievous separation of the parts of strophe CXXVII<sup>3</sup>.

Much less frequent than the combination of two or more themes in a strophe is the overflow of a theme into a second strophe. The Digby MS. offers three examples only—all speeches. Of these, two are by Ganelon (XXII, XXIII, and XLIV, XLV), one by Baligant (CCXXXIII, CCXXXIV). The poet's purpose is perhaps less clearly intelligible but a desire to emphasise the importance of the occasion may have led to his adoption of an unusual procedure. All three speeches mark crises in the action. In the first Ganelon expresses his hatred of Roland and acceptance of the emperor's commission, in the second he incites Marsilius against Roland. Baligant's speech has less significance for the action but it emphasises the importance of the death of Roland.

## II. *The Strophe Beginnings.*

The strophe beginnings are as a rule quite simple and straightforward. The new incident is entered upon without pomp or ceremony:

- v, l. 62. Li reis Marsilie out sun cunseill finet.
- vii, l. 89. Dis blanches mules fist amener Marsilies.
- ix, l. 122. Blancandrins ad tut premereins parled.
- xii, l. 168. Li emperere sen vait desuz un pin.

Very frequently (in some 60 strophes) the strophe begins with a speech—a practice that obviously minimises the break made by the change of assonance. Another device, used however more sparingly

<sup>1</sup> Cf. below. The only other example of a speech of this type in similar position is that of line 3299, in a strophe which ends with a corresponding pagan speech.

<sup>2</sup> In his *Légendes Épiques*, III, pp. 462–469.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bédier, *op. cit.*, pp. 473, 4. On the other hand the Digby MS. joins on wrongly ll. 1620–7 to strophe CXXV. These lines are clearly out of place in this position as the Saracens described in them as put to flight, appear still fighting in the next *laisse*.

by the *Roland* poet than by the majority of epic writers, is the so-called 'linking of strophes'—the bridging over the break of assonance by the repetition in slightly varied form of the substance of the last few lines of the preceding strophe.

The clearest example of the linked *laissez* are LXXVIII, LXXIX, CXII, CXIII, CXLVIII, CXLIX, CLX, CLXI.

- 993. Vunt s'aduber desuz une sapide.
- 994. Païen s'adubent des osbercs sarazineis, etc.
- 1448. Li reis Marsilie od sa grant ost lor surt. Aoi.
- 1449. Marsilie vient par mi une valee.
- 1998. A icest mot sur sun cheval se pasmet. Aoi.
- 1999. As vus Rollant sur sun cheval pasmet.
- 2162. Païen s'en fuient, puis si-l laissent ester;  
Li quens Rollanz i est remes a pied. Aoi.
- 2163. Païen s'en fuient, curucus et irez, etc.
- 2853. Si sunt vedeir le merveillus damage  
En Rencesvals, la o fut la bataille. Aoi.
- 2855. En Rencesvals en est Carles venuz.

Slighter examples are found on a few occasions elsewhere<sup>1</sup>. The poet evidently has recourse to the plan when he passes on to a new theme in the last line or two of his *laisse*, the following *laisse* adding the detailed treatment.

More rarely the poet prolongs the pause between the incidents by the use of a line or passage, descriptive either of one of the characters or of the setting of the action. Often in such lines he strikes, as it were, the keynote of the strophe, or the poem, and thus emphasises the underlying emotion :

- 24. Blancandrins fut del plus saives païens  
De vasselage fut asez chevaler  
Prozdom i out pur sun seigneur aider.
- 1093. Rollanz est proz et Oliver est sage.  
Ambedui unt merveillus vasselage.
- 156. Bels fut li vespres et li soleilz fut cler.
- 1807. Esclargiz est li vespres et li jurz  
Cuntre le soleil reluisent cil adub.  
Osbercs e helmes i getent grant flabur  
E cil escuz ki ben sunt peinz a flurs.  
E cil espiezz, cil oret gunfanun.
- And cf. ll. 2512, 2646, 3345, 3658.
- 1320. La bataille est merveilluse et cumune.
- 1413. La bataille est merveilluse et pesant.
- 814. Halt sunt li pui et li val tenebrus  
Les roches bises, les destreiz merveillus.
- 1830. Halt sunt li pui e tenebrus e grant  
Li val parfunt e les ewes curant.

And cf. l. 2271.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *laissez* IX, X, CLVI, CLVII, CLXIX, CLXX, CLXXVI, CLXXVII.



The rare interventions of the poet occur most frequently at the conclusion of a strophe—e.g., the appeals to the audience introduced by 'As vus!'; the few aphorisms or remarks of a general character that he permits himself:

- 412. A tant as vus Guenes et Blanchandrins. Aoi!
- 1187. Francs e paiens as les vus ajustez. Aoi!
- 2009. Par tel amur as les vus deseved. Aoi!
- 167. Par cels de France voelt il del tut errer. Aoi.
- 2524. Mult ad apris ki bien conuist ahan. Aoi.
- 3657. Mult ben espleitet qui damne deus aiuet. Aoi.
- 3959. Ki hume traist sei ocit et altroi. Aoi.

Lines like these round off the strophe, and emphasise the break of incident; others strike a note of foreboding and so introduce something of the refrain effect noticeable in some of the descriptive lines placed at the strophe beginnings:

- 9. Nes poet garder que mals ne l'i ataignet. Aoi.
- 179. Des ore cumencet le cunseill que mal prist. Aoi.
- 716. Deus, quel dolur, que li Franceis nel sevent. Aoi.
- 1806. Deço qui calt? Car demuret i unt trop. Aoi.
- 1840-1. Deço qui calt? Car ne lur valt nient.  
Demurent trop, n'i poedent estre a tens. Aoi.
- 3577-8. Ceste bataille nen est mais destornee.  
Seinz home mort ne poet estre achevee. Aoi.
- 3913-4. Il ne poet estre qu'il seient desevez.  
Seinz home mort ne poet estre afinet. Aoi.

#### IV. *Repetitions.*

Apart from the strophe linking already considered, the repetitions fall into two main divisions—the repetitions due to recurrence of situation and those employed to secure emotional effects.

The simplest form, the literal repetition of a message or speech, is not found in the *Roland*. The terms offered by Marsilies are indeed stated three times (in laisses III, X, XIII) but always in slightly varied form and on a different assonance. On the other hand a certain number of lines do double duty. The characterisation of Oliver in line 576 ('Et Olivers li pruz et li corteis') appears again in line 3755; the description of the emperor's grief in line 2943 ('Ploret des oilz, turet sa barbe blanche') recurs at the end of the poem in line 4001 and the same description serves for the courage both of Charlemagne and of the Franks in lines 828 and 3613 ('Nen unt (ad) poor ne de murir dutance'). The descriptive lines: 'Clers est li jurz et li soleilz luisant' and 'La bataille



est merveilluse et pesant' are used twice (2645 and 3345; 1412 and 3381), and in the battle scenes the deaths of Turgis de Turteluse and Engelier de Guascuigne, of Falsaron and Sanson, respectively, are recounted in identical terms:

1227-9 L'escut li freint et l'osberc li derumpt,  
and 1575-7. El cors li met les pans del gonfanun,  
Pleine sa hanste l'abat mort des arcuns.

1285-7 Del bon espïet el cors li met la mure,  
and 1539-41. Empeinst le ben, tut le fer li mist ultre,  
Pleine sa hanste el camp mort le tresturnet<sup>1</sup>.

Repetitions other than these—possibly some of these also—are deliberately calculated; they are employed by the poet to secure certain effects. So, for example, the not infrequent repetition of lines or half-lines at the beginning of a strophe—e.g. many of the descriptive lines quoted or referred to above<sup>2</sup> and the phrase 'Ço sent Rollanz' at the head of strophes CLXVIII, CLXX, CLXXI, CLXXIV, CLXXV, 'Amis Rolanz' in strophes CCIX, CCX, CCXI, and the lines 3578 and 3914 concluding the strophes describing Charlemagne's and Thierri's great duels: 'Seinz home mort ne poet estre achevee (afinet)<sup>3</sup>.' In nearly all these examples the reiteration strikes a note of foreboding or sorrow, often with that same refrain-like effect noted elsewhere.

In the case of the 'laisses similaires' calculation, the shaping artistic purpose is still more evident. Whatever the origin of these laisses may be<sup>4</sup>, their function in the *Chanson de Roland* is aesthetic<sup>5</sup>. By describing the successive moments of crisis, by elaborating symmetrically the complaints over the dead, the poet has found an unequalled means of heightening the crisis, of emphasising the emotional significance of the scene. In Ganelon's threefold praise of Charlemagne, the emir's threefold summons to his men, Oliver's threefold summons to Roland, Roland's threefold farewell to his sword, Charlemagne's fivefold lamentation over Roland, the poet's purpose and success are equally patent. Elsewhere he has been pitting his skill against the drawbacks of the metrical form he is using, but in passages like these the traditional strophe form offers him the chance of securing by simplest means, most poignant, heart-stirring effects—and that chance he has taken.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also 1545 and 1671, 22 and 3540, 1198 and 1584, 1276 and 1354, 1957 and 3929, 3603 and 3926. In 938 and 989, 2079 and 2158 the repetitions are due to scribal errors.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also ll. 1952 and 1965.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. later.

<sup>5</sup> With one exception, viz. laisses v and vi describing Marsilius' choice of ambassadors. There is no emotional crisis here and the repetition appears to me to serve no particular purpose.

B. THE 'CHANSON DE WILLELME'.<sup>1</sup>

## I. Construction of the Strophe.

Compared with the elaboration, the calculated shaping of the versification found in the *Roland* the versification of the *Chanson de Willelme* is startlingly rough and unfinished. The poet, truly, obtains at times effects as poignant but his skill as verse maker contributes little, if anything, to his success. The construction of the strophe is without discernible method; there is no trace in it of any conscious artistic purpose determining either length or form.

The main differences between the strophe in the *Willelme* and the *Roland* are as follows:

(1) Whereas in the *Roland* the strophes keep near a mean of 15 lines those of the *Willelme* vary between wide limits. A considerable number are two-lined only, others but little longer<sup>2</sup>; on the other hand the longest (CLIV) runs to 73 lines and the latter part of the poem<sup>3</sup> contains one *laisse* of 190 lines.

(2) There is no attempt to make strophe and incident coincide nor in any way to round off a strophe. Highly composite strophes are not infrequent, particularly in the latter part; e.g. CXLII contains the account of William's meal, and his sorrow, Guibore's encouragement, the description of Gui, and his conversation with his uncle.

(3) On the other hand the change of assonance occurs without any relation to the theme and at times in very awkward fashion. Both speeches and incidents suffer interruptions. A speech often begins with the last line of one strophe and ends in the next; so Vivien's speeches in IX, X, XIII, XIV, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII. Where incidents are concerned the change of assonance is sometimes still more disconcerting<sup>4</sup>, e.g.:

796. Puis traist s'espee, comencet a ferir.

797. Qui que il fieret, sur halberc u sur helme,  
Sis cols n'arestet, des i que jus en terre.

1046. Puis l'at assis a une halte table,  
Si li aportet, d'un sengler une espalle.  
Li quens la prist, si la manjat en haste.

1049. El li aportet un grant pain a tamis, etc.

<sup>1</sup> The edition used is that by Suchier in the *Bibliotheca Normannica*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Introduction, p. xvii.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. Suchier's so-called *Chanson de Rainoart*, the latter part of the *Chançon de Willame*.

<sup>4</sup> One of the clumsiest examples is emended in Suchier's edition (xvi, xvii).

1543. Dunc li vestirent, une petite broigne,  
 Un petit helme, li lacierent desure,  
 Petite espee li ceinstrent, mais mult bone,  
 Al col li pendent, petite targe duple.
1547. Puis li aportent, une petite lance,  
 Bons fut li fers, e reide en fut la hanste, etc.

## II. *Repetitions.*

Repetitions are more markedly characteristic of the *Willelme* than of the *Roland*, more numerous and somewhat differently employed. The relative importance of the three types—the repetitions due to similarity of situation, the linking of the strophes and the ‘laisses similaires’—is exactly reversed.

The ‘laisses similaires’ are infrequent and much less effectively employed. The *Willelme* poet uses them in the account of Vivien’s death, CI, CII, in the description of Gui (CL, CLI), and in his plaint of hunger (CLIX–CLXI); the *Rainoart* poet in William’s ‘regret’ over Vivien’s body. By way of illustration I will quote the first and the last examples:

- CI. Uns Barbarins li vint par mi un val  
 Tost eslaissant un mult isnel cheval,  
 [En sa main destre portat un trenchant dart,]  
 Fiert en la teste le nobile vassal,  
 Que la cervelle en espant contre val.
- CII. Li Barbarins i vint tuz eslaissiez,  
 Entre ses quisses out un corant destrier,  
 En sa main destre un trenchant dart d’acier,  
 Fiert en la teste le vaillant chevalier,  
 Que la cervelle desur l’erbe li chiet;  
 Sur les genoilz abat le chevalier.  
 Ço fut damages quant si prouz d’ome chiet.
1987. Vivien trove sur un estanc  
 A la funteine dunt li duit sunt bruiant  
 Desuz la foille dun oliver mult grant  
 Ses blanches mains croisies sur le flanc  
 Plus suef fleereit que nule espee ne piment  
 Parmi le cors out quinze plaies granz  
 De la menur fust morz uns amirailz  
 Ce reis ce quons ia ne fust tant poanz  
 Puis regrette tant dolerusement  
 Vivien sire mar fu tun hardement  
 Tun vasselage ta pruesce tun sen  
 Quant tu es mort mes nai bon parent  
 Naueraï mes tel en trestut mun vivant.
2000. Vivien sire mar fu ta juvente bele  
 Tis gentil cors & ta teindre meissele  
 Io tadubbai a mun palei a termes  
 Pur tue amur donai a cent healmes  
 E cent espees & cent targes noveles  
 Ci vus vei mort en larchamp en la presse

Trenche le cors & les blanches mameles  
 E les altres od vus qui morz sunt en la presse  
 Merci lur face le veir Paterne  
 Qui la sus maint & ca ius nus guverne.

2010. A la funtaine dunt li duit sunt mult cler  
 De suz la foille dun grant oliver  
 Ad bers Willame quons Vivien trove  
 Parmi le cors ont quinze plaies tels  
 De la menur fust morz uns amirelz  
 Dunc le regrette dulcement & suef  
 Vivien sire mar fustes unques ber  
 Tun vasselage que Deus taueit done  
 Nad uncore gueres que tu fus adube  
 Que ne pleuis & iuras Dampnedeu  
 Que ne fuereies de bataille champel  
 Puis covenant ne noisis mentir Deu  
 Pur co ies ore mort ocis & afole  
 Dites bel sire purriez vus parler  
 E reconuistre le cors altisme Deu  
 Si tu co creez quil fu en croiz penez  
 En malmonere ai del pain sacre  
 Del de meme que de sa main saignat Deus  
 Se de vus le col en aveit passe  
 Mar crendreies achaisun de malfe  
 Ae quons revint & sen & volente....

In William's 'regret' the movement of the scene is broken by the repetition at the beginning of the third strophe (l. 2010, etc.) of the lines descriptive of the situation, but otherwise it is not dissimilar in form and function to Charlemagne's lament over Roland, though far rougher. The description of Vivien's death, on the other hand, shows us the use of the 'laises similaires' at a very rudimentary stage. Tuold in his use of them never stops the action wholly; he retards and developes, always securing movement by bringing before us successive moments, e.g. three separate summonses, three blows of the sword, three answers to questions. But in the description of Vivien's death the repetition is so literal that all sense of advance is lost and that in spite of the fact that the second laisse brings in an addition ('Sur les genoilz abat le chevalier'). We merely appear to have the same action described twice and there is no gain of emotional significance.

Linking of the strophes is resorted to very frequently. Like the 'laisse similaire' the device is at times also of a most curiously simple type. Examples are:

- XLII. En sun estrieu se fiert uns moltuns gris.  
 XLIII. En sun estrieu se fiert uns gris moltuns.  
 LXXX. Quant il eissit de la dolente presse,  
 Sis bons chevaux li crieveit suz sa sele.  
 LXXXI. Del dolent champ quant Girarz fut turnez,  
 Desuz ses alves est sis chevaux crevez.

LXXXVII. Dient paien : 'Ja nel verrum vencu,  
Tant cum laissum le cheval vif suz lui.'

LXXXVIII. Ja ne veintrum le nobile vassal,  
Quant desuz lui laisum vif sun cheval.

CXLII. Mielz vus vient, glut, en cendres a gesir,  
Que tei ne fait, mun cunté a tenir.

CXLIII. Mielz vus vient glut, en cendres reposer,  
Que te ne fait a tenir mun cunté.

And also XVII, XVIII, XXXIV, XXXV, LVII, LVIII, LXXXVI, LXXXVII, CXVII, CXVIII.

Of all the types of repetition however the most frequent and most characteristic are the simplest—those due to similarity of incident. The poet follows without reserve the older practice. A messenger repeats his message verbatim; so Deramed's incursion is told us twice in identical terms (strophes II, III, VI, VII) and a third time only slightly modified (CVII, CVIII) and Girard repeats Vivien's charge with like precision (LXXIV–LXXVIII, CX–CXIII). More striking still is the retailing of similar incidents in almost identical terms as, for example, the deaths of Guiart and Guischart (CXXIV, CXXV, CXXVII, CXXVIII), the expedition of the pagans (CXX, CLVII), the meal provided by Guiborc for Guiart and Guilelme, respectively (CXVI, CXVII, CXLI, CXLII). To illustrate I will quote the first incident in which the similarity of the description leads up with sharp irony to a totally different ending.

## CXXIV.

Plaist vus oïr des nobles vassals,  
Cum il sevrerent del chevalier reial?  
Desur senestre s'en est turnez Girarz.  
En un sablun li chaît ses chevaux,  
Sur ses espalles sis halbers colat.  
Trente paien descendirent al val,  
En trente lius navrerent le vassal  
Par mi le cors e d'espiez e de darz.  
Criët et huchet quant la mort l'aprochat.  
Dunc i survint Guilelmes cele part:  
Les dis ocist, li vint fuient del val  
Vint a Girart dulcement l'apelat.

## CXXV.

'Amis Girarz, ki t'en fereit porter  
E des granz plaies purreit tun cors saner,  
Dites amis, e guarreies ent ber?  
Tun escientre deis ja en ciel entrer!'  
Respunt Girarz: 'Sire laissez m'ester!  
Ja ne querreie que jo'n fusse portez  
Ne des granz plaies que fust mis cors  
sanez.

Ne guarrai ja pur nul home mortel.  
Ki'm fereit tant que jo fusse muntez  
E mis verz helmes me refust afermez  
Mesist m'al col mun grant escu bocler,  
E en mun poign mun espié adolé,

## CXXVII.

Plaist vus oïr del nies dame Guiborc  
ki deseprat de Guilelme le jurn?

De sun cheval chaît en un sablun,  
Sur ses espalles sis halbers colat tuz.  
Trente paien devalerent d'un munt,  
En trente lius navrerent le barun.

Criët et huchet que li aît prodom.  
A tant i vint Guilelmes al barun:  
Les dis ocist, li vint fuient el munt.  
Vint a Guischart si l'at mis a raisun.

## CXXVIII.

'Amis Guischarz, ki t'en fereit porter,  
E des granz plaies fereit tun cors saner,  
[dites amis! e guarreies ent, ber?]  
Tun escientre, deis ja en ciel entrer!'  
Respunt Guischarz: 'Sire, laissez m'ester!  
Ja ne querreie que jo'n fusse portez  
Ne des granz plaies que fust mis cors  
sanez.

Kim fereit tant que jo fusse muntez  
Ja de voz armes ne querreie porter

Puis me donast un sul trait d'un vin cler  
 Si nen at vin, me doinst del duit troblé,  
 Ne fineriei, par la fei que dei De!  
 Chier lur vendreie les plaies des costez  
 Dunt a grant force en est li sans alez.'

Mais mei donez sul un trait de vin cler  
 Si nen as altre vels de cel duit troblé  
 Puis m'en ireie a Cordres u fui nez  
 Mais ne crerreie en vostre Dampne De:....'

No less characteristic of the poet's method is the literal repetition of isolated lines in similar situations, e.g.:

Armes demande l'em li vait a porter	134 and again in 1075 and 1499.
Tote li fent, froisset e eschantelet	1828 and 1832.
Pur eshalcier sainte crestiente	
Ne pur la lei maintenir e garder	1491-2 of Guiborc and again 1604-5 of Vivien.
A la fei, nies sagement as parlé	
Cors as d'enfant e raisun as de ber	1477-8, 1638-9 and cf. 1979-80.
Respunt Guioz: 'Unc mais nen oi tel'	1535, 1650 and cf. 1878, 1966.
En sun Romanz li (lur) ad dit et mustré	1333, 1570, 1593.

Some of these are due simply to the likeness of the situation, the use of others brings a refrain-like effect that is still more noticeable in some of the repetitions that occur at the beginning of strophes, as for example those that give such a ballad-like ring to the conversation between Vivien and Girard:

LXVIII. 'Amis Girarz, di, ies tu sains del cors?'  
 'Oil,' dist il, 'e dedenz e defors.'

LXIX. 'Di dunc cument se contienent tes armes?'  
 'Par ma fei, sire, bones sunt e aates  
 Cum' a tel home ki'n at fait granz batailles  
 Si bosoinz est, ki dunc referat altres.'

LXX. 'Di dunc, Girarz, senz altres ta vertu?'  
 E cil respunt: 'Unkes plus fort ne fu.'

LXXI. 'Di dunc, Girarz, cum tis chevaux se tient,'  
 'Mult tost s'eslaisset, e dreit se tient e bien,' etc.

Or those in Girard's lamentation over the weight of his armour:

718. Ohi grosse anste, cum me peises al flanc!...

722. Ohi grant targe, cum me peises al col!...

725. Ohi bons helmes, cum m'estunes la teste!

729. Ohi grant broigne, cum me vas apesant!

### III. The Refrain.

The *Roland* laisses end, as is well known, with the enigmatical word 'Aoi,' destined to mark the end of the strophe and important enough to be parodied as late as the thirteenth century<sup>1</sup>. The *Willelme*, like the fragment of *Gormond and Isembard*, has a more strongly characterised irregular refrain. The short line 'lunsdi (juesdi) al vespre,' with a

<sup>1</sup> In the Portuguese *Gesta de Maldizer*, cf. Becker, *Nationale Heldendichtung*, § 22.

varying 10-syllabled line in assonance with it recurs at irregular intervals. It seems to break the poem up into sections and serves also at times to emphasise the note struck in the preceding strophe, cf. for instance :

- 473-4. —Lunsdi al vespre !—Mar est li chanz senz le cunte Guilelme.  
 489-90. —Lunsdi al vespre !—Mar fut li chanz comenciez senz Guilelme.  
 606-7. —Lunsdi al vespre !—Ot dous escuz remest suls en la presse.  
 785-6. —Lunsdi al vespre !—Ne vint li jurz, puis la levast de terre.

The one MS. however, is too defective to allow of sure conclusions being deduced as to its function.

The formal differences between the two epics we have been considering are not, it appears to me, due merely to variations in the individual poetic capacity of their authors. The poet of the *Willelme*, like Tuold, sets before us heroic strife ; like him too he has the eye to discern the tragic or pathetic moment and some skill to make us feel it ; he has at his disposition a simple, traditional, metrical form, but there the resemblance ends. Tuold must have been a man versed in all the culture of his day, he is able to dominate his material and form with conscious purpose, fashioning and shaping both at pleasure. His poem is a work of conscious art. The *Chanson de Roland* claims kinship with the *Nibelungen* and with *Beowulf*—even with Homer. In modern phrase, it is of the type of 'court' epic.

Not so the *Willelme*. In its metrical form, in its conception and execution, in the dominance of the poet by his material it bears the unmistakeable stamp of the *popular* heroic poetry. Its affinities lie with the ballad poetry, with the rude and vigorous productions of the wandering minstrel. Of especial significance in this connection are the repetitions, 'the soul of balladry,' according to one of the latest writers on the subject<sup>1</sup>, no 'invention of artistic poetry...the most characteristic legacy, barring rhythm, which communal conditions have made to art'<sup>2</sup>.

Professor Gummere is speaking here of the more literal repetitions, but both the other types found in the *Willelme*, the linking of strophes and the *laisses similaires*, find their parallels in the ballad literature, and call for frequent notice in his study of the subject. *A propos* of the ballad *Dick o' the Cow* he writes : 'One notes the far more prominent characteristic of repeating two concluding lines of a stanza as the beginning of the next, a common feature of ballads of the epic sort'<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, p. 324.

<sup>2</sup> Gummere, *The Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, p. 251.

and elsewhere he describes how 'Literal repetition yielded to this repetition with increments, and incremental repetition' (i.e. *laisses similaires*) 'came soon to be the close pattern of ballad stuff', or gives it as his opinion that: 'It' (incremental repetition) 'is the legacy of an early or popular art....It is the genius of the ballad itself.'

Nor need we confine ourselves to the repetitions. The similarity between the *Willelme* and the ballad extends to the other metrical characteristics noted above—the short two-, three- or four-lined strophe and the rudimentary refrain. It is equally apparent—if for a moment we may digress—in all the other marked features of the poem—as for instance, the terseness, baldness, even triviality of the diction, the use of short question and answer, the slightness of the characterisation and absence of all detailed description of the enemy—all well-known characteristics of the 'ballad' poem—and all we may add absent from the *Roland*<sup>2</sup>.

The 'ballad note' of the *Willelme* has indeed been observed not infrequently; its importance has surely not been sufficiently emphasised. It is no mere 'note'; it is its chief characteristic; it constitutes an essential difference between this poem and the *Roland*, a difference almost as great in its way as between the *Seyfridslied* and the *Nibelungen*<sup>3</sup>, the one the rough production of a wandering minstrel, the other a 'court' adaptation of minstrel poetry of some such rude type.

If this be so, the interest and importance of the *Chanson de Willelme* will be readily apparent. Elsewhere popular heroic poetry and epic are sundered, they belong to different epochs; here the two are juxtaposed, for the extant form of the *Chanson de Willelme* is probably but little earlier than the *Roland*<sup>4</sup>. *A priori*, indeed, it might represent either the popular heroic poetry that preceded the *Roland* or that which followed it, but the later history of the epic leaves no room for doubt on this question. The 'disintegration' of the epic, its return to popular poetry is preserved for us in the many remaniements of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and followed evidently a totally different course. The *Willelme* is indubitably of different type from these.

<sup>1</sup> Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> The 'baldness of diction' alone excepted, for the lack of simile and metaphor—the absence of all imaginative diction—is equally characteristic of the *Roland* and all O.F. poetry.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Chadwick, *The Heroic Age*, pp. 94 and 95.

<sup>4</sup> The dates of both poems is still a matter of controversy—Suchier puts the *Willelme* about 1080, the *Rainoart* not later than 1120. Gaston Paris put the *Roland* before the First Crusade, M. Bédier inclines to a date after 1100.



A most fortunate accident has preserved for us an example of the prae-Roland poetry—heroic poetry emerging from the popular, minstrel type—ready, as it were, to be taken up and transformed into epic by the poet of broader culture, higher poetic endowment and more finished technique. The *Chanson de Willelme* explains the *Chanson de Roland*. To some such rough poem of the death of Roland—full of vigour, indeed, and with its pathetic moments clearly marked, but short-winded, clumsy of build, bald of diction, slight in characterisation—Turolde brought his wider conception of story, his unerring sense of form, his insight into human character, his idealised view of kingship and his patriotic love of France. Out of some such ‘ballad’ he has fashioned a poem, epic indeed in breadth of treatment, distribution of parts, continuity of story, strength of characterisation, yet in its simplicity of diction, its continually recurring lyric note, its reiteration of pathos nearer akin to the popular heroic poetry than any other great epic known to us.

(*To be continued.*)

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## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

### SPENSER AND MULCASTER.

SPENSER, in the December eclogue of his *Shepheards Kalender* (ll. 37-42), makes Colin say:

And for I was in thilke same looser years  
Somedele ybent to song and musicks mirth,  
A good old shephearde, *Wrenock* was his name,  
Made me by arte more cunning in the same.

It has naturally been surmised, as Professor Herford's edition tells us, that 'Wrenock' stands for someone who was a master at Merchant Taylors' School when Spenser was a boy there. The obvious person would be of course Mulcaster, the famous headmaster of the school: and one might naturally hope that the name 'Wrenock' could be twisted out of 'Mulcaster' in the way in which 'Grindal' emerges from Spenser's 'Algrind.' That unfortunately cannot be done.

If, however, we look into the matter more closely, the impossibility seems to disappear. From Dr Quick's account of Mulcaster, appended to his edition of the *Positions*, it appears that to those who knew him Mulcaster's name took different forms. In the minutes of the Court of the Merchant Taylors' Company of 26th Nov. 1574 the headmaster appears as 'M<sup>r</sup> Richard Moncaster,' in those of the 15th December following as 'M<sup>r</sup> Richard Muncaster' (Quick, p. 301). In the Queen's book of household expenses, under date 18th March 157 $\frac{3}{4}$  he is 'M<sup>r</sup> Richard Mouncaster' (*ib.* p. 303). Probably then this was the name by which he was known to his boys: cp. *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, I. 2. 25: 'were you never none of Master Moncaster's scholars?' It is at least an interesting coincidence that, if the name be taken as 'Mouncaster,' it yields the anagram 'Mast. Vrenoc,' and if 'Mowncaster,' 'Mast. Wrenoc.'

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## 'LOCRINE' AND THE 'FAERIE QUEENE.'

Mr C. Crawford has written, "'Selimus" is full of "The Faerie Queene"...but "Locrine," so far as I have been able to discover, never once borrows from Spenser's poem<sup>1</sup>. Professor C. F. Tucker Brooke and Professor Cunliffe both refer to this statement and agree with it<sup>2</sup>. Twice, however, a suggestion has been made that the author of *Locrine* may have been in part indebted to the *Faerie Queene*. Erbe points out that in the play Gwendolen is married to Locrine before the coming of Estrild, which accords with the story as told by Warner and Spenser, and does not agree with other versions of the story<sup>3</sup>. He concludes that the playwright may have used either Warner or Spenser, or may have made the change independently. Brotanek, assuming a late date for *Locrine*, suggests that the author may have got the idea for his play from Spenser, but attempts no proof<sup>4</sup>.

One point of likeness between *Locrine* and the *Faerie Queene* has hitherto escaped notice. Both the play and the poem introduce the character of Debon, an associate of Brutus. In my investigation of the sources of the Chronicle History in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*<sup>5</sup> I failed to find any previous mention of this eponymous hero of Devonshire. In Spenser he is conspicuous. He is twice mentioned for his encounter with Coulin<sup>6</sup>, and like both the well-known Corineus, and the elsewhere unknown Canutus, he received from Brutus a part of the kingdom. Each of the three, according to Spenser, gave his name to his possessions, so that we have Cornwall, Devonshire, and Kent<sup>7</sup>. In the many other extant versions of the story of Brutus previous to the time of the *Faerie Queene* there is no mention of Debon, or of any adventure corresponding to his leaping match with Coulin. The appearance of his name in the play *Locrine* is therefore significant.

It is possible that Spenser and the author of *Locrine* may have had a common source, in popular tradition if not in some book, but it seems more probable that the playwright borrowed the character of Debon from the poet, without going farther afield. This statement, however,

<sup>1</sup> *Notes and Queries*, 1901, No. 163, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke, Oxford, 1908, p. xix. *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. v, ch. 4, *Early English Tragedies*, by John W. Cunliffe, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Locrinesage*, T. Erbe, Halle, 1904, p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, vol. xi, p. 206.

<sup>5</sup> *The Sources of The British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene*, by Carrie A. Harper, Bryn Mawr Monograph, 1910, pp. 50—51.

<sup>6</sup> *F. Q.* Book II, Canto 10, Stanza 11, and Book III, Canto 9, Stanza 50.

<sup>7</sup> *F. Q.* Book II, Canto 10, Stanza 12.

does not necessarily force us to the inference that Spenser invented the material. There is ample evidence that Spenser had antiquarian tastes which would have led him to obscure material which was not in general circulation, and therefore not likely to be known to the author of *Locrine*.

Debon has little part in the action of the play, but he has a speech (Act I, Sc. 1, ll. 139—140) which includes mention of his name, and according to the stage directions (Act II, Sc. 5) he is killed on the stage. In addition he is twice referred to, once in Albanact's lament (Act II, Sc. 5, ll. 64—65):

The day is lost, the *Hunnes* are conquerors,  
*Debon* is slaine, my men are done to death,

and again in the speech of Thrasimachus to Locrine (Act III, Sc. 1, ll. 34—36), where it is said that Hubba

murthered all with fatal massacre.  
Amongst the which old *Debon*, martiall knight,  
With many wounds was brought vnto the death.

The part that Debon plays is on the one hand too slight and on the other hand too closely interwoven with the texture of the whole, to be the result of revision.

A few straws of evidence, which in themselves have little importance, help to confirm a belief that the author of *Locrine* was influenced by the *Faerie Queene*. There is the point of Locrine's marriage to Gwendolen before the fight with Humber, already brought out by Erbe. There are also the facts that in the play as in Spenser Brutus makes division of his kingdom before his death, and makes Locrine the chief ruler; that is, in Spenser Brutus leaves him 'the soueraine Lord of all,' and in the play Brutus gives him the 'regall Crowne' (Act I, Sc. 1, ll. 189 ff.). Other versions of the story show variations in these points, although Spenser's form of it is not unique<sup>1</sup>.

Such borrowing from the *Faerie Queene* is not of a nature to weigh in Professor Cunliffe's argument, based on the respective use and non-use of the *Faerie Queene* in the two plays, that *Selimus* and *Locrine* are by different authors<sup>2</sup>. The author of *Locrine* borrowed material, the author of *Selimus* borrowed lines<sup>3</sup>. Such borrowing is sufficient,

<sup>1</sup> See *Sources of The Br. Chr. Hist. in Sp.'s F. Q.*, pp. 52—56.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> The following parallel between *Selimus* and the *Faerie Queene* has not hitherto been pointed out. *Selimus*, l. 744: 'And dye my shield in dolorous vermeil.' *F. Q.* II, 10, 24: 'The greene shield dyde in dolorous vermill.'

however, to controvert any dating of the play earlier than 1590, even if it does appear to be, as Tucker Brooke says, 'a tragedy of the type of about 1585<sup>1</sup>.'

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JOHN MASON AND EDWARD SHARPHAM.

Editions of *The Turke* by John Mason and *The Fleire* by Edward Sharpham have lately appeared in Professor Bang's most valuable series, *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas* (Bd. XXXVII and XXXVI respectively). In each case the Editor has tried to trace the story of the dramatist's life, and in each case he has shown his inability to deal with the biographical material afforded by the University records of Oxford and Cambridge. A note on the two cases may therefore be useful to future editors, especially foreign editors, of the works of English University men.

Mr Joseph Q. Adams, Junior, who has edited *The Turke*, shows from a contemporary document that John Mason was one of the sharers of the Whitefriars theatre. That is all we hear of him till Jacobs in 1714 remarks, 'He was Master of Arts, but of what University I cannot learn.' A further stage is reached when Baker, Reed, etc., in the *Biographia Dramatica*, 1782, state 'He is supposed to have been of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, and to have taken the degree of B.A. there in 1606.' From the fact that Jacobs said Mason was M.A., and the other fact that Mason in 1608 was living in London and identified with the Whitefriars Playhouse, Mr Adams suggests that if he took a degree in 1606, it was probably the M.A. and not the B.A. degree. To pursue the matter further, Mr Adams applied to St Catharine's College, and received kind help from Mr A. W. Spratt, who however informed him that no Admission Books of St Catharine's of this date were extant, while the Master of the College wrote that Mr Adams might be sure that, if Mr Spratt could not 'find the answer,' no one else could.

This was perhaps a little misleading. At any rate Mr Adams gave up the quest. He ought, of course, to have found out that a Cambridge man not only enters a College, but is soon after matriculated in the University, which later gives him its degrees: and that

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. xx.

if the College has no record of a particular man's career, the University may have its own record. This is strikingly seen in this case. On applying to the University Registry, I received a courteous communication from his Clerk to the effect that John Mason was matriculated as a Sizar of Caius College in 1596, took his B.A. degree as a member of St Catharine's Hall in 160 $\frac{1}{2}$  and his M.A. degree as a member of the same in 1606 (Mr Adams' conjecture being thus confirmed). But the information thus preserved led even further. It told us that Mason was admitted in the first instance to Caius College. Now the Admissions of this college are extant and have been printed by Dr Venn. From them we get this: 'Mason, John: son of Richard Mason, priest ('presbyter') of Cavendish, Suffolk. School, Bury St Edmunds. Age 14. Admitted July 6, 1596, sizar of his surety, Mr Disborow.' If then this Mason of Caius and St Catharine's was the author of *The Turke*, Mr Adams overlooked biographical material which was lying to his hand, and by aid of which he might perhaps have found more.

I must point out, however, that the identification is not absolutely convincing. It rests entirely on Jacobs' statement, a century after Mason's time, that the dramatist was an M.A. After that it was easy for someone in 1782, after consulting the Cambridge records, to identify him with the St Catharine's man. In that same edition of the *Biographia Dramatica*, Nathanael Richards, the author of *Messalina*, was identified with a Nathaniel Richards of Caius College, and this quite wrongly, as I showed in *Notes and Queries* (10th Series, xi, 461). All we can say is, that if Jacobs had any authority for his statement that Mason was an M.A., then almost certainly he was the Caius and St Catharine's man.

Dr Hunold Nibbe, who has edited *The Fleire*, also ignores the existence of University records, and so commits a mistake of another kind. We know that Edward Sharpham was born in July 1576 and was admitted on the 9th Oct. 1594 at the Middle Temple. For no other reason than to make it possible that Sharpham wrote a sonnet signed 'Ed. Sharphell' in John Davies' *Humours*, which there is not a shadow of reason for attributing to him, Dr Nibbe credits him with a career at a University, presumably at Oxford. He passes over the episode in a very light and airy manner—there is no hint of applying to University records—he merely says that, in spite of the death of Sharpham's stepfather, 'wusste es die Mutter...durchzusetzen, den begabten dritten Sohn auf die Universität zu schicken. Schon mit

achtzehn Jahren hatte der junge Sharpham seine juristischen Studien beendet und begab sich nach London.' (It will be observed that Dr Nibbe not only credits Sharpham with an Oxford course, for which there is no evidence, but informs us further that he did not read for the B.A. degree in the ordinary way, but pursued the study of law, like a German student of to-day who was to make law his profession.)

All this might have been spared us if Dr Nibbe had consulted Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* and the original records of the University, in which Sharpham's name has not yet been found. But, if he was not an Oxford man, he was clearly not the 'Ed. Sharpell' who wrote the Sonnet.

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'BACKARE.'

Let us, that are poor petitioners, speak too :

*Baccare!* you are marvellous forward. *Taming of the Shrew*, II, i, 73.

The *New English Dictionary* and Webster echo Nares' conjecture that this Elizabethan expression for 'retire,' 'stand back' was intended originally to ridicule someone pretending to knowledge of Latin. In Lyly's use,

The masculine gender is more worthy than the feminine, therefore *Licio*, backare. *Midas*, I, ii, 4,

there might be suspected some connotation of pedantry, but hardly in the earlier quasi-proverbial use by Udall :

*Backare*, quoth Mortimer to his sow.

A hitherto uncited passage in Grange's *The Golden Aphroditis* (l. 1577, D iij) suggests rather a military signal to retreat, and Italian rather than Latin. Udall, Lyly and Shakespeare will admit without difficulty this interpretation :

Yet wrested he so his effeminate hand to the siege of backward affection, that both trumpe and drumme sounded nothing for their Larum, but *Baccare*, *Baccare*.

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SAINT ÉVREMOND'S 'PARALLELE DE MONSIEUR LE PRINCE  
ET DE MONSIEUR DE TURENNE.'

In 1685, ten years after Turenne's death, there appeared a life of Turenne by Du Buisson, Captain and Major of the Regiment de Verdelin. Turenne's family, so Desmaizeaux<sup>1</sup> relates, was so ill-satisfied with this life that they deputed the Abbé Raguenet to write another, and the Cardinal de Bouillon, knowing that Saint-Évremond had served in the French army and feeling sure that Saint-Évremond must have observed his general closely, wrote and asked him to help them by sending them some observations and recollections. Saint-Évremond, 'Historien exact mais trop libre du Traité des Pyrénées,' as Hamilton<sup>2</sup> styles him, was living, it will be remembered, an exile in England, and with the exception of five years spent in Holland from 1665 to 1670 on account of the plague<sup>3</sup>, he had been there ever since 1661.

He complied with the Cardinal's wishes by sending him a short piece in praise of Turenne which will be found in most editions of his works, he also sent him at the same time another piece in which he compared Condé and Turenne. This was his well-known *Parallele de Monsieur le Prince et de Monsieur de Turenne*, a parallel which cannot boast of being as universally known as La Bruyère's parallel of Corneille and Racine, but which, nevertheless, commands a high place in the literature of Portraits. It was published for the first time in 1705<sup>4</sup>.

But as a matter of fact, the parallel had been composed years before, in the lifetime of Turenne, in 1673 according to Desmaizeaux<sup>5</sup>. M. le Prince, ever since his reconciliation with Louis after the Fronde, had been kindly treated by the king, but for years he had not been allowed to take service again. In 1668 at last, at Louvois' suggestion—possibly because Louvois disliked Turenne—Condé was invited to take his place at the head of the army that was to conquer the Franche Comté. The reappearance of Monsieur le Prince as a general was quite an event. Then came the war with Holland in 1672 which once more

<sup>1</sup> St Évremond, *Oeuvres*, Amsterdam, 1726, vol. i, p. 247—51 ('Vie de St Evremond').

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoires de Grammont*, éd. Gustave Brunet, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Melville Daniels, *St Évremond en Angleterre*, pp. 21, 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Oeuvres Meslées*, Londres, 1705, 2 vols. in 4°, vol. ii, pp. 525—8.

<sup>5</sup> St Évremond, *Oeuvres*, Amsterdam, 1726, vol. v, p. 16.



brought the two generals, equally great and yet very different, before the eye of the public so that a comparison of their respective merits inevitably suggested itself.

Saint-Évremond's *Parallele*, as composed in 1673, was very much simpler than the one which appears in his works from 1705 onwards and which he had elaborated for the Cardinal de Bouillon. The *Parallele* in its simpler form was first printed in 1693 in the anonymous *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Prince de Condé*<sup>1</sup>, but the author's name was not mentioned. In 1701 there appeared a *Nouveau Recueil*<sup>2</sup> of Saint-Évremond's works which, though containing very little that really came from Saint-Évremond's pen, gave his *Parallele*, also in the simpler form.

Now among the French State Papers for the year 1673 preserved at the Record Office, there is, curiously enough, a manuscript copy of the simpler *Parallele*<sup>3</sup>, and though it is anonymous, it can at once be identified with Saint-Évremond's. The author was on very good terms with Arlington, then Secretary of State, and Arlington was interested in his writings and probably procured himself one of those manuscript copies that used to be so freely circulated, long before an author's works appeared in print.

The text at the Record Office varies slightly from the one printed in 1693 (*Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Prince de Condé*) and 1701 (*Nouveau Recueil*) and I reproduce it because it is the earliest known form of the *Parallele*. Wherever the version printed in 1693 and 1701 differs from the first draft, the variations are indicated in footnotes, these editions not being readily accessible. A comparison of the three forms of the *Parallele* which we possess—the Record Office text, the text as printed in 1693 and 1701, and finally the more elaborate text that appears in the editions from 1705 onwards—gives one some insight into the methods of Saint-Évremond's work and affords one more interesting instance of the way in which Saint-Évremond untiringly altered, improved and rewrote his compositions. 'Vingt fois sur le métier remettez votre ouvrage' might have been written by him, at least as far as the sentiment is concerned. A well-known instance of the 'remaniements' to which Saint-Évremond subjected his writings is the case of his play *Les Académiciens*, which was

<sup>1</sup> Cologne, 1693, 2 vols. 12°, vol. II, pp. 328—30. These Memoirs, by the way, are attributed to La Bruère.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, 1701, 12°, pp. 112—15.

<sup>3</sup> R.O. State Papers, France, vol. 138, f. 64.

composed in 1643, printed in 1650, almost entirely rewritten in 1680 and printed in this new form in 1705\*.

*Parallele de Monsieur le Prince et de Monsieur  
de Turenne.*

En l'un vous voyez<sup>1</sup> la grandeur du génie, une lumière tousjours presente, un courage ingenieux<sup>2</sup> sans trouble et sans précipitation. L'autre<sup>3</sup> a l'avantage du sang-froid, de<sup>4</sup> la capacité, de<sup>4</sup> l'expérience et<sup>5</sup> une valeur ferme et assurée.

Celui-là resolu<sup>6</sup> dans les conseils, jamais<sup>7</sup> embarrassé dans les desordres, prend<sup>8</sup> mieux son party qu'homme du monde. Celui-cy se faisant<sup>9</sup> un plan de la guerre, disposant<sup>10</sup> toutes choses à sa fin, prevoyant<sup>11</sup> les obstacles avec plus de jugement que de lenteur.

L'activité du premier va plus loin que les choses necessaires pour ne rien oublier de ce que peut<sup>12</sup> estre utile. L'autre est aussi agissant qu'il le doit estre ne<sup>13</sup> faisant rien de surplus pour ne pas fatiguer les troupes<sup>14</sup>.

Monsieur le Prince est fier<sup>15</sup> dans le commandement<sup>16</sup> également craint et estimé. Monsieur de Turenne, plus agréable<sup>17</sup>, laissant plus de satisfaction, mais se gardant un peu moins d'autorité.

Il n'y a point assez de précaution<sup>18</sup> contre les attaques du premier et les postes les plus seurs ont pour luy des foiblesses. L'autre trouve partout des seuretez et voit des jours à<sup>19</sup> se garantir de<sup>20</sup> toutes les apparences de la<sup>21</sup> perte.

Aux combats l'ordre de l'un et de l'autre est quasi de mesme<sup>22</sup>. Monsieur le Prince sçait pousser les<sup>23</sup> avantages et retablir les<sup>23</sup> desordres. Il tire des troupes tout ce qu'on<sup>24</sup> peut tirer. Il s'abandonne tout entier à l'action et il semble qu'il soit<sup>25</sup> resolu de vaincre ou de ne pas survivre à sa defaite<sup>26</sup>. Monsieur de Turenne n'oublie rien de ce qui

<sup>1</sup> On voit en Monsieur le Prince.      <sup>2</sup> impetueux.      <sup>3</sup> M. de Turenne.  
<sup>4</sup> de omitted.      <sup>5</sup> et omitted.      <sup>6</sup> resout.      <sup>7</sup> n'est jamais.      <sup>8</sup> prenant.  
<sup>9</sup> se fait.      <sup>10</sup> dispose.      <sup>11</sup> prevoit tous.      <sup>12</sup> qui puisse.      <sup>13</sup> mais ne.  
<sup>14</sup> superflu pour ne pas dissiper et ruiner les troupes par des fatigues hors de saison.  
<sup>15</sup> est fier omitted.      <sup>16</sup> commandement est.      <sup>17</sup> agréable n'est pas moins  
estimé.      <sup>18</sup> précautions.      <sup>19</sup> pour.      <sup>20</sup> dans.      <sup>21</sup> sa.      <sup>22</sup> semblable.  
<sup>23</sup> ses.      <sup>24</sup> qu'il en.      <sup>25</sup> est.      <sup>26</sup> ses défaites.

\* *Oeuvres Meslées*, Londres, Jacob Tonson, 1705, vol. 1, p. 3. Cf. also the preface to this, the first authentic edition of St Evremond's works: 'On avoit d'abord résolu de désigner par quelque marque particulière les Pièces qui n'avoient pas encore paru : mais on a changé de sentiment parce que parmi les Écrits qui avoient déjà été imprimés, il y en a qui ont été entièrement refondus et qui peuvent passer pour nouveaux.... Il faut encore remarquer que l'Auteur ayant revu en differens tems ses ouvrages, y ajoutait après coup de nouvelles choses.'

peut donner le gain d'un combat ; profite de tout s'il est heureux<sup>27</sup>, conserve ce qu'il peut s'il ne l'est pas ; il laisse toujours quelque ressource pour une meilleure fortune ; soit par l'égalité de son naturel, soit par une longue expérience de bons et mauvais<sup>28</sup> succès, il reçoit toute sorte<sup>29</sup> d'accidents d'un mesme visage.

Les disgrâces trouvent Monsieur le Prince plus sensible<sup>30</sup> mais sa fierté s'en irrite davantage, et sa vertu excitée par les malheurs se trouve assez forte pour les vaincre.

C'est assez pousser la comparaison<sup>31</sup>. Je diray seulement que Monsieur le Prince<sup>32</sup> est le premier homme du monde pour une journée et Monsieur de Turenne pour une campagne, l'un plus propre pour<sup>33</sup> finir plus<sup>34</sup> glorieusement des actions et l'autre à terminer<sup>35</sup> une guerre ; en un mot<sup>36</sup> Monsieur le Prince fait la guerre avec plus d'esclat pour sa réputation et Monsieur de Turenne avec plus d'avantage pour les intérêts du party où il se trouve.

<sup>27</sup> heureux, il profite de tout.

<sup>28</sup> des bons et des mauvais.

<sup>29</sup> toutes sortes.

<sup>30</sup> sensible que M. de Turenne.

<sup>31</sup> *This sentence omitted.*

<sup>32</sup> Enfin M. le Prince.

<sup>33</sup> à.

<sup>34</sup> plus *omitted*.

<sup>35</sup> terminer utilement.

<sup>36</sup> en un mot *omitted*.

RUTH CLARK.

PARIS.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER FROM OTTILIE VON GOETHE TO  
A. HAYWARD.

The letter printed below is preserved in the Goethe-Museum (Freies Deutsches Hochstift) at Frankfurt am Main. I am much obliged to Professor O. Heuer and the authorities of the Museum for permitting me to reproduce it. The document is important in so far as it throws further light upon Ottilie's personality, and shows the intimacy of her relations with Mrs Jameson, a subject that I hope to treat more fully in a separate publication. From a more general point of view the reference to Eckermann and his book will be a welcome addition to the *testimonia* of the poet's home-circle published in the April number of this Review (pp. 258 f.).

The letter is addressed to A. Hayward (1801-84), the essayist and Q.C., who was a distinguished German scholar and the translator of *Faust*. He had visited Germany in 1831, and again in 1833 (*Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*), when he met Ottilie von Goethe<sup>1</sup>. It appears that, late

<sup>1</sup> H. E. Carlisle, *Selection from the Correspondence of A. Hayward*, 2 vols., London, 1886; vol. I, p. 18.

in April 1836, Mrs Jameson returned to London after a prolonged stay at Weimar<sup>1</sup>. With her travelled Otilie's sister, Fräulein Ulrike von Pogwisch, the bearer of the letter to Hayward. Mrs Jameson herself refers to these circumstances in a letter addressed to her friend Mrs Procter<sup>2</sup>. Otilie's letter is of the old-fashioned type, folded and without envelope. It is written in her usual, somewhat rambling style, redundant in places, and with inconsistent spelling and punctuation. Under the address are a few words in English: 'I have only time to say that I shall be glad to see you but have hardly any hope of being at home till Sunday after one.' These words were probably added by Mrs Jameson, who was herself a personal friend of Hayward<sup>3</sup> and apparently sent the letter on to him.

I print the text in full without alterations.

*To A. Hayward, Esq.*

WEIMAR den 12<sup>ten</sup> Ap 1836.

Es giebt einen Weg, der trotz allen Schnellposten, Eisenbahnen, Dampfschiffen, Luftballons, immer gleich lang bleibt, und das ist der Weg zum Schreibtisch. Wie viel Gefahren hat man zu bestehen ehe man ihn erreicht, welche Klippen zu umfahren ehe man ihm erreicht, kurz mein langes Stillschweigen hat Ihnen bewiesen, das ich ein schlechter Pilot bin, und erst jetzt endlich den Hafen erreiche. Meine Feder hat mich entsetzlich bei Ihnen verleumdet, denn sie ist schuld wenn ich vergessend erschien wo ich allen Grund hat mich zu erinnern. Nur meine Feder ist undankbar, denn sie schwieg, während mein Herz sich wohl erinnerte, das ich Ihnen nicht nur die erste beruhigende Nachricht über meinen Freund Sterling[1] zu danken habe, sondern das Sie auch später theilnehmend sich nach meiner Gesundheit erkundigten, und nicht aufhörten mir literarische Beweise Ihres Andenkens zu senden. Ihnen jetzt noch viel über mich selbst zu sagen scheint mir beinahe thöricht, wenn Sie alles so viel besser und ausführlicher von Mrs Jameson und meiner Schwester hören können, die Ihnen diese Zeilen und einen Theil von Zelter bringt, der wie ich glaube Ihnen noch fehlt[2]. Auch sende ich Ihnen noch ein anderes Buch, was Ihrer Aufmerksamkeit durch eine schmucklose Wahrheit, vollkommen verdient. Ich hätte nicht für möglich gehalten, das man so ohne alle Beimischung seiner eigenen Individualität, hören, auffassen

<sup>1</sup> Gerardine Macpherson, *Memoirs of the Life of Anna Jameson, Author of Sacred and Legendary Art, etc.* London, 1878, pp. 103, 109.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

und niederschreiben könnte, wie Eckermann gethan hat, in den Gesprächen mit meinem Schwiegervater, und nur in zwei oder drei Fällen hätte ich für die, die ihn nicht persönlich kannten einen Nachsatz gewünscht, im allgemeinen war uns als hörte man seine Worte und Stimme. Es ist noch nicht im Buchhandel versendet, ich konnte also nur es theilweise und flüchtig lesen, da ich unsere Exemplare nach England zu senden wünschte[3]. Einer Ihrer Briefe hat mich zu einer Bemerkung veranlasst, auf die ich mir etwas einbilde, sie Ihnen also mittheile. Sie sprachen von der Verschiedenheit Ihrer Empfindungen für Frauen jetzt und früher, und Sie haben recht; von einem Mann kann man sagen, er liebt wie ein Mann von 35 Jahren, er liebt wie ein Mann von 30, er liebt wie ein Jüngling von 20. Bei einer Frau ist das anders, sobald man von einer Frau sagt sie liebt, hat man auch immer damit gesagt sie liebt mit all der Wärme und Aufopferung und Schwärmerei eines 16 jährigen Mädchens, denn eine Frau liebt entweder gar nicht, oder sie liebt immer wieder wie 16 Jahr. Dieses ist so weise und tief das ich Ihnen kaum zutraue es zu verstehen, da die Begriffe der Männer, was Frauen-Charaktere betrifft doch immer nur bis auf einen gewissen Punkt gehen, und ich immer erstaunt bin wie selbst die klügsten, sich mit ein paar falschen 'Hackney' Gedanken darüber abfinden.—Ich war so besorgt ja Ihre Freunde, die sie mir empfohlen hatten nicht zu verliehren, das ich selbst bei einer eintägigen Abwesenheit meine Mutter gebeten sie zu empfangen, doch nach mehreren Wochen der Erwartung, erfuhr ich, das sie nicht allein in Weimar, sondern sogar im Hause gewesen waren um die Sammlungen meines Schwiegervaters zu sehen. Sie müssen also gar keine anziehende Schilderung von mir gemacht haben. Hoffentlich führen Sie Ihre Sommerferien nach Deutschland und durch Weimar durch, wo glauben Sie mir, Ihnen recht interessante Bekanntschaften noch bevorstehen die Ihnen in unserem Clima gewiss wahre Bewunderung einflößen werden, und zurückgekehrt in dem Ihrigen, neblichten, Ihnen trefflichen Stoff bieten über unsere deutsche Sentimentalität u.s.w. zu lachen.

Wie ich die Abwesenheit von Mrs Jameson ertragen werde, mit der sich alle Gedanken meines Lebens seit zwei Jahren verzweigt haben, weis ich nicht und kann also nichts darüber sagen.

Leben sie herzlich wohl, ich würde Ihnen einen unserer berühmtesten dramatischen Dichter, Grillparzer empfohlen haben (wenn ich nicht glaubte, das Sie ihn doch durch Mrs Jameson werden kennen lernen). Die Schilderung die Anna von mir gemacht, und die Sie durch ihre

Anführung als richtig scheinen erkannt zu haben kommt mir so reizend vor, das ich in der grössten Verwunderung bin, das einer so liebenswürdigen Person nicht die halbe Welt zu Füssen liegt. Da nach meinem System man eine Dame nicht an einen Herrn empfehlen kann, so sage ich Ihnen nichts über meine Schwester, die Ihnen beweisen soll, welche verschiedene Arten von Liebenswürdigkeit wir in Deutschland haben, und wo ich erwarte das Sie künftig zwischen uns Schwestern das getheilte Herz[4] aufführen werden.

Sie müssen als Jurist wissen, das es Privilegien giebt die man nur auf eine gewisse Anzahl Jahre geniesst, und die man dann wieder erneuen muss,—das Privilegium über meine Romantik zu lachen, verfällt alle zwei Jahre. Sie müssen also durchaus es diesen Sommer wieder erneuen, wo ich Sie wieder in Lehre nehmen will. Nochmals leben Sie wohl.

OTTILIE V. GOETHE.

#### NOTES.

[1] See Goethe, *Lebensverhältnis zu Byron*; of this, an English translation was printed in Moore's *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron, with Notices of his Life*, 1830, Vol. II, p. 670; Priebisch, *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, 1911, p. 41; Brandl, *Goethes Verhältnis zu Byron, Goethe-Jahrbuch* 20, p. 16.

[2] The reference seems to be to Riemer's edition of *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Zelter in den Jahren 1796-1832*; this came out in parts during the years 1833-4, and it is quite likely that Hayward brought the earlier volumes with him on returning from his visit to Germany in 1833.

[3] The *Gespräche* were published 'zur Ostermesse 1836'; Eckermann's free copies of the first and second parts were dispatched by the publisher on April 7 and 21 respectively; see *Gespräche*, ed. Houben, 13th edition, 1913, pp. 633-4.

[4] *Das getheilte Herz* is one of Kotzebue's minor dramatic pieces, which was frequently performed at amateur theatricals; see *Almanach dramatischer Spiele zur geselligen Unterhaltung auf dem Lande*, von A. von Kotzebue, xi. Jahrg. 1813, and collected works.

HEINRICH MUTSCHMANN.

NOTTINGHAM.

## REVIEWS.

*The Cambridge History of English Literature.* Edited by A. W. WARD and A. R. WALLER. Volume IX. From Steele and Addison to Pope and Swift. Cambridge: University Press. 1912. 8vo. xiv + 609 pp.

The present volume, like the others of this series, does not confine itself strictly to the limits set by the title. L'Estrange (1616-1704) and Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715) obviously belong, so far as chronology is concerned, to the age of Dryden. A large number of the works discussed by Mr Aldis in his half-chapter on 'Antiquaries' appeared before 1700. Mr Whibley's chapter on 'Writers of Burlesque and Translators,' Miss Spurgeon's on 'William Law and the Mystics,' Mr Henderson's on 'Scottish Popular Poetry before Burns,' and Professor Adamson's on 'Education,' contain much information regarding authors who find a place here because they anticipate or succeed literary movements which were especially important during the first half of the eighteenth century. The fruitfulness of the period, moreover, has compelled the editors to reserve for subsequent volumes the treatment of several divines and dramatists, the earlier novelists, and various precursors of romanticism who had done their chief work before the death of Pope.

Such a plan, while it permits the history of the generation dealt with to merge easily at either extreme in the main current of English literary history, naturally restricts the volume to something less than an exhaustive account of the work done by the age of Pope and Swift. The omissions include not only such particular figures as Lillo and Atterbury, Mrs Manley and Mrs Haywood, Thomson and Dyer and Young; but readers will look in vain for more than incidental comment on the prosody and critical ideals of the period or on the very important changes effected in the literary career by the development of the book trade and the varying fortunes of political patronage. The literary relations of England with the Continent, too, are little considered. The presence in London after 1688 of a colony of French refugees who did much to diffuse throughout Europe a knowledge of the English, and even the important visit of Voltaire, remain quite unnoticed. The bibliography to Mr Routh's chapter on 'Steele and Addison' indicates the main direction of their influence

abroad, but this is not always true of the other chapters. Of foreign influence upon English writers during the period, indeed, the bulk is less than from 1660–1700, but it scarcely deserves to be passed over with the vaguest comment by all the collaborators save Miss Spurgeon, whose chapter on the mystics should have particular note for its wide and accurate grasp of an important movement in European thought.

Professor Trent's chapter on 'Defoe—the Newspaper and the Novel' contains more new biographical material than any other chapter in the book. It now appears that Defoe was released from Newgate about 1 November 1703, instead of August 1704, and that, therefore, he neither founded *The Review* in prison nor drew wholly upon his imagination for his report of the great storm. This information, like that already furnished by Mr Aitken with regard to *The Apparition of Mrs Veal*, shows that Defoe was not always so independent of his sources as some of his critics have thought. On the other hand, the discovery that his *Appeal to Honour and Justice* did not appear till 24 February 1715, seems to discredit his pathetic plea of ill health for the past six weeks, since January and February of that year had seen him as productive as usual. This, and the further discovery of the methods he employed to clear himself of the blame for his *White Staff* tracts, leave his reputation for truthfulness about where it was. Defoe does not emerge from the treatment of his most exact biographer in the figure of a whitewashed hero. Indeed, Professor Trent comes nearer to an agreement with the contemporaries of Defoe than with those modern students who have shown a disposition to make him out a martyr. That Defoe was a casuist who duped himself, rather than a shameless liar, however, Professor Trent contends. This characteristic of the man does not seem so well borne out by the present chapter's compact array of facts as do his industry and scope, to which the astounding bibliography attests, but nevertheless he is here presented, in a brief space, with a completeness and precision which have not hitherto fallen to his lot. The bibliography to the chapter, which deals also with L'Estrange, should be supplemented by the mention of Mr G. Kitchin's *Sir Roger L'Estrange* (London, 1913). The paragraph which is printed at the end of I.A on page 418 belongs plainly to the bibliography of Defoe, though it is an unimportant addition.

Writing on 'Steele and Addison,' Mr Routh adds a fourth to his chapters on popular literature for the *Cambridge History*. He considers the two men chiefly in their relations to the social movement, with slight emphasis on their biographies or on any of their works beside the periodical essays. Consequently, neither man becomes a vivid personality under Mr Routh's exposition. The great advantage of this reduction of two men of genius to the ranks is that the reader is enabled to see how impressive was the tendency toward softer manners and a wider culture of the middle class, which Steele and Addison found ready to be made conscious of its own direction. The business of Mr Routh's chapter is only incidentally to define



the qualities of the leaders in the movement. He characterizes Mr Spectator with as much sharpness of outline as if he were dealing with a real man; in fact, he is dealing with a real man, the protagonist of the middle class revolution. In his generalizations Mr Routh is nearly always just and discriminating; his special virtue lies in his comment on the essays, which, carefully documented with footnotes, constitutes practically an analysis of *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*.

The chapters on 'Pope' and 'Swift,' by Professor Bensly and Mr Aitken respectively, bring forward no new facts and analyse no large movements. Both writers confine themselves largely to exposition, especially Mr Aitken, who has spent what seems an unnecessary amount of space in summaries, even of the best known of Swift's works. These summaries lack the useful detail of Mr Routh's. Mr Aitken prudently avoids all vexed questions concerning the mystery of Swift's life, and with regard to his style and genius keeps well within the bounds of received opinion. Exception might be taken, however, to his unqualified statement that *A Tale of a Tub* is the 'greatest of English satires' (p. 102). Professor Bensly has missed the opportunity to make that definition of Pope's poetical qualities which it is only now becoming possible to make without prejudice. Having pointed out at the beginning of the chapter that Pope, too, represented a kind of 'return to nature,' Professor Bensly concludes with a paragraph in which he speaks of Pope's age as a 'period when the social interest in man had dwarfed the feeling for nature' (p. 89). This confusion in the use of the term 'nature' does much to vitiate the argument. Fair comment is offered on the variety of Pope's couplets, the fire of his Homer, and the intricacies by which he sought to prepare his correspondence for posterity. His qualities as an artist receive due, though not very precise recognition, but the occasional moral elevation of his satire needs greater emphasis. The Pope bibliography, admittedly only a selection, would gain in usefulness, and that without becoming disproportionately long, if it were more detailed with regard to the prose.

Mr Aitken writes an authoritative chapter on 'Arbuthnot and Lesser Prose Writers.' Nothing serves better to make clear why Arbuthnot was so much esteemed by his contemporaries than a narrative of the bare facts of his life, with a list of the friends who held him first in their regard. The biographical facts are given minutely and the principal work summarized, perhaps with better reason than in the case of Swift. Since one must admit that Arbuthnot has few readers to-day, Mr Aitken seems the less justified in omitting from his bibliography any reference to the convenient edition of *The History of John Bull* prepared by himself in *Later Stuart Tracts* (Dutton, N.Y., n. d.), as part of the reissue of Professor Arber's *English Garner*. The same chapter contains an account of William King, whose poem on a cow is here miscalled *Molly* (for *Mully*) of *Mountown*, and of various literary critics, notably Rymer and Dennis, concerning whom Mr Aitken offers

little criticism. It might have been added that Edward Bysshe's *Art of English Poetry* (1702) had an extensive influence in its day and that Cibber's *Apology* can hardly be surpassed for its comments upon the actor's craft.

The division of the chapter on 'Lesser Verse Writers' between Mr Seecombe and Professor Saintsbury secures for Prior, Gay, Ambrose Philips, Parnell, Lady Winchelsea, Pomfret, and Tickell, as the chief of the slighter poets, the privilege of biographies, while more than a score who live by a name or a poem are treated in Professor Saintsbury's sweeping and vigorous criticism. With his accustomed acuteness, Professor Saintsbury has picked out nearly every fine passage produced by his subjects; he has emphasized the importance of Blackmore in metrical history; and he has done justice, or nearly so, to the merits of Dodsley's two collections. The statement that the *Bacchanalian Song* commonly thought to be by John Philips gave hints to Peacock, can be nothing more than a guess. Mr Bartholomew, who has prepared the bibliography for this half-chapter, ascribes the *Oeconomy of Human Life* to Dodsley, without a hint that both Mr Tedder (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* art. *Dodsley*) and Mr Austin Dobson (*Eighteenth Century Vignettes*, II) give it, on the authority of contemporary opinion, to Chesterfield. Mr Straus (*Robert Dodsley*, 1910) has made the argument for Dodsley so strong that opposition is difficult. To Prior Mr Seecombe devotes about one-half of all the space allotted to his section of the chapter. The author of *Alma* is here said to have 'returned' (p. 154) to his subject of the vanity of the world in his *Solomon*. This seems to imply that Prior did not speak the truth in his Preface to *Solomon* when he said that he had obeyed the Horatian precept and kept his poem by him for nine years. The statement, if true, would put the composition of the poem as early as 1709, whereas *Alma* was not written till after March 1715 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* art. *Prior*). Prior's octosyllabics warrant more comment than Mr Seecombe gives them. In the discussion of Gay no mention is made of *The Present State of Wit* (1711), which, like Gay's essays for *The Guardian* (11 and 149), is not included in the bibliography. Extensive corrections to the section on Gay have already been furnished by Mr E. L. Gay (*Nation*, New York, 24 April 1913). Mr Seecombe reasonably insists that Lady Winchelsea is not to be claimed too surely by such historians of the romantic movement as seem to hold that the eighteenth century existed only to furnish precursors for romanticism.

In the first of his two learned chapters on 'Historical and Political Writers' Dr Ward, confining himself largely to Burnet, gives to *The History of My Own Times* a more extended treatment than that received by any other single work in this volume except *The Spectator*. Bolingbroke, as the chief figure of the second chapter, is represented only by his political writings, and Dr Ward, though paying adequate tribute to his style, specifically excludes (p. 232) from the discussion any estimate of what is, after all, the notable thing about Bolingbroke,

his influence on his own generation. It may seem fastidious to point out that Shaftesbury of the *Characteristics* was the third, not the second, earl (p. 204); that Sanders was translated into French by Maucroix, not Mancroix (p. 196); and that Rapin was not 'sieur de Thomas' (p. 235), but 'sieur de Thoyras.'

Mr Seccombe's short chapter on 'Mémorial-Writers, 1715-60,' serves partly to show why Lord Hervey, the 'Lord Fanny' and 'Sporus' of Pope, should have been attacked with such rancour by the gossip of the day, and why, in consequence, Hervey's *Memoirs* blackened every name they touched. More engaging is the portrait of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, whom Mr Seccombe has presented as scholar, wife, exile, and letter writer, in admirably life-like proportions. In connection with George Bubb Dodington, Browning's poem on him deserves mention.

The first four pages of Mr Whibley's spirited chapter on 'Writers of Burlesque and Translators' might be called 'Scarron in England'; the four following might be 'The Apes of Hudibras.' Scarron's imitators burlesqued the ancients; Butler's the moderns. Mr Whibley has finely contrasted the Elizabethan gravity of Dekker and Nashe with the supple temperaments of Ned Ward and Tom Brown; the belated Tudor Urquhart with the versatile *émigré* Motteux. He has shown how following Dryden's principles of translation and leading their own lives gave the translators of the age the racy colloquialism which adds pungency, and sometimes unintelligibility, to every page. His comments upon three undeniable English classics, Motteux' *Rabelais*, L'Estrange's *Æsop*, and Cotton's *Montaigne*, should help to fix their fame in its proper degree, and he has paid just honours to the little-known Captain John Stevens. The epigram on Dr Fell here ascribed unhesitatingly to Tom Brown (p. 265), it may be noted, is given to him by Mr Duff (p. 329) in less positive terms.

As the *Cambridge History* progresses, one comes more and more to realize how useful for the purposes of the general student is the lucid and untechnical history of English philosophy which Professor Sorley's chapters contain. In 'Berkeley and Contemporary Philosophy' he has analyzed the threefold influence of Locke during the first half of the eighteenth century with his accustomed precision. His particular merit is to have defined the central and significant ideas of many books in the briefest words and yet never to have clogged his chapter. The section devoted to the deists does no more than to state their intellectual position: there is still room for a full study of their service in the formation of English opinion, and particularly of their influence abroad. Such a study would leave few of the liberal movements of the eighteenth century in Europe untouched. To speak of details, the date of *Christianity not Mystical* (1696) is confused (p. 289) with that of Leslie's *Short and Easy Method* (1698), and Sir Leslie Stephen's study of *Mandeville's 'Fable of the Bees'* in *Free Thinking and Plain Speaking* has not been cited.

The chapter on 'William Law and the Mystics' has already been

mentioned for its international scope. Miss Spurgeon adds to genuine sympathy for the mystics a comprehension which is based on searching erudition. Her account of Law's style and mind and character is masterly. She does justice to Byrom's *Private Journal and Literary Remains* and indicates why Henry Brooke, because he lacked the 'clear and imperious intellect' of Law, must be thought greatly inferior as a thinker. Her bibliography exhibits particular excellence in the section devoted to Boehme's influence in England, an important factor which historians of the seventeenth century have as yet barely touched upon.

The commanding figure of Bentley in Mr Duff's section of the chapter on 'Scholars and Antiquaries' has somewhat obscured the general bearings of the controversy which gave Bentley his widest fame. The quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns was not merely an idle squabble into which Bentley happened to be drawn, but one phase, in itself not very important, of that great shift of European opinion about the end of the seventeenth century from which arose the idea of progress, and which led through the Enlightenment to the French Revolution and its consequences. Bentley does not lose but gains by being associated with such a movement. Mr Duff's preoccupation with Bentley as an isolated figure also appears in his strange statement that Garth's *Dispensary* is chiefly remembered for a couplet on Bentley and Boyle (p. 333). Mr Aldis, writing on 'Antiquaries,' reduces to compact and readable form a very large mass of information not to be found elsewhere without painful search.

Mr Henderson's chapter on 'Scottish Popular Poetry before Burns' traces the progress of the popular tradition from the heavy bondage of Knox to its preparation for Burns at the hands of Fergusson. In general Mr Henderson follows the line of his previous treatment of the subject in Chapters XI-XIII of *Scottish Vernacular Literature*. Of particular interest is his discussion of the reciprocal relations between English and Scottish song in the seventeenth century. Mr Aldis, who furnishes the chapter with an extensive bibliography of general Scottish literature during the period under discussion, omits from his list the *New Poems by James I of England*, edited by Mr A. F. Westcott (New York, 1911).

The last chapter in the book, 'Education,' by Professor Adamson, is a practical account of the English educational system from 1660-1760, with a useful discussion of the actual curriculums of each generation and a valuable survey of educational reformers and their schemes. The author furnishes interesting information with regard to the dissenting academies and the courtly tradition which had persisted from the Middle Ages among the nobility. He handles with discretion the bearing of the Ancient and Modern controversy upon the development of education, but he is not quite justified in his statement that 'from the side which was in the wrong...we derive.....the misapprehension which traces the renascence to the fall of Constantinople in 1453' (p. 391). As early as 1524 Luther, in his 'Letter to the Mayors and

Aldermen of all the Cities of Germany in Behalf of Christian Schools,' had declared that God 'gave Greece a prey to the Turks, in order that Greek scholars, driven from home and scattered abroad, might bear the Greek tongue to other countries, and thereby excite an interest in the study of languages.' While Temple may have naturalized the idea in England, one cannot say positively that he originated it. Professor Adamson's comments on certain English courtesy books remind one that a critical record of such productions would form an important chapter in the history of English manners and opinions.

Some further inaccuracies of detail in the book generally may be mentioned. Akenside's *Pleasures of the Imagination* (1744) is dated 1764 (p. 62). Of Perrault's *Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes* (1688-94) only the first volume appeared in 1688 (p. 572). Gay's unpublished translations from Ariosto appeared in 1909 (p. 481). Mr Dobson's *Steele* is in the 'English Worthies' series (p. 442). There are obvious misprints of 'Phaetan' for 'Phaeton' (p. 476), 'Fuigallian' for 'Fingallian' (p. 502), and 'Studies of a Bibliographer' for 'Studies of a Biographer' (p. 513).

CARL VAN DOREN.

NEW YORK.

*English Literature and the Classics.* [Lectures] collected by G. S. GORDON. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1912. 8vo. 252 pp.

The editor writes: 'This book is a collection of nine lectures delivered in Oxford at the invitation of the Board of English Studies in the winter of 1911-12. They were addressed primarily to members of the English School, but in effect to all students of modern literature in the University who cared to hear, from students of ancient literature, something of what the Classics mean in the history of letters.'

It may be said that all the lectures are valuable to students of English literature, because any one literature must illustrate another, because our own literature owes so much to the literature of Greece and Rome, and because in these pages a number of Greek and Roman authors are expounded by men who are masters of their subject. The various lecturers, however, do not all conceive their task in the same way—some being content to interpret the thought of the classical writer they are dealing with, while others go further and trace the influence of the writer on English literature in general or on certain selected English authors. The latter group of lecturers therefore puts students of English literature under a double obligation.

The book opens with Professor Gilbert Murray's lecture on 'Greek and English Tragedy: a Contrast.' Professor Murray perhaps hardly gives us as much as is promised in his title. He emphasizes the religious character of Greek tragedy and shows that within a rigidly restrained form it can give us a truthful psychology. English tragedy, on the other hand, he says, is 'primarily an entertainment.' 'Our

stage demands beautiful women as actresses...our permeating atmosphere is that of love between the sexes.' There is no mention of *Hamlet* or *Lear* or *Macbeth*, or any admission that in them tragedy shows itself in a form which, while different from that of the Greeks, has had scarcely a less spiritualising effect on the minds of men.

Professor Stewart's lecture on 'Platonism in English Poetry' is excellent. Here it is the modern literature which is the main subject. Professor Stewart does not attempt, however, to trace Plato's influence throughout the whole course of English poetry, but fixes the attention of his hearers primarily on Wordsworth, Coleridge and Shelley. In these—and chiefly in Wordsworth—he finds what he calls 'personal Platonism' (in Shelley it is a little hidden by his non-Platonic tendency to personification, but it is still there). In other words, 'the mood of one who has a curious eye for the endless variety of this visible and temporal world and a fine sense of its beauties, yet is haunted by the presence of an invisible and eternal world behind, or, when the mood is most pressing, *within* the visible and temporal world, and sustaining both it and himself—a world not perceived as external to himself, but inwardly lived by him, as that with which, in moments of ecstasy, or even habitually, he is become one.' The poets who have this mood should, he thinks, be studied first. They will be the touchstone to discover genuine Platonism in the many other poets who use the traditional Platonic apparatus.

The lecture on 'Theophrastus and his Imitators' is by Mr Gordon, the general editor, and is an excellent study of character-writing in ancient and modern times, written with much brilliance and wit.

Mr J. S. Phillimore, in his lecture on 'The Greek Romances,' devotes much of his time to minute questions which can hardly have been interesting to his audience: he makes practically no reference to English literature, which, as Dr Wolff has lately shown, has borrowed from the Greek romances so many motives of novel and drama; and his treatment is merely darkened by his attempts at 'smartness' of expression. A classical friend has drawn my attention to one statement on p. 92: 'The Greeks have never been passionately interested in Religion as the social expression of heroic goodwill [a rather obscure phrase], only as matter for the curious speculations of individual dilettanti.' May it not be maintained, he adds, that Religion was for the average Greek primarily a civic affair, and that when the city state broke down, so did his interest in state religion? It must not be thought that Mr Phillimore's paper is without solid value. It seems, however, less suited for its intended audience than the other contents of the collection.

Mr A. C. Clark's account of 'Ciceronianism,' based on Zielinski, is one of the lectures which will appeal most to the English student, and it is written with an Attic concinnity very refreshing after Mr Phillimore's Alexandrianism. One may question the justice of the statement that 'Johnson's ears seem deaf to music.' Is there not a grave music in many of the periods of *Rasselas*?

There is a lofty seriousness about Mr Garrod's lecture on Vergil, and some freedom of speculation, especially in his development of the thesis 'This poet whom we regard as so typically Roman is half a Celt.' Mr Garrod does not touch on Vergil's influence in England, but his lecture is a very valuable one.

Mr S. G. Owen has put a great deal of careful work into his lecture on Ovid. He is clearly wrong, however, in explaining Golding's 'alate' (*Met.* xv. 288) as 'winged,' 'erected,' rather than = 'of late' (see *N.E.D.*). Not only are Ovid's characteristics excellently shown (pp. 171-173), but Ovid's influence on English writers from Chaucer onwards is examined with a thoroughness which makes this paper a valuable contribution to the history of our own literature. We notice that Mr Owen claims to have proved that Shakespeare read the *Fasti* in the original.

The same praise may be given to Mr R. J. E. Tiddy's lecture on 'Satura and Satire.' The title itself indicates a very useful distinction, and Mr Tiddy shows a masterly ease in discriminating the characteristics of different satirists, Roman and English. He is on more dangerous ground when he dismisses Quintilian's statement that 'Satura' was wholly Roman, as having 'rather less truth than most of those sweeping statements by which literary criticism seeks to arrest the attention of a yawning world.' Between the two authorities, we may perhaps incline to the opinion that Quintilian was in a position to know more of the matter than Mr Tiddy.

The concluding lecture on 'Senecan Tragedy' is by Mr Godley, and as we might expect it contains some fine verse-translations, and is written throughout with brilliancy and *verve*. Seneca's characteristics are so happily touched that we must not complain that Mr Godley has left it to some successor to show in detail the influence of Seneca on the Elizabethans.

It is the best testimony to the merits of this most interesting collection that it leaves us asking for more. We should not be sorry to have some of the same subjects treated again by new hands: and we should certainly welcome lectures on subjects which here find no place, such as Plautus and Terence, the Pindaric and Horatian Odes, the Letter-writers, the Idyll, the didactic poem and the Epic, all in their special relation to English literature.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

*English Lyrical Poetry.* By EDWARD BLISS REED. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press (London, H. Frowde). 1911. 8vo. 616 pp.

This volume is a history of the English lyric from *Deor's Lament* to the works of Mr Alfred Noyes, and though, perhaps, the whole of the ground has been covered before, Professor Reed may justly claim to have given unity to the subject, and to have reduced within the compass of

a single volume what has hitherto been dealt with only in detached works treating of the separate periods of lyric history. Long as the resulting volume is, the author must have found it short enough when confronted with the task of bringing within its limits the mass of material necessarily met with in surveying a field of such magnitude. This he has been able successfully to accomplish by omitting all biographical details not bearing directly on the subject in hand, by excluding from his consideration all Irish and Scottish lyrists except those of the very first importance, and by omitting, especially in the chapters devoted to the Nineteenth Century Lyric and the Lyric of To-day, reference to minor poets, at least a few of whom we should gladly have seen included.

Such compression as has been necessary has two attendant dangers; it is apt to make literary history degenerate into something resembling a mere list, and it tends to produce dulness. From both of these faults the present volume is happily free: there is not a dull page in it, and instead of bringing together long lists of titles and poets' names, Professor Reed has adopted the wiser course of selecting as illustrations only a few of the best and most important lyrics by each author, varying the number chosen according to the importance of the lyrist under discussion. It is here that his good and catholic taste is displayed, while a sound and keen judgment enables him to seize on, and present in a very concise form, what is most salient and vital in an author's thought and form or style, the substance always being, apparently, of more importance than the form. Accordingly it is as a record of the kind and amount of thought that the lyric has at different times been able to carry that the book is specially valuable, and it is interesting to note, as Professor Reed develops their history from Elizabethan to modern times, how the themes of the lyric have widened in range and deepened in content. From time to time, indeed, the lyric would seem to have become overweighted intellectually, and, in consequence, impaired. The author cites, as an instance of this, Wordsworth's 'My heart leaps up.' It may be so, but this lowering of the emotional temperature towards the end of a lyric poem is a phenomenon by no means uncommon, and probably has some intimate connection with the natural form of a lyric considered as an isolated creative act of the lyric spirit.

Bearing in mind his obvious preference for the subject-matter of the poems, we are not surprised to find that Professor Reed gives a prominent place to subjectivity among the criteria of lyrical poetry, and though, as he points out, this is not the only test, we are glad that he admits as lyrists poets like Donne, Landor, Clough, and Arnold, whose main claim to the title lies in the strongly subjective character of their work.

A commendable feature of the book as a history is that it is thoroughly organic. No new 'Movement' begins, no thread of influence enters our literature, but the author keeps it in view and we find it woven inextricably into the fabric of the book. Thus, for example, advantage has been taken of a separate chapter on the Tudor Lyric to include an able account of Petrarch; and his wide influence on



English poetic thought and form is carefully followed out in the subsequent pages of the volume. Or again, we have the Elizabethan point of view recurring as late as Keats, who is described as 'an Elizabethan reborn.' The several formal varieties of the lyric receive similar treatment, and were we, for example, to gather together all that is said of the sonnet or of the ode, we should have a continuous and not inconsiderable history of these two forms. It is this that gives value and interest to individual judgments of the author, such as, for instance, that Shelley is supreme in the lyric, or that Wordsworth's Immortality Ode is the greatest English ode, or that 'Tears, idle tears' is the most beautiful unrhymed lyric in the language. We feel that they are the fruits of careful criticism, and, though we may not always agree with them, we accord them the respect due to considered statements.

Very rarely indeed are there slips or lapses in the book, and most of these are rather mis-statements than positive errors. Thus it is surely misleading to say, as Professor Reed does (p. 154), that in his sonnets Sidney follows the Petrarchian rhyme scheme, and at the same time to point out that he almost invariably closes his sestet with a couplet. Sidney, of course, does not follow the rhyme scheme of Petrarch, for among the three hundred and seventeen sonnets of the latter poet, there are fewer than half a dozen with the couplet ending. Nor do we agree with the statement (p. 298) that Milton does not observe 'the sharp separation of the octave and sestet' in his sonnets. As has been pointed out before in *The Modern Language Review*, the division is sharply made in nine out of his eighteen English sonnets by a strong stop at the end of the eighth line, while in most of the remaining nine cases only a very slight licence is taken as to the position of the pause.

From another point of view the volume is interesting; it is a notable illustration of a current tendency in literary critical method to isolate, as far as may be, the different literary *genera* and to examine them as units. However impossible or undesirable it may be to make such isolation complete, the attempt is justifiable and the method valuable for purposes of classification, and for securing clearer definition of each species than would be possible if the form in question were allowed to remain during examination merged with others among which it might chance to lie. It is to be regretted that the author has not availed himself, so fully as he might have done, of the opportunity he has thus created for himself. On reaching the end of a volume in which discriminating scholarship and careful research are evident on almost every page, we are disappointed to find that he does not tell us more of the *nature* of the lyric and its impulse. For surely the first chapter, which is for the most part concerned with formulating a 'working definition,' is no adequate record of the conclusions to which, we imagine, his long and exhaustive study of the lyric must have led him. Nor can we help regretting that in this vital chapter the author departs from his habitually lucid and perspicuous style. The original difficulty of defining the lyric, due to the necessary distinction between lyrical

quality and lyrical form, is undoubtedly enhanced by the shifting point of view from which at different times it has been regarded; but there is a certain homogeneity about the English lyric, which makes us almost wish that Professor Reed could have left the Greek lyric out of count in framing his definition, for it is in the attempted compromise between the Greek and the modern points of view that there arises the confusion of terms which detracts from the clearness of the chapter. 'All songs,' says Professor Reed, 'all poems following classic lyric forms; all short poems expressing the writer's moods and feelings in a rhythm that suggests music, are to be considered lyrics.' The author confesses that this 'completed definition' is not free from ambiguity: nor, having regard to his express warning that the word 'song' must not be given its modern restricted meaning, do we think it free from redundancy. If, as apparently we are bidden to do, we must give our English word 'song' that 'all-embracing' signification by which the Greeks included in it, among other things, their formal odes and chorals, the second clause in the definition seems superfluous; while if we ignore the author's injunction and interpret the word in its more limited, popular, modern sense, then surely its meaning is sufficiently covered by the third part of the definition, since the genuine folk ballads are excluded—rightly we think—from the lyric field. Similarly, the frequently recurring compound, 'song-quality,' is not once clearly defined, and we are never quite sure whether the author intends it to mean general lyrical quality or the quality possessed by the song as a special variety of the lyric. Again, is it not unwise to speak of a poem as a lyric, because it imitates a Greek lyric form (p. 7)? It is true that a poem with lyrical quality may not be a lyric, but it is equally true that there can be no lyric without lyrical quality, and, if the words of a poem be not quickened by the true lyric energy, then no matter what the form in which it may be cast, the poem is not a lyric in the proper sense of the word.

But the faults in the book are mere specks on the sun; and of its value as a contribution to literary history there can be no manner of doubt.

NORMAN HEPPLÉ.

GATESHEAD.

*Idylls of Fishermen: A History of the Literary Species.* By HENRY MARION HALL. New York: Columbia University Press. 1912. 8vo. 216 pp.

It was a happy idea of Dr Hall's, whether it was conceived by him or suggested to him, to make a book on the history of Piscatory Eclogues. In the temple of Pastoralism, Piscatory Eclogues have a chapel of their own which was worth study. Mr Hall not only had the idea, but carried it out; and the result is a work which has been 'approved by the Department of English and Comparative Literature

in Columbia University as a contribution to knowledge worthy of publication,' and which presumably has earned him his doctor's degree.

The author has treated his subject in a comprehensive and systematic manner, in that sort of manner, in fact, which in writers of doctor-dissertations tends a little to the mechanical. He has started by pointing out the fisher-pictures in Homer, the Shield of Heracles and Theocritus' pastorals: has gone on to the Idyll attributed to Theocritus which has been the parent of the piscatory *genre*; thence to the Latin piscatory eclogues of Sannazaro, with their crop of similar eclogues in Italy, Spain and France; thence to those of Phineas Fletcher and the Scotch and English authors who followed him, till the fisher-poem, affected by the didacticism of Walton's *Angler*, became rather a Georgic than an Eclogue. Incidentally, but sufficiently, Mr Hall has shown how the piscatory *motif*, like the pastoral, has passed from the eclogue into romance, drama and lyric.

It is convenient to have all this put into a single volume, and to find the part played in the history by a number of minor authors of various countries, of whom previously one has never heard. The bibliography and index are a very useful addition. But while we are grateful to Mr Hall and to the authorities of Columbia University for the book, we think that its execution leaves something to be desired.

In the first place one is a little surprised that in a book appealing to an instructed public, it should be thought necessary to give all quotations from foreign authors in English. Homer is quoted only from Bryant's translation, Vergil from Dryden's, Theocritus and Moschus from Mr Andrew Lang's (whether 'by permission' is not stated). We trust that this course was taken for the readers' and not for the author's convenience, but there are some things which give us pause. The author's introduction of Neptune, Jove and Hercules into Greek environments is hardly in the manner of a modern scholar: and he is not even consistent, for he favours us from time to time with Posidon (*sic*), Zeus and Heracles. His description of Hecate, as 'one of the Trinity to which Artemis belonged' (p. 9) is a little odd. The writer Antiphanes regularly appears as 'Antiphanis,' in the way in which books are sometimes found labelled 'Ciceronis' or 'Virgili.' It is a little startling to read of 'Lucian's *play* the Fisherman...in which the *poet* sits on a parapet of the Acropolis' (p. 31). 'Pomponius Bononiensis' strikes one as a strange name till we find that Pomponius was entitled to be called 'Bononiensis.' The spellings 'Palemon' (p. 90) and 'Pelopponesus' (p. 156) are unusual.

In the case of Sannazaro Mr Hall does not express himself as indebted to any other translator, so we presume that the translations of this author here given are his own. These also present some surprises. In his *Proteus*, Sannazaro asks his patron not to despise the Muse of the shore:—'*Quam tibi post sylvas, post horrida lustra Lycaeï, ...salsas deduxi primus ad undas.*' Mr Hall translates:—'Whom after her sojourn in forests or in bristling groves of Bacchus, I,' etc. (p. 58). What are 'groves of Bacchus' doing here? one asks. A small schoolboy

seeing the line 'Ausus inexperta tentare pericula cymba,' might at first be in doubt with which word to take 'inexperta.' He could not get out of his difficulty worse than by adopting Mr Hall's translation, 'Daring in my untried fishing skiff to attempt perils yet untried' (*ibid.*). Nothing could be more careless than the author's rendering of 'sæpe ipse pedum vestigia quæro: Et si quid manibus tetigisti, floribus orno,' 'Often I search for thy very footprints—and if I find any, I adorn them with flowers' (p. 61).

Mr Hall's idiosyncrasies are not seen merely in his relation to the classics. He tells us that the Mosella is the Meuse (p. 43); he speaks of 'Spanish eclogues by Camões' (p. 86) and of 'a dose of "hell-bore"' (p. 28). Other errors are less serious, such as his spelling of Dr Greg's name as 'Gregg' (pp. 73, 139), his ignorance that Killingworth is the same place as Kenilworth (p. 98 *note*), the date 1610 for 1510 (p. 65 *note*), 'Sir J. Hawkin's' for Sir J. Hawkins' (p. 186 *note*), his non-acquaintance with Dr Boas' edition of Giles and Phineas Fletcher, and an occasional absurdity, such as 'As an island play "Sicelides" belongs, topographically at least, to the same category as Nashe's "Isle of Dogs."' Spellings such as 'nearby,' 'hardby,' and expressions such as 'the last of the lot' (p. 29), 'a bit stiff' (p. 163), are not classical with us.

Mr Hall's book, as we have said, appears to have merits, but it must be read, to use his own words of another book, as 'an interesting work, but not very accurate,' and we may feel some surprise that the heads of the Department of English and Comparative Literature in Columbia University did not assist the author to clear it of some of its surviving errors before it was sent to the press with their *imprimatur*.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

*The Science of Etymology.* By W. W. SKEAT. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1912. 8vo. xviii + 242 pp.

The object of this book, which Professor Skeat just lived to see published, is, we are told in the preface, 'to draw attention to some of the principles that should guide the student of etymology in general, and of English etymology in particular, in order that any one who employs an etymological dictionary may be able to do so with some degree of intelligence and to some profit.' It is clear that Dr Skeat, having incorporated the results of recent philological investigation in the latest edition of his well-known Etymological Dictionary, felt constrained to subject to revision his earlier books dealing with the methods of etymology, especially his *Principles of English Etymology*. The first ninety pages of the work under review give an outline of some of the general principles underlying the study, some 'useful canons,' and numerous examples, taken from various languages. A characteristic chapter on the folly and wickedness of 'pedants' closes the

preliminary portion of the book. Much of this matter has already appeared in earlier works of the author, but a fuller account is here given of the methods of comparison by which 'speech types' are arrived at, and a useful chapter on 'the value of English in the scheme of comparative philology' provides interesting analogies for the student. The remaining part of the book consists of chapters dealing with the principal language-groups of the Indo-European family of speech. Here the author gives in summary form, including long lists of examples, the results of the investigations of specialists, making large use of Brugmann's *Grundriss* as well as of Fick's and of Uhlenbeck's works, to all of which Dr Skeat fully acknowledges his indebtedness. His treatment of the subject is purposely made from an English point of view and is thereby rendered more interesting and helpful to the English student.

As the book is likely to be recommended to youthful but serious learners, and as especial stress is laid by the author on the necessity of accuracy and scientific method (*e.g.* on p. 2), it seems advisable to note some points in which these requirements are not strictly fulfilled. On p. 18 we are told that 'the scribes invented the symbol *gh* to express this guttural (*i.e.* the sound of *h* in the O.E. *riht*), but Norman dislike of it gradually prevailed upon the majority to suppress the sound itself!' (The note of exclamation is Professor Skeat's.) On p. 203 it is stated that the O.E. word *hors* supplanted the word *eoh* because 'perhaps the form *eoh* (or *eh*) had become too attenuated; it represents an early Teut. type *\*ehw-oz*, and the form that resulted from the loss of the nom. suffix *-oz* was not a happy one.' The explanation of *i*-umlaut given by Dr Skeat on p. 53 runs thus: 'the man who becomes very familiar with the form *\*badi* may come in course of time to say *bedi*; because, knowing that he has to sound *i* in the second syllable, he unconsciously somewhat raises the tone of *a*, by imperceptible gradations, till at last it becomes a clear *e*, and there it remains, because *e* is so well known and so common.' This gives a somewhat misleading idea of what really takes place in speech-change, as it implies that such a change as umlaut takes place and is consummated in the speech of the individual, and further that the individual is conscious and unconscious at the same time with regard to his pronunciation.

Such occasional weaknesses, however, do not detract from the usefulness of the book as a storehouse of aptly chosen and informing examples of linguistic correspondences, which throw a flood of light on questions connected with English, and in general with Indo-European, etymology. In particular the chapters on Celtic and Lithuanian-Slavonic correspondences may be recommended to students whose attention has been limited to Germanic, Greek and Latin.

We are unwilling to conclude this notice of Professor Skeat's last piece of work without paying a tribute to the great services rendered by him to the study of English. Of these services the two greatest, we think, apart from his ever-ready helpfulness, were that he made the study of early English authors more interesting as well as more easy to

students, and that he invested the subject of English etymology with a charm which it had never before had, and which was compatible with due observance of scientific method. In these days of specialisation it is unlikely that any one scholar will ever again loom so large in the field of English philology as the late Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon.

W. J. SEDGEFIELD.

MANCHESTER.

*Patience, a West Midland Poem of the Fourteenth Century.* Edited by HARTLEY BATESON. Manchester: University Press. 1912. 8vo. x + 149 pp.

Mr Bateson, as Faulkner Fellow of the University of Manchester, has produced a very useful edition of a poem which certainly needs more attention than it has hitherto received. In his Introduction he gives an account of its relation to the other poems of the group to which it belongs, and of these to one another, which may be regarded as in the main sound, assigning to the purely alliterative poems, *Patience* and *Cleanness*, the earliest place, placing *Sir Gawayne* next to these, with a special relation to the latter of the two, and *Pearl*, chronologically last in the series. Mr Bateson, however, is rather too apt to digress, and in consequence his argument is less clear than it might be. Instead of setting forth his own views independently, he is much too constantly engaged in dealing with those of other critics, some of which might be left altogether alone and others discussed separately. What is the use, for example, of mentioning the conjecture that Chaucer's 'philosophical Strode' was the author of the poems? Mr Bateson calls it 'plausible,' and yet he admits that there is no evidence for it of any kind. Even if Chaucer's friend were to be identified with the Ralph Strode whose name occurs in the registers of Merton College, it is practically certain that the poem there ascribed to him, the 'Phantasma Radulphi,' was in Latin elegiac verse and cannot have been identical with *Pearl*. (Incidentally it may be said that the originator of the suggestion was not Professor Gollancz but Dr Horstmann.) Again, there are too many allusive references, assuming familiarity on the part of the reader with the work of former critics, when direct statement of the issues would have been the more convenient method. It is doubtful, too, whether the discussion of a possible relation between *Patience* and the various texts of *Piers Plowman* is a profitable one as conducted by the editor. The alliterative combination of patience and poverty is not much to go upon, especially as the connexion is emphasised by Tertullian, to whom the author of *Patience* is known to be indebted. The multiple authorship of *Piers Plowman*, which seems to be assumed by Mr Bateson, is certainly not yet proved.

In several passages of the text the editor has made suggestions which are of value:—

l. 1. The insertion of 'noble' (cf. l. 531) may be regarded as a certain emendation.

188, MS. 'þer ragnel in his rakentes hym rere of his dremes,' a much disputed passage. Mr Bateson proposes 'rag nel' and translates, 'Where the fellow in his chains (of sleep) will not arise from his dreams.' He is probably on the right track, but he should read 'þe rag' for 'þer rag.'

235, MS. 'to serue,' which makes no sense. The editor proposes 'to serwe,' i.e. 'to sorrow,' which is quite a probable suggestion.

267. 'þrwe in at his þrote.' Mr Bateson, rightly no doubt, translates 'lept into his throat.'

On the other hand, the editor has not rightly understood the expression in l. 106, 'the lofe winnes.' The 'luff' is the windward direction, 'to keep one's luff' is to keep the ship's head up to the wind; so 'to win the luff' might well mean to make headway towards the wind, so as to gain distance, after which, when well out of the harbour, the ship might safely go round. Translate therefore simply 'they gain the luff.'

Again the alterations proposed in l. 460 can hardly be right. We must take 'þe deuil haf' here as an expletive, 'in the devil's name,' like 'a godes half,' used merely to strengthen the assertion; 'the devil a bit he cared for food that day.' We have the expression 'What the deuil hatz þou don?' in l. 196.

In some of his statements Mr Bateson is rather too loose. Why, for example, does he say (p. 94) that in ll. 1–60 the verses generally resolve themselves into groups of four, or if not of four, then of five and three? After the first twelve lines the arrangement is distinctly in couplets to l. 28, and again from l. 49 to l. 60 the arrangement is entirely in groups of either two or three lines. In fact the arrangement in fours is quite as frequent after l. 60 as before. Again, what does Mr Bateson mean by his remark (p. 36) about the distribution of the *-es* and *-en* forms of plural in the present indicative of the verb? He gives ll. 106–134 as a passage in which *-es* persists; but in this passage there are only two examples of the present indicative plural, at the beginning and the end, ll. 106 and 133, and the former of these is not taken as plural by Mr Bateson. There is no grouping here at all. Again the passage from l. 145 to l. 268 is given as an example of the persistency of *-en* forms; but here again there are hardly any present indicative plural forms at all; in upwards of a hundred and twenty lines there are perhaps five or six scattered about, and of these one (l. 208) has the *-ez* ending. Again there is no grouping.

It would have been better if the editor had ventured to distinguish *ȝ* and *z* in the text. It is true that in this manuscript, as in many others (e.g., the Trinity Coll. Camb. MS. of *Piers Plowman*), the same symbol does duty for both; but a modern edition ought surely to give us 'sechez,' 'on-sydez,' 'watz,' and not 'secheȝ,' etc.

There are several misprints, of which the most important is 'scape' for 'schape' in l. 160. As a matter of typography, too, it would have been well to distinguish the manuscript readings cited in the notes from the accompanying words, either by inverted commas or by some difference of type.

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*Tableau de la littérature française au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.* Par FORTUNAT STROWSKI. Paris: Paul Delaplane. 1912. 12mo. ix + 538 pp.

'Son art même, son art raffiné, n'a presque rien pu sauver de son œuvre. Il n'y a que l'âme qui fasse vivre.' Such is M. Strowski's verdict on Beranger's poetry, and the concluding words may be taken as the motto of his book. If he were pressed, he would probably admit that style alone, in the large sense of the word, will preserve a literary work, as any other work of art, from absolute death, but he would insist, and rightly insist, that it is only soul that can give it true life, the life that germinates and fructifies. That this is his point of view is clear from his treatment of Mérimée, of whom he says, 'Doubtless he had in him some warmth of soul, some flame of youth and generosity; but the fear of ridicule, the apprehension of appearing to be a dupe, and above all the inadequacy of his spiritual life and of his faculty for admiration condemned him to irony and insensibility, and prevented him from giving free play to emotion and truth.' This is perfectly just, and it does not prevent M. Strowski from recognising Mérimée's great merits as an artist of short stories, and his charm as a letter-writer.

In fine, M. Strowski, whose careful and penetrating studies of Montaigne and Pascal we have all admired, is an eminent representative of that spiritual idealism which underlying many differences is a marked characteristic of French literature of to-day. In a graceful note to his preface he acknowledges his debt to his friend, M. Téodor de Wyzewa, who was among the first to revive this idealism by his articles in the *Revue Wagnérienne*, founded in 1885. In the same year another leader of the movement, M. Melchior de Vogüé, whose importance M. Strowski fully recognises but hardly makes sufficiently clear, contributed to the *Revue des deux mondes* the last of his 'notable studies of *Le roman russe*'. It was also the year of Victor Hugo's death and apotheosis—that apotheosis which in its strange mixture of the sublime with the grotesque was so striking an illustration of Hugo's theory of art<sup>2</sup>.

The 130 pages which M. Strowski devotes to the period from 1850 to 1885 are perhaps the most valuable of his book, for they

<sup>1</sup> In the same year M. Paul Bourget completed in the *Nouvelle revue* his *Essais de psychologie contemporaine*, which deal with the chief writers of the Second Empire.

<sup>2</sup> Compare M. Biré's description with that of M. Barrès quoted by M. Strowski.



are the best attempt that I know to consider this period as a whole. If we are still too near it to focus properly its individual writers, we can at any rate make a fairly accurate estimate of the general trend of its thought and literature. 'The triumph of positive ideas' is the title which M. Strowski gives to this part of his book, and he could have devised no better one. The Second Empire represents a general reaction alike from the republican and socialistic dreams which had led to the fiasco of 1848, from the eclectic and idealistic philosophy of Cousin, and from the over-heated imagination and exaggerated individualism of Romantic literature. In the forefront of his survey M. Strowski rightly places Comte. For the exclusive study of positive facts, and the elimination of metaphysical ideas, moral aspiration, and undefined sentiment are the keynote of nearly the whole literature of the period. 'Adieu le rêve, l'enthousiasme, la poésie!' But hand in hand with science and positivist philosophy came the more ignoble pursuit of pleasure and material prosperity. 'France amused herself. Laughter, luxury, movement, and life were the only dream of the young generation which conducted Napoleon III so gaily to Metz and Sedan.' And M. Strowski notes as the literary expression of this universal 'joie de vivre' the 'esprit boulevardier,' and as its best representative Labiche. It is pleasant to find Labiche in the same chapter with Comte, and it gives one confidence in M. Strowski's critical faculty to see that he can appreciate a writer who for some critics is nothing but a 'pure amuseur.' For he recognises that Labiche can create living types, and that he has given us a picture of the *bourgeoisie* under the Second Empire, which if caricatured is none the less substantially true. An even more characteristic product of the epoch is the opera-bouffe which Meilhac and Halévy wedded to the music of Offenbach. It was perhaps the irreverent, but by no means malicious, gaiety of *La belle Hélène* and *La grande Duchesse de Gérolstein* that implanted in Englishmen that idea of Gallic levity which it has taken so many years to dispel.

On the other hand, serious social comedy had two highly successful representatives in Augier and Dumas *filis*. At the close of the empire they both had a great reputation, which during the last ten years has been steadily declining. The best work of both was done between 1854 and 1865, but it is doubtful whether even this will last. It is significant that in *Le gendre de M. Poirier*, which is generally regarded as his masterpiece, Augier had the assistance of Sandeau. The only two of his characters besides Poirier who have any claim to life are Giboyer and Maître Guérin. His types are less happily chosen and less sharply defined than those of Labiche, and his style with much greater pretensions to literature is often laboured and heavy-handed. Thus, for all his vigour, sincerity, healthy morality, and knowledge of the stage, it is doubtful whether his comedies will survive except as documents<sup>1</sup>. Of

<sup>1</sup> All the bad that can be said of Augier has been said by M. Sprenck in the *Revue des deux mondes* for Nov. 15, 1905. Though his article is steeped in Parnassian and anti-bourgeois prejudice it contains much truth.

Dumas  *fils* M. Strowski says that his comedies are more remote from us than Augier's. The reason for this is that Dumas in addition to his inability to create a character—his best attempts are Olivier de Jalin (*Le Demi-monde*) and M. de Ryons (*L'ami des femmes*), who are himself, and the Comte de la Rivonnière (*Un père prodigue*) who is his father—hampered his art by devoting it to the support of moral theses, often paradoxical or Utopian or even perverse, instead of to the broad observation of humanity. As a thinker on social questions he had great influence, especially after the war, when he played a resolute part in the endeavour to reconstruct the basis of society, but it is doubtful whether his fame as a dramatist will ever return.

M. Strowski does not put Flaubert among the moralists, but he was a more effective moralist than Dumas  *fils*, because he was an unconscious one. There are few novels that point a more salutary moral than *Madame Bovary* or *L'éducation sentimentale*. It was Flaubert's misfortune that he was tormented by a too conscientious devotion to rules and theories. 'Impassivity' and 'Art for art' may be regarded as two sides of the same theory. They are less dangerous than the cognate one of 'Art for the artist,' which Flaubert expressed in 'Il faut écrire pour soi avant tout.' If it is, the function of art to interpret nature and humanity, then to keep aloof from the world is as bad for the artist as to let 'the world be too much with him.' If he expresses emotions and sensations which are interesting only to himself, his art, however impeccable in form, will interest only a few—possibly only himself.

Happily all artists who are men of genius unconsciously escape from their theories. Even Leconte de Lisle, with all his unbending dogmatism, could not maintain his impersonality and impassivity. His poetry reveals clearly enough his pessimism, his hatred of Christianity, his loathing of the Second Empire. But the past and distant civilisations, which to use M. Strowski's expressive phrase he has made 'the asylum of his thought,' are too remote in interest, and the beauty of his verse is too cold and monotonous to make him popular with the average lover of poetry. The blue sky and the pure atmosphere of the desert have a wonderful charm at first, but soon the traveller wearies of the endless sand and sighs for a trickling stream and a blade of grass.

Leconte de Lisle was born in 1818, and most of the writers who had reached fame before the downfall of the Second Empire were born within half-a-dozen years of this date. Taine was born in 1828. But M. Strowski rightly includes in his survey of this period two writers who belong to an older generation, and who both began their career as ardent Romanticists—Sainte-Beuve and Gautier. Gautier, whose *Émaux et Camées* appeared in 1852, was closely allied both by friendship and community of views with Flaubert and Leconte de Lisle, and 'l'oncle Beuve,' whose catholic taste, craving for popularity, and innate love of observation and fact all led him to sympathise with the younger generation, was an acceptable *convive* at the famous fortnightly dinners *chez* Magny, where with Gautier, Flaubert, Taine, Renan and others he

talked all unconscious that there was 'a chiel among them takin' notes'.

M. Strowski duly notes the influence of Sainte-Beuve and of Gautier on the Parnassian school. Their appreciation of literary merit and originality led them also to encourage a poet whom M. Strowski rightly acclaims as superior to Leconte de Lisle and his disciples, and as 'perhaps the most original poet in our literature.' But it is hardly consistent with this estimate that he finds in *Les fleurs du mal* 'a certain prosaic gait, as if the author had first written them in prose and then turned them into verse.' Baudelaire, it is true, is unequal, like most poets, but except when he chooses an unpoetical theme his verse has the authentic note of true poetry. He is only prosaic when his morbid and perverse imagination drags his Muse into strange and unwholesome corners, where the healthy reader does not care to follow her. Once more 'Art for the artist' is a dangerous maxim.

Sainte-Beuve recognised the genius of Flaubert and Baudelaire, but he had closer relations with Renan and Taine, his peers in learning and intelligence, and equally endowed with the critical and historical spirit. Renan, indeed, with his supple intellect, his untiring curiosity, and his chameleon-like sympathies, was a thoroughly kindred spirit. But, while Sainte-Beuve felt readily the influence of persons, Renan was more susceptible to that of ideas. Sainte-Beuve's romanticism was derived from Victor Hugo, Renan's from German philosophy. M. Strowski, like Brunetière, cannot forgive Renan for playing with dilettantism, as he played with other forms of scepticism, in his later years. He does less than justice to his style, for he proclaims Louis Veuillot, the famous editor of *L'Univers*—'mélange de Bourdaloue et de Turlupin'—to whom he devotes more than three pages of exaggerated praise, to have been with Flaubert the best prose-writer of the Second Empire. But a keenly tempered sword is a prettier weapon than a bludgeon, and Renan will seem to most judges not only far superior to Veuillot, but the equal of Flaubert himself. For Flaubert was not a heaven-born writer, as one may see by his letters, and it was only by supreme critical intelligence and devoted patience and perseverance that he worked up to perfection his impeccable prose. But to Renan, as to Gautier, style came by nature: it is the ease, the suppleness, the lucidity of his writing, which give it its indefinable charm.

Taine's style on the other hand, like Flaubert's, is, as M. Strowski well says, 'a masterpiece of care, patience and intelligence.' How far it will confer immortality on his books is as difficult to foresee as it is in the case of Renan and of all thinkers who are not also creators. All one can say at present is that Taine and Renan were the two men who exercised the greatest influence over the thought of their generation during the years from 1850 to 1885.

These are the writers who, as we look back at a distance of over

<sup>1</sup> M. Strowski speaks of the *Journal des Goncourt* as 'invaluable.' He should have added that its publication was unqualifiable, hardly less so than the printing for private circulation of Sainte-Beuve's *Livre d'amour*.

forty years, stand forth as the chief representatives of French literature under the Second Empire. To them must be added Octave Feuillet, the novelist of high life, to whose artistic and moral sense M. Strowski does more justice than most recent critics; Théodore de Banville, another artist, whom he qualifies as 'the most delicious of our poets before Paul Verlaine'; Prévost-Paradol, the brilliant journalist and friend of Taine's, whose end was so tragic; About, another journalist who was also an amusing novelist; Sarcey, the dramatic critic, who stood for the *gros bon sens* of the general public; the brothers de Goncourt, who substituted 'impressionism' for realism, and wrote sophisticated studies of low life in a style that is strongly suggestive of *pointillisme*<sup>1</sup>; the Alsatian novelists Erckmann and Chatrian, who have lost at any rate in France much of their popularity; the Swiss novelist Victor Cherbuliez, who used to charm us with his wit and humour, but whom M. Strowski dismisses as 'conteur spirituel et essayiste avisé'; Ferdinand Fabre, the novelist of clerical life in the Cevennes, whose excellent novels, *L'Abbé Tigrane* and *Lucifer*, M. Strowski does not sufficiently appreciate; and lastly the painter, Eugène Fromentin, author of *Dominique*, that masterpiece of delicate psychology, of those two remarkable books of descriptive travel, *Un été dans le Sahara* and *Une année dans le Sahel*, and of *Les maîtres d'autrefois*, which M. Strowski forgets to mention by name, but which is one of the best, if not actually the best, critical work on painting that has ever been written. Nor must we forget that several writers of the older generation, besides Sainte-Beuve and Gautier, continued to produce work till the close of the Empire. It was in the fifties that Hugo, of whose craftsmanship Flaubert and Leconte de Lisle were admirers to the last, produced *Les Contemplations*, the first series of *La légende des siècles* and *Les Misérables*. Dumas père lived till 1870, Michelet till 1874, and George Sand till 1876: her novels indeed filled every book-stall in France till well into the eighties, and provided a grateful counterpoise to the realistic fiction of the day. 'They are no longer read,' says M. Strowski. But her rustic stories, at any rate, should still be read by foreigners, if not by Frenchmen, for their charming pictures of French scenery and French country life. It is well to remember that English readers necessarily look at French literature at a different angle from Frenchmen, and that therefore even the best accredited French criticism is not necessarily paramount for Englishmen. We have a good example in M. Strowski's brief verdict on Dumas père, which is that in his novels 'he has sacrificed the regard for art and thought to charm, life, and movement.' But 'charm, life, and movement'—those are the qualities which an Englishman rates very high in a novel, and which he misses in so many French novels of the last half-century.

During the fifteen years which followed the great disaster pessimism and disenchantment reigned supreme in French literature. But while Renan giving way to the general feeling of despair applied the solvent

<sup>1</sup> The Goncourts did not become famous till about 1880, ten years after the death of Jules. It was about the same time that Stendhal's influence began.

of his suave irony to recognised beliefs<sup>1</sup>, Taine with superb energy set himself to diagnose the causes of his country's malady, and produced in the successive volumes of his *Origines de la France contemporaine* a noble example of patriotism and disinterested labour. In creative literature there were new developements but no real change. The imaginative realism of Flaubert was succeeded by the dull and would-be scientific naturalism of Zola, who was a romanticist by temperament, and a realist only by force of reason. So too Alphonse Daudet, who had the wit and humour which were denied to Zola, would have produced work with fewer inequalities if he had allowed more freedom to his imaginative temperament<sup>2</sup>. It was Guy de Maupassant, Flaubert's godson and disciple, and ten years younger than Zola and Daudet, who, hampered by no romantic traditions of his youth, attained in his masterly but depressing novels and tales to that complete impassivity and objectivity which was Flaubert's ideal<sup>3</sup>. In poetry, Sully-Prudhomme and Coppée struck out independent lines, neither of which was altogether successful. For their training in the Parnassian school prevented them from recognising that the philosophic thought of the one and the rather commonplace sentimentalism of the other would have been better expressed in verse that was less rigid and monotonous—possibly even in prose. Heredia was wiser, for he confined himself to poetry to which the Parnassian versification is pre-eminently suited. But though all his sonnets have the relief and precision of Pisanello's medals, it is only those which end on the note of 'some grand image'—to borrow M. Strowski's phrase—that really appeal to the imagination<sup>4</sup>.

One must not make out the period to be more homogeneous than it really was. In most of its principal writers there was a considerable element of idealism. In none of the shifting phases of his thought did Renan ever cease to be an idealist at heart. 'Le rêve de l'infini nous attirera toujours,' he said in his *Discours de réception* at the Academy (1879). Taine, though he believed himself in all good faith to be strictly scientific in his methods, suited his facts to his ideas, and not his ideas to his facts. Baudelaire was no materialist for all his love of the sensuous world. Dumas *fils* was none the less an idealist because he was a pessimist. Yet in all these, and in Sainte-Beuve, Gautier, Flaubert, Leconte de Lisle, we find the same pre-occupation with the positive fact and the visible world. The note of the age was positivism<sup>5</sup>. This was due in a large measure to a reaction from the excesses and exaggerations of Romanticism, from emotional lyricism to impassivity, from imagination to fact, from lax versification and flowing prose to careful and conscientious workmanship. But it was no violent or sudden reaction. It had begun as far back as 1835,

<sup>1</sup> *Dialogues philosophiques* (1876) and *Drames philosophiques* (1878–1886).

<sup>2</sup> Daudet's *Le Petit Chose* was published in 1868.

<sup>3</sup> Maupassant's *Bel ami* appeared in 1885.

<sup>4</sup> *Les Trophées* was not published till 1893, but many of the sonnets had appeared in print before.

<sup>5</sup> 'Cette époque de triomphe indiscutable du fait' (P. Bourget).

when Sainte-Beuve bade farewell to romantic criticism. M. Strowski indeed, puts it earlier than this, and labels the whole literature from 1830 to 1850 as 'a humanitarian and positivist movement.' But this is to diminish unduly the force and duration of Romanticism proper. Even the 'humanitarian and positivist movement,' or in other words the observation of facts and the study of social questions, was the developement of a movement which had existed in Romanticism from the first, but which had been stifled by the successes of Victor Hugo and his immediate circle.

I have left myself little space in which to speak of M. Strowski's treatment of the first half of the nineteenth century, which occupies the first 324 pages of his book. It may be praised almost unreservedly. The criticism is eminently sane and helpful, and is often illumined by happy sayings, such as 'Cela est le vrai grand réalisme: et non pas celui qui accumule les notes' of Balzac, and 'Le plus authentique poète de la langue française' of Lamartine; noteworthy too is the suggestion that possibly a hundred years hence *Lorenzaccio* may be regarded as the masterpiece of dramatic art in France. The only great Romanticist writer who is handled in a perfunctory and diplomatic fashion is Victor Hugo. Perhaps this was inevitable. The only critic at present who has faced the task in a really judicious spirit is M. Faguet. M. Strowski asks whether Hugo will have the destiny of Virgil or of Ronsard, whether he will be regarded as a great world-poet, or as 'a statue whom one salutes from afar.' Ronsard is more than this, and if Hugo's destiny be equal to his it will be no inglorious one. But to arrive at a just estimate of his work one must eliminate from it ruthlessly all that is insincere. There is no question about the artist, it is the man that makes one hesitate.

In the fifth and concluding part of his work M. Strowski briefly reviews contemporary literature. In two excellent chapters he discusses some of the general characteristics of the age and some of the principal writers, selecting as the most representative M. Anatole France, M. Lemaître, M. Faguet, M. de Wyzewa, M. Bourget, M. Barrès, and Ferdinand Brunetière. There the book should have ended. The remaining three chapters form a dreary procession of two hundred and fifty phantoms, some happily labelled, others merely ticketed with their names. Why has M. Strowski done such injustice to himself? Let us hope that the task was imposed upon him from without.

I note some names in these lists which should have appeared in the Fourth Part, notably, Tocqueville, Fustel de Coulanges, Montégut, Fabre, Cherbuliez, and Mme Ackermann. Similarly one would have expected to find Mme Desbordes-Valmore, Brizeux, Barbier, and Victor de Laprade not in the Fourth Part, but in the Third. Certain writers are no doubt omitted intentionally, such as Scribe and Scherer. The omission of Scribe is a mistake, for he has had a great influence on the French stage. That he does not belong to literature, I cheerfully admit.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

*Hamann und die Aufklärung. Studien zur Vorgeschichte des romantischen Geistes im achtzehnten Jahrhundert.* Von RUDOLF UNGER. 2 Vols. Jena: E. Diederichs. 1911. 8vo. 989 pp.

*La Vie et l'Oeuvre de J. G. Hamann, le 'Mage du Nord.'* Par JEAN BLUM. Paris: F. Alcan. 1912. 8vo. xxii + 704 pp.

The last few years have brought us a long way forward in our knowledge of one of the most fascinating figures of the mid-eighteenth century in Germany, Johann Georg Hamann, 'der Magus im Norden.' There is something peculiarly elusive about Hamann; his earlier biographers and critics proved themselves totally unable to cope with him; they applied to him the criteria which had done excellent service in estimating the other thinkers and men of letters of his time; but these failed entirely when applied to Hamann. The result was merely flat and insipid, something that did not in the least correspond to the enormous power which Hamann wielded over German intellectual life. But although such attempts to sound Hamann's personality had signally failed, Jakob Minor in his little book on *Hamann in seiner Bedeutung für die Sturm- und Drangperiode*, did succeed in defining and formulating the influence which Hamann exerted on that movement and caused him to be greeted with such unmeasured acclamation as its prophet. This was the first step in the right direction.

Dr R. Unger of Munich has now put the study of Hamann on a solid basis; some seven or eight years ago he published a highly suggestive and promising study of Hamann's 'Sprachtheorie'; and this was followed in 1911 by the present two large volumes. These form a monumental example of German intellectual energy. Unger has devoted unwearied industry to the elucidation of Hamann's cryptic writings; and he has faced, as no one before him, the question: how is Hamann's significance for his time to be explained? How could this poor, middle-class youth, born in a remote corner of Europe, educated in a most perfunctory fashion, sent raw or, at best, half-baked to the university of Königsberg, become an intellectual pioneer of the first rank? How came it that, amidst a wearing life of economic struggle and irritating friction, as tutor in noblemen's houses, this man was able to understand with such surprising sureness of intuition, the new ideas which were in the air in France and England, and even to anticipate the individualistic revolt against rationalism of Rousseau and Diderot? Seen aright, there is no more momentous event in the intellectual history of the eighteenth century than Hamann's journey to London and that spiritual crisis in a London garret, when he turned to his Bible, sought refuge from the prison bars of the 'Aufklärung' in the religion of his fathers, and built up his life anew on faith and the miracle.

It is difficult to attempt to do justice here to Professor Unger's work, the range of which extends far beyond the province of mere literary history or criticism. Everywhere this book opens up new

vistas, not merely with regard to Hamann's relations to the past, but in a still higher degree with regard to his relations to the future; in fact, it is in this latter respect that I am inclined to see the most significant side of Unger's criticism. He has presented Hamann's thought—and presented it with an overwhelming array of evidence—as the common ground, the connecting matrix, of the two great phases of German individualism: 'Sturm und Drang' and Romanticism. On the other hand, there is room for a certain disappointment with the general introductory chapters of the book. Professor Unger's excessive thoroughness has perhaps taken him further back into the past than was necessary; or, at least, one might question the necessity of so exhaustive a review of the intellectual evolution before Hamann, when the critic has little new light to throw on it. But Professor Unger's burden of learning is so large that it is perhaps hardly reasonable for us to expect him, here, at least, to offer us in addition a reconstruction of Germany's spiritual history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or to complain because he has accepted, on the whole, the interpretation of that history which has done service hitherto. The fact remains that what he has achieved for Hamann will for long be regarded as final. He has approached him in the right way; recognised in him the mysterious, elusive being he is; has wrestled with him and conquered, not by the rules of logic and reasoning, but by recognising the divine unreason that inspired him, and by thus getting behind the sphinx-riddles with which his writings bristle.

The French book on Hamann is much lighter in calibre, which is not, however, to say that it is light reading. Perhaps M. Blum has fallen just a little into that fault of the Gildemeisters and others who dealt with Hamann a generation ago, of treating him too much from the common-sense point of view. There is little of the magic and mystery of Hamann left in this plain, matter-of-fact, albeit scholarly piece of work. It bears from first page to last the stamp of the good French degree thesis: that is to say, is written strictly according to the rules, and carries the clear, logical methods of reasoning, of which such exercises are so admirable a test, to a triumphant conclusion. But in the end the real spirit of the 'Magus' has escaped M. Blum; and when in his summing up of Hamann's faith, he tells us that it was built up round the two concepts of Creation and Revelation, I am doubtful if such a reduction of Hamann's doctrine to a mere phrase is not rather the reverse of helpful to the student who is trying to understand him. But M. Blum's good points, his lucid presentment of Hamann's life and work, ought not to be overlooked. The English reader who seeks an introduction to Hamann will possibly learn more from M. Blum than from Professor Unger; for a critic who divests a mystic writer of his obscurity is always a more helpful one than one who tries to grapple with such things, to meet them, as it were, on their own ground. And M. Blum's book is also in its way—and in a different way from Professor Unger's—a contribution to the study of Hamann's significance for the future; he looks at Hamann more exclusively from the standpoint of



philosophy and religion, and pleads for him being regarded as a direct forerunner of the first champion of nineteenth-century individualism, Sören Kierkegaard.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

*Schriften des literarischen Vereins in Wien.* Vols. I–XVII. Vienna: Verlag des literarischen Vereins, 1904–1912. 8vo.

The stately series of well-printed and tastefully bound green volumes which I have before me represent the activity of the Vienna 'literarische Verein' during the first nine years of its existence. These may be regarded as alike a symptom and an illustration of that closer study of literature from the standpoint of nationality and race, which is characteristic of the best German critical work of our time. The age of Goethe knew only one German literature; to-day the tendency is to distinguish carefully a multitude of different literatures written in the German tongue; to lay weight on the reflexion of tribal peculiarities in the poetry of Switzerland, Swabia, Westphalia, etc. and to discriminate these literatures within a literature accordingly. It is obvious that no 'province' cries out more vehemently for such 'separist' treatment than German-speaking Austria. And there has been, during the last twenty or thirty years, no doubt, a great intensification of the study of Austrian literature as such; these years have seen a revival of interest in Austria's great national poet, Grillparzer; the publication of an elaborate and admirable History of Austrian Literature<sup>1</sup>; and with an increasingly active interchange of spiritual products between Berlin and Vienna there has come a desire not to lose sight of the distinction between north and south, and, at the same time, to define the specifically Austrian element in the poetic work of our time. To this general tendency belongs the establishment of the Literary Society of Vienna, the object of which is the publication and elucidation of Austria's national literature.

Of these volumes the five—a sixth is promised—containing Grillparzers *Gespräche und Charakteristiken seiner Persönlichkeit durch die Zeitgenossen* (Vols. I, III, VI, XII, XV), collected and edited by Professor August Sauer, obviously claim first attention. That in spite of his labours as editor of the Grillparzer edition at present being published under the auspices of the City of Vienna, Professor Sauer should have found time to compile this indispensable basis for an understanding of the poet, is a tribute to his inexhaustible energy. He has done here for Grillparzer what Biedermann did for Goethe; only he has cast his net wider, not restricting himself merely to recorded conversations. The result is a complete picture of the poet as he was reflected in the

<sup>1</sup> *Deutsch-Österreichische Literaturgeschichte. Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung in Österreich-Ungarn.* Unter Mitwirkung hervorragender Fachgenossen herausgegeben von J. W. Nagl und Jakob Zeidler. Vienna, C. Fromme, 1899 ff.

minds and hearts of his contemporaries; here we see Grillparzer as he lived and moved, the living impersonation of the literature of the 'Vormärz'; it is true, no 'poet as hero,' but none the less, an attractive and lovable representative of the will-less, pessimistic Romanticism of the age of Metternich. In these volumes the student of Grillparzer will find, fitted into their place in the chronological sequence, collections of conversations, such as that of Frau Auguste von Littrow-Bischoff (*Aus dem persönlichen Verkehre mit Franz Grillparzer*, Vienna, 1873), now out of print, as well as much new material from private sources, and an almost superabundant collection of newspaper matter. There is little we can offer from England to supplement such a collection; although as a matter of fact, the interest which Grillparzer's dramas awakened in England in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century was much greater than is generally believed. From a collection of material bearing on this theme I select as particularly in place in the present work the following; it is from an article entitled 'Reminiscences of Vienna' by the Rev. Archer Gurney in *Macmillan's Magazine* for 1866 (pp. 417-424), which, in a note in Vol. III of his work, Professor Sauer mentions as not having been accessible to him:

To me one of the most delightful reminiscences of Vienna is that of the great dramatic poet, Grillparzer—one indeed, to my mind, of the greatest of the great. My friends have been apt to set the opinion down to personal friendship or the enthusiasm of youth when I told them, what I still think, that Grillparzer (pronounce Grillpartzer), was a greater dramatist than either Schiller or Goethe; but such is my deliberate conviction, to which indeed I am ready to pledge my little reputation as a critic. I hold that a higher power and a more genial art are shown in such works as 'The Dream a Life,' and 'The Waves of Love and Ocean,' than in 'Faust' and 'Egmont' and 'Don Carlos.' A certain underlying irony is rarely absent from the most pathetic works of Grillparzer, which supplies the saving salt to literature and wards from grave errors of taste, and from the absurdities which shock us every now and then in the masterpieces of those more famous men I have named—a sense at once of the greatness and littleness of things. Scott has it, Shakespeare has it, Tennyson also in due measure, and Grillparzer in perfection. Schiller is always on the stretch, and Goethe is too often small; one unreal and the other prosaic. Of course they remain poets of the very highest order. But Grillparzer is famous in Austria, though scarcely out of it. It is the settled conclusion of North Germany that Austria is Bœotian; and Grillparzer, having written a tragedy in praise of loyalty, 'The Faithful Vassal of his Lord,' has become a name forbidden. He was an ardent constitutionalist when I knew him, not long after the publication of that drama—a lover of England but not of pure democracy; a rather reserved, retiring man, and yet to me, the youthful Englishman who sought him out to lay my soul's homage at his feet, open as the day and kind; perfectly unassuming. It may go for a little, but I never knew a man in whose presence my heart swelled so with reverence. Conscious of his own powers, content to be neglected or even forgotten—tears almost start to my eyes when I remember him now, and feel the littleness of vanity. He took the warmest interest in our English Constitution, and again, in a very different matter, our English dramatic literature. In particular he thought that our best comedies were far too little known upon the Continent. He instanced several pieces of Mrs Centlivre's as being masterpieces in their way. Exquisitely, to my mind, that is, with subtle truth, has he delineated the good and evil of Vienna, in a lyric which may be thus freely rendered. It is called 'A Parting from Vienna.' It was written before the writer's Italian journey, and I give it here as bearing so directly on my subject, and suggesting much, with the concentration poetry alone attains to, that might be expanded into an essay of

many pages.... I have met with many celebrities in the course of more than forty years, but never with an individuality which impressed me with such a sense of quiet far-reaching power as that of my dear friend Grillparzer. The world has scarcely given him his due, but I am satisfied that future generations will seek to atone for this by the warmth and ardour of their praises. Not only books have their fates, as Horace (*sic*) has it, but poets also.

The note which Gurney strikes is, it may be, an extravagant one, but there is still no German dramatist of the nineteenth century for whom it is so easy to awaken warm feelings in this country as for Franz Grillparzer.

Of other well-known personalities in Austrian literature, Eduard Bauernfeld is here represented by his *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, a selection edited by Dr Stephan Hock (Vol. iv). The stamp of the journalist was unhappily strong on Bauernfeld; and the contents of the present volume can hardly be described otherwise than as excellent journalism. Grillparzer, in so many ways his antithesis, used to envy Bauernfeld his journalistic talent of being all things to all men, of adapting himself to the clamorous demands of the many-headed public; but with less journalistic facility Bauernfeld might have left a deeper mark on the drama of his time. There was no German writer of the nineteenth century whose talent marked him out so clearly to be a master of its comedy. But, unfortunately, the Austrian poets of the 'Vormärz' had to fight against other disadvantages besides the tyranny of Metternich; and one of the most serious was the prodigious amount of writing that had to be done to make a bare living. 'Vielschreiber' although he was, Bauernfeld stands out, none the less, as a very amiable type of the Viennese man of letters of the older time. Volume v of the collection, also edited by Dr Hock, is devoted to another eminent writer of this period, Anastasius Grün, or Graf Anton Auersperg. His *Politische Reden und Schriften* are here collected for the first time. The interest of the volume is obviously political rather than literary, and it forms a useful supplement to Schlossar's recent edition of Anastasius Grün's *Sämtliche Werke*, where the poet's activity as a publicist is only represented by two items from the year 1848.

Volumes VII and XVI are occupied with a writer who was no Austrian, not even an Austrian by adoption, Friedrich Schlegel; being his *Briefe an Frau Christine von Stransky*, edited by M. Rottmanner. This correspondence falls in the last eight years of Schlegel's life, 1821-9, years in which Schlegel had virtually passed beyond the ken of the literary historian, and his brilliant mind had become the prey of a blighting religious quietism, and a more reprehensible mysticism and occultism. Nowhere was the tragedy of Romanticism more pitifully exemplified than in the tragic fall of this, the most gifted of all its leaders. Unless on the ground that everything is welcome that has bearing on so distinguished a writer, one is inclined to question the need of printing at length letters so dreary, uninspired and unenlightening as are these. As far as the general reader is concerned, these volumes are the least acceptable that the Society has so far published.

Other two volumes (VIII and XIV) deal with men who are claimed as the leading representatives of literary criticism in Austria, Friedrich Kürnberger and Emil Kuh. It is not altogether fair to name them together, and we doubt if the world outside of Austria sees either of them with quite so favourable eyes as the editors of these volumes. Still, Kürnberger's *Literarische Herzenssachen*, published in 1877, is, in many ways, the pivot round which modern Austrian criticism turns; here that peculiar fatalism in Austrian thought is applied to the criticism of poetry, and the result is some writing of surprising insight and power. There are also few 'Novellen' of the era of German pessimism which are still so fresh and readable as his. The present volume (*Ferdinand Kürnbergers Briefe an eine Freundin*, 1859-79, edited by O. E. Deutsch) is not, or only indirectly, criticism; but it shows Kürnberger to have been a letter-writer of quite unusual charm, and puts his personality in a light which leads the reader to turn again to his published works. Emil Kuh, who is mainly remembered as the quondam friend and the biographer of Hebbel, was a writer of much smaller gifts than Kürnberger. The editor of the present selection of *Literarische Aufsätze* (1863-7), Dr Alfred Schaer, makes a warm claim for him, and is responsible for the juxtaposition of his name and Kürnberger's, to which I have referred; but these essays hardly justify it. It is true, he is always to be found here on the side of the angels, he stands what has come to be regarded as the test of German critical acumen at the middle of the century, that of being able to appreciate Keller's genius—Kürnberger's warm encomium of the *Sieben Legenden*, for instance, was one of the chief features of his *Literarische Herzenssachen*—but one misses a strong personality behind this writing, there is even little that is specifically 'Wienerisch' about it, although Kuh was a born Austrian; the consequence is that it degenerates too often into a characterless kind of writing which is not to be distinguished from ordinary journalism.

A much weightier volume of criticism is the third I have to discuss, Betty Paoli's *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, edited by Frau Helene Bettelheim-Gabillon (Vol. IX). To most readers this volume will probably come as a revelation. Betty Paoli—or with her real name, Elisabeth Glück—is familiar to all lovers of German poetry as a singer of rare distinction, as Austria's greatest woman poet. But to read her essays, of which the present is too brief a selection, reveals in her a great deal more than a lyric poet. She here brings to bear her delicately strung, sensitive mind on the interpretation of natures congenial to her own, and with a charm and persuasive power that give them a place by themselves in the Austrian essay-writing of her time. It is true, there is a tendency to repetition, a narrowness of approach, conditioned by the critic's own temperament; she is inclined to harp on certain aspects of literature, that no doubt meant bitter experiences in her own struggle to make a living by her pen. She returns again and again to the vanity of literary production, the curse of mediocrity; there is an elegiac note in her lament on the

taste of the public, and she dwells with feeling sympathy on writers like Annette von Droste-Hülshoff who passed out of life without being appreciated at their true worth. But whatever Betty Paoli writes, it is always in the best sense personal criticism; this is what gives it its rare distinction.

Lyric poetry is, so far, only represented by one volume (XI), *Achtzehnhundertneun; die politische Lyrik des Kriegsjahres*, edited by R. F. Arnold and K. Wagner, a collection published with a view to the centenary in 1909. Just as the Austrian events of 1809 formed a prologue to the European War of Liberation which culminated at Leipzig, so this volume shows to how great an extent the Austrian lyric of 1809 was a prologue to the fuller sounding, but hardly more meritorious German war-poetry of 1813. The range of this war-poetry is, however, wider than that of the North German 'Zeitlieder'; echoes of Klopstock, Schiller and the Romanticists are blended and worked up together, often, it is true, incongruously enough; but the very absence of the aggressively protestant note of Arndt and his fellow-poets gives a breadth and poetic elasticity to the Austrian collection. According to the literary histories, 1809 in Austrian poetry means Collin's *Wehrmannslieder* and little else; the editors of these volumes have first shown how very extensive the lyric echo of the war really was. I would draw special attention to the valuable bibliographical notes, valuable not merely for the history of the lyric, but of the political movement itself.

There is ground for complaint that the drama is so slightly represented in these volumes; for, after all, the most precious contributions of Vienna to the literature of Germany are associated with the theatre; and there is so much connected with the Viennese Volksdrama which is still difficult of access and yet indispensable to the student of the European drama of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is gratifying to see, however, in the list of volumes promised for coming years a more liberal attention to drama and theatre. Meanwhile a valuable beginning has been made with two volumes of *Wiener Haupt- und Staatsaktionen*, edited by Rudolf Payer von Thurn (X and XIII). These volumes contain the fourteen plays associated with the famous Viennese 'Hans Wurst,' Josef Anton Stranitzky. The particular value of these plays, which are printed from a MS. in the Vienna Hofbibliothek, is that they are virtually the only specimens we possess of the so-called 'Haupt- und Staatsaktionen.' At the same time, it may reasonably be questioned if these pieces, which are very obviously the detritus of Italian operas, are typical specimens of their class; the conditions of the Viennese theatre at the beginning of the eighteenth century made the adaptation of such operas the most natural thing in the world, but it is not to be inferred that the 'Haupt- und Staatsaktionen' which Gottsched was so proud of banishing from the North German stage, were necessarily of similar origin. An interesting feature of these plays is that the Hans Wurst—a typical figure in the costume of a Salzburg peasant with a great red heart and the letters 'HW' sewn

on his breast—is not merely the ‘Spasmacher’ who entertains the audience between the acts, but, like the ‘Jan Bousset’ in Ayrer’s later dramas, plays an essential part in the action of the play. These pieces represent the first phase in the development of that wonderful Volks-drama, which provided the foundation for the Austrian national theatre, and one looks forward to the Literarische Verein throwing much light on its later stages through Gleich, Meisl and Bäuerle<sup>1</sup> down to Raimund and Nestroy. It should be added that Herr Payer von Thurn has in his introduction reconstructed with fine critical judgment the life and personality of Stranitzky who lived from about 1676 to 1726. Stranitzky combined play-acting with dentistry and wine-growing to such good purpose that he left a considerable fortune behind him.

The last volumes I have to deal with—II and XVII—represent the literature of the Austrian province. Professor A. E. Schönbach’s edition of the ‘Dichtung und Wahrheit’—*Aus meinem Leben*—of the Bregenz writer, F. M. Felder is a welcome contribution to the peasant-literature of the Gotthelf-Auerbach era, and a fresh and entertaining book; while Dr Moritz Necker, with his *Hermann von Gilms Familien- und Freundesbriefe*—again a centenary volume, Gilm having been born in 1812—helps to realise a wish of Adolf Pichler’s by publishing the correspondence of Tirol’s greatest modern singer. Some years ago the inclusion of Gilm’s poems in Reclam’s *Universalbibliothek* made him widely known to the German reading-world, whose previous knowledge did not extend far beyond his popular song ‘Allerseelen.’ These letters bring nearer to us the personality of this gifted singer, in whose life the chief note seems to have been an inability to face its problems in a practical, common-sense way, and who, in consequence, was condemned to spend his best years in out-of-the-way places as an ill-paid government official. Particularly vivid is his description in one of these letters of the March Revolution in Vienna, a description which might fitly be compared with that of Betty Paoli in the letters published in the Introduction to the volume of her essays.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

*Germanic Philology.* By RICHARD LOEWE. Translated and edited by J. D. JONES. London: George Allen and Co. 1913. 8vo. 170 pp.

Loewe’s *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft* in the well-known *Sammlung Götschen* is an excellent *résumé* of the comparative grammar of the Germanic dialects, and as such a capital introduction to this important branch of philology. In view of the lack of a similar work in English it was well worth while to produce the present translation. English students of the history of their own tongue will find it specially

<sup>1</sup> A selection of the plays of Meisl and Bäuerle is now being made accessible in the cheap *Deutsch-Österreichische Klassiker-Bibliothek*, edited by O. Rommel (Vienna, Prochaska).

useful, and will doubtless be correspondingly grateful to the translator and the publisher.

Why does Dr Jones claim on the title-page to have 'edited' the original? So far as my examination goes (I admit it has not been quite exhaustive), there are no signs of anything but very literal translation, even in cases where some adaptation might, from the point of view of the English reader, have been desirable.

The rendering of the German is usually faithful, and, so far as the sense is concerned, correct. The style is however curiously un-English, and I imagine will prove somewhat deterrent to the English reader. This arises mainly because the translator adheres very closely to German phrase-order which often differs from English much like the word-order and indicates logical interdependence in a way which cannot well be imitated in English. An example is the following (p. 15): 'Thus on the model of inchoatives, such as Goth. "þaursnan" (become dry)=O.N. "þorna" from Goth. "þairsan" (wither) and O.N. "þerra" respectively, because the word could be connected with the Goth. "þaursus" (dry) and O.N. "þurr," the Goth. "fullnan" (become full)=O.N. "follna" were formed from Goth. "fulls" and O.N. "fullr" respectively.' The original is quite clear because the order of the phrases is natural in German. The translation cannot be understood without a good deal of reflection, because the order is unnatural in English. The truth of this will be apparent, I think, if we rearrange the above sentence, as follows: 'Thus Goth. "fullnan" (become full, = O.N. "follna") was formed from Goth. "fulls" (adj., = O.N. "fullr") on the model of inchoatives such as Goth. "þaursnan" (become dry, = O.N. "þorna") from Goth. "þairsan" (wither, = O.N. "þerra"), because "þaursnan" could be connected with "þaursus" (adj., dry = O.N. "þurr").'

I have noticed only one actual mistranslation. On p. 4: 'If the meaning does not undergo a change along with the sound-form' is intended to represent 'Wirkt bei Veränderung der Lautform die Bedeutung nicht mit' (i.e. 'If the change in sound-form is not influenced by the meaning').

R. A. WILLIAMS.

DUBLIN.

*Griechische Literaturgeschichte.* Von W. VON CHRIST. In Verbindung mit OTTO STÄHLIN, herausgegeben von WILHELM SCHMID. I. Teil: Die klassische Periode. 6. Aufl. II. Teil, 1. Hälfte: Die nachklassische Periode. 5. Aufl. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1911-12. 8vo. xiv + 771, 506 pp.

*Homer in der Neuzeit von Dante bis Goethe. Italien, Frankreich, England, Deutschland.* Von G. FINSLER. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1912. 8vo. xiv + 530 pp.

Eine genaue Untersuchung des Einflusses der griechischen Literatur auf die Dichtung der modernen Völker wird immer notwendig, je

mehr sich die vergleichende Literaturgeschichte aus dem Bereiche oberflächlicher Beziehungen und öder Parallelenjagd in die ernste Zerlegung und Wiedererzeugung künstlerischer Gewebe und in die vorsichtige Herstellung ursächlicher Zusammenhänge hinübergerettet hat. Schritt für Schritt wird uns die Bedeutung griechischen Denkens und Gefühlslebens, griechischer Formen und Kunsttheorien auf die neuere Literatur deutlicher, Schritt für Schritt aber wird auch die Aufgabe schwieriger, nicht bloss das Was, sondern das Wie und das Warum der Aufnahme, der Entlehnung, der Bearbeitung griechischer Motive festzustellen; wir haben eben nicht bloss die Psyche des modernen Dichters oder der Kulturnation zu prüfen, die das antike Gut übernimmt, sondern auch den vollen Stimmungsgehalt, ja die Nuance festzustellen, die das Alte bei seinem Eintritt in die neue Welt mitbrachte, die durch alle möglichen Weiterbildungen und Verbildungen hindurch immer wieder zum Vorschein kam, oder doch von begabteren Individuen immer wieder geahnt und zur Erörterung gestellt wurde. Tatsächlich ist die heutige, klassische Philologie keine Enkeltochter der alexandrinischen Gelehrsamkeit, sondern die rechte Ausgeburt der klassizistischen Literatur. Im Kampf gegen allerlei Schrullen und Vorurteile hat der menschliche Intellekt sich zu einer voraussetzungslosen Auffassung des Griechentums durchgerungen; aber wir brauchen nur Namen wie Scaliger, Heinsius und Vossius, wie Dacier, Johnson und Lessing zu nennen, um uns die engen Verbindungen zwischen Dichtung, Kunsttheorie und Philologie vor Augen zu halten.

So ist es denn recht und billig, dass uns die klassische Philologie bei der Erforschung jener literaturgeschichtlichen Zusammenhänge die Hand reicht, sei es durch die Zufuhr bibliographischen und historischen Materials, sei es durch Einzeluntersuchungen. Was das erstere anlangt, so begrüßen wir in Christs wohlbekannter Literaturgeschichte, deren Bearbeitung sich der Tübinger Philologe Schmid mit seinem Würzburger Kollegen Stählin zusammen unterzogen hat, ein ausgezeichnetes Orientierungsmittel, das auch der Neuphilologe dankbar und nie ohne reiche Förderung benutzen wird. Es orientiert uns über den heutigen Stand der Wissenschaft, über die Geschichte und die letzten Lösungsversuche schwieriger Fragen (z. B. über die homerischen Gedichte und über die Entstehung der Tragödie) und gibt uns reichhaltige und genaue bibliographische Angaben über die wichtigsten Editionen und Forschungen der letzten Jahrhunderte. Darüber hinaus aber führen einige Paragraphen, die uns über die Fortwirkung hervorragender, griechischer Dichter auf die Literatur der modernen Völker knapp und doch förderlich unterrichten (z. B. §§ 45, 46, Homer; § 138, Pindar; § 236, Aristophanes; § 368, Aristoteles). Wir wünschen und hoffen, dass diese Abschnitte bei künftigen weiteren Auflagen des ausgezeichneten Werkes noch ausgebaut und vervollständigt werden. Mögen sie dann die Forschung neu befruchten und auch für andere griechische Dichter und Philosophen so vollendete Darstellungen ihrer Nachwirkung hervorrufen, wie sie uns Georg Finsler für Homer geschenkt hat.



Finsler hat uns in seinem *Homer*<sup>1</sup> bereits eine kleine Enzyklopädie der Homerforschung beschert und alles wichtige für das Verständnis der *Ilias* und der *Odyssee* an die Hand gegeben. Die 'Vollständigkeit' seiner Erklärung aber, die Fülle der Gesichtspunkte, unter denen er dort seinen Gegenstand betrachtete, verdankte er gewiss nicht zum kleinsten Teile seiner geradezu bewunderungswürdigen Belesenheit in der Homerischen Literatur der europäischen Völker; indem er nun mit philologischer Umsicht die Arbeit der Übersetzer, Erklärer und Kritiker aus ihrer Zeit heraus zu verstehen und danach zu würdigen suchte, erwuchs ihm unter den Händen das Material seines jüngsten Werkes: *Homer in der Neuzeit*—keine Bibliographie, keine Aufzählung aller Erwähnungen Homers, sondern 'eine Geschichte Homers in den neueren Zeiten bis auf Goethe,' oder, wenn man will, eine Kulturgeschichte der Neuzeit unter dem Gesichtspunkte Homers. Damit ist nicht zu viel gesagt; denn Finsler greift wirklich überall auf die Grundlagen der nationalen Kulturen und auf den Austausch der Völker zurück, zieht das Glaubensleben und die philosophischen Strömungen, die geschichtliche Gelehrsamkeit und ästhetische Spekulation, die literarische Kritik und den jeweiligen Stand der einheimischen Poesie heran, um die Stellungnahme der Generationen und der Individuen zu Homer zu erklären. Dass diese Darstellung nicht ins Uferlose verläuft, sondern durchweg lesbar, ja fesselnd bleibt, dass auch Licht und Schatten im ganzen durchaus richtig verteilt sind, verdankt Finsler seiner erstaunlichen Herrschaft über den riesigen Stoff und seinem feinen, poetischen Gefühl. Mit der Schmiegsamkeit, mit der er sich in einer früheren Arbeit in die höchst verwickelten Gedankengänge der *Orestie* des Aischylos hineinfand (Berner Programm, 1890), legt er hier die Verdienste der Madame Dacier, Popes und Vossens um die Verdolmetschung Homers dar, weiss aber auch den Homerischen Elementen im *Lutrin* und im *Rape of the Lock*, in *Hermann und Dorothea*, wie in der *Nausikaa* gerecht zu werden und darüber hinaus die Dichtungen als ganzes mit wenigen, scharfen Strichen zu charakterisieren und zu bewerten. Diese Kunst, in knapper Form aus einem Schriftsteller das wichtigste herauszuholen, kommt am meisten Finslers Abschnitten über die Kritik zu gute, seiner Darstellung der Homerischen Frage oder den Auszügen aus Le Bossu und Dubos. Der unbestechliche Forscher, der so scharf mit den Klassizisten abrechnet und die Verdienste der englischen Romantik um Homer so berechtigt zu würdigen weiss, macht vor Lessings *Laokoon* nicht halt und zerpflückt ihm unbarmherzig seine Beispiele für die angeblich 'successive' Schilderung des 'coexistierenden' in der *Ilias*. Dabei scheint uns freilich der *Laokoon* von den andern Schriften Lessings zu sehr bevorzugt und wir hätten gern Genaueres über seine Auseinandersetzungen mit dem Grafen Caylus gelesen, während wir nun mit einem kurzen Hinweis auf Lessing mitten in dem Kapitel 'Frankreich und die Niederlande' abgespeist werden. Aber das hängt mit Finslers Einteilungsprinzip zusammen. Er geht nicht nach Generationen vor,

<sup>1</sup> Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1908. Eine neue Auflage ist in Vorbereitung.

sondern behandelt die Homerischen Bemühungen der einzelnen Länder in geschlossenen Kapiteln; freilich ist dabei eine gewisse chronologische Reihenfolge eingehalten; die Nationen marschieren in der Ordnung auf, wie sie nach einander die Führung in der Literatur gehabt haben: Italien, Frankreich und die Niederlande, England, Deutschland und die Schweiz. Es erübrigt sich zu erwähnen, dass diese Reihenfolge, wie jede andere, ihre grossen Vorzüge hat; immerhin werden dadurch z. B. die Engländer nicht mit der deutschen Sturm- und Drangperiode in die unmittelbare Beziehung gebracht, die vielleicht wünschenswert wäre. Durch Verweisungen sucht Finsler dem Mangel abzuhelpen; dass diese hier und da vermehrt und verstärkt werden, ist unser Wunsch an eine Neuauflage, die das treffliche Buch reichlich verdient. Denn es ist eine durch und durch gediegene, reiche und voll ausgereifte Gabe, mit der sich die klassische Philologie ein dauerndes Verdienst um ihre Schwesterwissenschaften erworben hat.

R. PETSCH.

LIVERPOOL.

*Le Poète Alexis Tolstoï.* Par ANDRÉ LIRONDELLE. Paris: Hachette. 1912. 8vo. xi + 677 pp.

Readers of Professor Lirondelle's book *Shakespeare en Russie* must have realised that an able and devoted student of Russian literature had arisen and they doubtless looked forward to further studies in the same field and from the same hand. This stately volume on Alexis Tolstoi marks a stage in Western appreciation of Russian literature; in a notable measure, indeed, it redresses the balance. For while Russian critics, like Russian literary artists, have ever occupied themselves with the thought and art of Western Europe, and Russian studies in comparative literature are among the best, there are but few Western critics who have acquainted themselves with Russian literature in the original and still fewer who have published studies of that literature. M. Lirondelle's work on Alexis Tolstoi, let us say at the outset, bears all the marks of that school of contemporary French criticism which devotes itself to one author at a time and which by its thorough analysis, masterly appraisal and distinguished form has won high prestige in the field of foreign literatures. Where such workers have been over the ground there is little left for others to glean.

To the lover of Alexis Tolstoi, of the man and of his work, it is ever a painful reflection that he has not secured the unanimous allégiance of his countrymen, even though his verses are in the mouths of most. M. Lirondelle, who confesses to a strong liking for Tolstoi, makes it his business to account for and to challenge the disfavour with which this poet has been regarded. He is, however, no partisan *à outrance*; he marshals the facts and lets the accused speak for himself. The critic's task is lightened by the great mass of correspondence, published and unpublished, which he has been able to use; for Tolstoi was a most abundant as well as a most delightful letter-writer. In the eyes of

many of his countrymen Alexis Tolstoi was looked upon as a trifle. To be well-born, rich, a valued friend and intimate of the Imperial Family: these were suspicious credentials in the eyes of many; but to be an outspoken castigator of extreme views, whether of his intimate friends or of strangers, of pan-slavism as well as of nihilism, to be an idealist in a materialistic age: these were and still are, facts of a peculiarly damning kind. Russians are constitutionally unreserved in their allegiance to ideals, not excepting Russian materialists, to use a paradox. If a literary man or other public character is not 'sound' in his political convictions he is liable to be attacked; if he is of the non-party type or of the 'candid friend' order, he will, in Russia as elsewhere, be regarded with suspicion. The history of Russian literature during the last century cannot be separated from Russian political history, and in no country has the battle for ideas been more desperately fought and more bitterly personal. But it is not only for his political views that A. Tolstoi has been regarded with disfavour by many of his countrymen. Turgenev was only expressing the views of many other Russians of his time when he called Tolstoi '*cet excellent mais très-ennuyeux écrivain*,' and added that his poems '*ne m'entrent pas dans la bouche*.' The fact is that Tolstoi from one point of view hardly seemed a Russian. A professed optimist and idealist, he writes, as he himself says, in a 'major' key which seems to have got on the nerves of his contemporaries, accustomed as they were to the note of sadness all round them in nature, in life and in literature. And yet, as M. Lirondelle points out, Tolstoi was a Slav of the Slavs, both in temperament and in the form of his art. Other grievances against Tolstoi, that he was a cosmopolitan, an imitator, that he preached at one and the same time morality in art and 'art for art's sake,' are examined by M. Lirondelle, who shows clearly that in reality Tolstoi had quite definite theories of life and art, and that an understanding of the poet and his work is impossible unless we take the trouble to ascertain his aims and by these judge his methods. Tolstoi never hesitated to make use of what he deemed good in the thought and work of others, but he always thought things out for himself and was one of the most independent of Russian poets.

In the first part of M. Lirondelle's book the poet's life is related and the conditions analysed in which his creative activity developed. It was on the whole a happy life, rich in love and friendship, as befitted a nature so lovable and gifted. Incidentally we learn much of Tolstoi's contemporaries in literature, much also of politics, especially of the great movement for emancipation and its realisation. Alexander II, who valued non-party men, insisted on appointing his old play-fellow a member of various commissions, in spite of the vigorous protest of the latter that he was a poet and quite unfitted for official duties. We learn also how kind and helpful Tolstoi was to Turgenev when the novelist incurred the displeasure of the authorities. In the systematic analysis and criticism of Tolstoi's work which forms the second part of M. Lirondelle's study, he has quoted freely from his author's poems,

giving a literal, unrhythmic and unrhymed version, but observing the verse-lines. The reader who is not acquainted with the original is thus enabled in some measure to follow and test the judgments of the critic. In his investigation of the dramatic art of Tolstoi based on a study of his great trilogy, M. Lirondelle makes an interesting comparison between Tolstoi's dramas and the histories of Shakespeare; at the same time he lays stress on Tolstoi's *penchant* for analysis and development of character rather than for movement and plot. It is to be noted that although Tolstoi puts truthful observation of human nature above truth of facts, yet he is careful of his facts, more careful by a good deal than Victor Hugo, de Vigny or Dumas *père*. He studied indefatigably the ancient annals and faithfully followed Karamzin for events. Yet with his habitual independence he would, when it suited his purpose, make no scruple about disturbing chronology. A seeming romantic, judged by his choice of subjects, he is almost without romanticism if we regard his method. Nevertheless, he varied his method in each play; as he himself says, the architecture of his trilogy was 'Doric at the base, Ionic in the middle and Corinthian at the capital.' Of these three plays (*Death of Ivan*, *Tsar Fedor*, and *Tsar Boris*), the middle one, the shaft of the column, to use Tolstoi's simile, is by consent of most Russians destined to immortality. It has been acted over two hundred times. The character of Fedor, as M. Lirondelle well says, is 'the incarnation of the highest spiritual side of the Russian race, of its gentleness, loving-kindness, ardent faith, obedience to the heart rather than to the intellect, love of the humble and weak, pardon and forgetfulness of injuries, non-resistance to the powers of evil, heroic self-abnegation, a longing for expiation.... These qualities mark also the gospel of Leo Tolstoi and that of Dostoevski. But so far as it is possible to compare a drama with a novel, the hero of A. Tolstoi will be preferred to the hero of Dostoevski (i.e. Myshkin).' In the chapter devoted to Tolstoi's one prose work, *The Silver Prince*, M. Lirondelle points out that with all its faults of ultra-melodrama and psychological shallowness, this historical romance is redeemed by its poetical sincerity. As the critic says, 'le plus grand défaut (du roman) est d'être une œuvre de bonne foi conçue par une âme irrémédiablement candide... l'on est surpris de tout ce que ce roman, de cadre vieillot, contient de matière "vécue" et autobiographique.' This personal vein, so predominant in A. Tolstoi's whole work, strikes us most perhaps in a very characteristic part of his poetry, that which deals with the heroes of Russian history and legend. Here, too, Russian critics find matter of offence. Unlike Pushkin, who is restrained, simple and objective in his treatment of the same themes, Tolstoi, they say, has tampered with the old songs and the *byliny*, and put modern ideas into the heads of the old heroes. But Tolstoi, as he himself tells us, of set purpose embroidered his own pattern on the old canvas, 'en marge des bylines,' if only as a pretext for writing about nature and the joys of spring. Though fond of moralising and teaching, Tolstoi is careful to keep the description and the moralising apart in one and the same poem. In

these national poems, *pace* the critics, the poet is most truly Slav and most truly himself. In them his *élan*, his *bonhomie*, his hearty optimism and his rich, racy humour have full play. Hardly *full* play, perhaps, in the case of his humour; in his letters to friends, written in French as well as in Russian, Tolstoi displays an astonishing flow of wit and humour of an almost Rabelaisian cast, set off by an inexhaustible vocabulary such as we find in no other Russian man of letters. The poet's philosophy of life is set out in his *Don Juan* more fully and more formally perhaps than in any of his other works. Here M. Lirondelle shows us how deeply Tolstoi had studied Schelling; and we meet with a pantheism that goes beyond that of Shelley. For Tolstoi, individuality is something temporary, something acquired, a mere mode of being; after death we return to our 'normal state,' reintegrated in the universal good. M. Lirondelle's analysis of the poet's art and technique is delicate and sympathetic. He exhibits and defends Tolstoi as a self-conscious, self-criticising artist who tries every effect, who while strict in essentials knows where laxity may be better art. Tolstoi was thus a master of rhythm, but licentious in rhyme; another sad offence this to his critics. In justifying his ideas on rhyme the poet draws some ingenious parallels between poets and painters of various schools; 'certaines choses,' he adds, 'doivent être ciselées, certaines autres ont le droit et presque le devoir de ne pas l'être, sous peine de paraître froides.' In conclusion we would say that the full bibliography and the appendices containing some hitherto unpublished work written by the poet, fittingly round off a book which is not only a sympathetic study of Alexis Tolstoi but a valuable contribution to comparative literature.

W. J. SEDGEFIELD.

MANCHESTER.

*Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular, Grammar Texts, Glossary.*

By ALBERT THUMB. Translated from the second revised and enlarged German edition by S. ANGUS. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1912. 8vo. xxxv + 371 pp.

Professor Thumb's excellent *Handbook* has met with general recognition as giving a scientific and philological account of the Modern Greek language; and this English version of the revised German edition will be welcomed by English scholars. The Modern Greek language offers a peculiarly difficult study, because it is still in a transitional state, and many scholars will not even admit the existence of a modern language, apart from the ancient, except in the form of dialects or patois. It is true that these various modern forms have been carefully studied and recorded. But it is still customary for educated men in modern Greece to write in as severely classical a language as they can command, and even to ridicule the attempts of those who write—some of them with notable success—in a more popular dialect. And moreover the children in Greek schools are not taught the grammar of the vernacular tongue, but a modified adaptation

of ancient grammar. Professor Thumb has done good service not only to foreign students but also to the Greeks themselves in writing this systematic grammar of the actual Greek *κοινή* which underlies the various local dialects and makes them mutually intelligible. The selection of texts, both popular and literary, is very useful and instructive.

The translator in his preface states that other English works on Modern Greek deal either exclusively or for the most part with the *καθαρεύουσα*, the learned literary language. He should have excepted the English adaptation, by Mrs E. A. Gardner, of Wied's little grammar, published by Nutt in 1891, especially since Professor Thumb himself regards Wied as 'to be highly commended to the beginner for a rapid introductory sketch of the modern Greek vernacular.' His work is not of course to be compared with Professor Thumb's for completeness or philological accuracy; but it had and still has its use for practical purposes.

E. A. GARDNER.

LONDON.

*Social France in the Seventeenth Century.* By CÉCILE HUGON.  
London: Methuen & Co. 1911. 8vo. xx + 321 pp.

There is a great deal that is of interest in this book. Much is outside the scope of the *Modern Language Review*. With that it is unnecessary to deal. Among the most interesting chapters are those on 'The Trials of Housekeeping' and 'The Problem of the Poor.' It is a pity, however, that Miss Hugon has, in the former, dealt almost exclusively with the domestic life of the rich and noble, drawing for the most part on Madame de Sévigné's letters. The daily life of the middle classes is far less known and would have offered a greater interest. The chapter on 'The Problem of the Poor' suffers from the reluctance of the author to consult original authorities. She rightly goes to the 'Relations' of the Missioners of Saint Vincent de Paul for much of her matter, but she takes it at second-hand from M. Feillet, M. Bourgeaud and M. Chantelauze. For the rest of her material in this chapter M. Babeau is laid under contribution. But the section is interesting and hitherto scattered information is brought together<sup>1</sup>. The chapters on Religion, though not original, are adequate and sufficiently illuminative.

The literary portion is by far the weakest. The author gives no references to authorities, except a very meagre bibliography at the end of the volume. Frequently we are not even told from whom the illustrative extracts are taken, e.g., the quotation on dinner-party etiquette (pp. 148—150), or the description of the châtelaine (pp. 215—16). The bibliography calls for comment. The author has not consulted sufficient of the sources available, and those she has consulted are too often quoted at second-hand. The list of 'derived authorities' is too long.

<sup>1</sup> M. Calvet's most interesting *Saint Vincent de Paul* (Textes choisis et commentés) in M. M. Plon's *Bibliothèque Française* was not yet published when Miss Hugon's work appeared.

Why is Poisson quoted (pp. 220—21) from Vaissière's *Gentilhommes Campagnards de l'Ancienne France*? His works are easily accessible (e.g. in Ribou's edition of 1679). Again 'Le Cousinage' seems to be cited at second-hand (pp. 216—17). Otherwise Miss Hugon could not call it a 'comedy.' 'Les Exercices de ce temps' are readily available in Blanchemain's edition of Courval-Sonnet (although they are possibly not by him). In the first line of the quotation at the foot of p. 216 'poussière' will not scan. The correct reading is 'poudre.' 'Tasche par tout moyens' in the quotation on p. 217 is obviously wrong. The quotation from Mademoiselle de Montpensier (pp. 45—6) suggests that the original should have been consulted (e.g. in the eighth volume of Wetstein and Smith's Amsterdam edition of her *Mémoires*, 1735). There are several omissions besides those indicated. For the chapter on 'Paris City' the author has apparently drawn on the 'Traduction d'une lettre Italienne, écrite par un Sicilien à un de ses amis, contenant une critique agréable de Paris,' given by Cottolendi in his *Saint-Evremoniana*, but she has not given the reference. The sparing use made of this interesting document confirms a suspicion that the original has not been consulted (e.g. in the 1710 Rouen edition of the *Saint-Evremoniana*). Use might have been made of M. Émile Magne's 'Corneille, évocateur de Paris' (*Mercur de France*, 15 Juin 1906).

A very bad mistake occurs in the chapter on 'Culture in the Seventeenth Century' (p. 249). Miss Hugon refers to 'the theatre of the "Petit Bourbon," the scene of Molière's latter triumphs and that most closely associated with him.' Any recognized book of reference would have told her that the 'Petit Bourbon' was used by Molière only from 1658 till 1660 when it was demolished. 'The scene of Molière's latter triumphs' was the Palais Royal. The 'Illustre Théâtre' was not opened in 1647, as Miss Hugon asserts. Moreover, it was not a theatre but a troupe. It was constituted in 1643 and acted in three 'Jeux de Paume' successively from 1644 till the end of 1645 or the beginning of 1646. In 1647 Molière was at Toulouse, Albi and Carcassonne. It is difficult to understand why Miss Hugon chooses 1615 as the date when the Hôtel de Bourgogne began to attract attention. It was only from 1628 onwards that a regular troupe of professional actors was definitely established there, although Valleran's first appearance there and the renunciation of their exclusive privilege by the Confrérie de la Passion date from 1599, and Valleran's troupe was in possession from 1600 to 1604 and from 1606 to 1622, and Hardy's plays had attracted attention before 1615.

The statement (p. 252) that 'noblemen who hardly wrote' were admitted to the Academy is an exaggeration. Pellisson's list of the Academicians elected till 1652 does not bear this out. The list contains very few, if any, of this class. But most of the notable writers of the time were Academicians. After all, d'Arbaud de Porchères, Chapelain, Conrart, Colletet, Baro, de Boisrobert, Faret, Godeau, de Gombauld, de Gomberville, de Malleville, Desmarests, Maynard, de la Mothe le Vayer, de Racan, du Ryer, Saint-Amant, Scudéry, Tallemant,

Tristan l'Hermite, de Vaugelas, Voiture form a galaxy of talent and are writers of importance and of merit even if they do not rank with Corneille or with de Balzac! Very few of the Academicians of the first half of the seventeenth century were great noblemen. It is true that, later on, the reproach is better merited, but more in the eighteenth than in the seventeenth century.

It is absurd to say that Godeau was 'a good man whose greatest fault was a passion for versifying' (p. 254). Corneille thought three verses of his worthy of incorporation in *Polyeucte*. Godeau wrote too much, no doubt, but he was a true poet and one of the very few French religious poets who count. Even Boileau admitted that Godeau was 'un poète fort estimable.' Godeau was also an excellent critic. In 1630 he appreciated Malherbe justly and without extravagance—in this outweighing Boileau.

Miss Hugon shows, indeed, a regrettable lack of familiarity with the minor, but not negligible writers of the seventeenth century. A social formation is perhaps better expressed in its minor writers, who are wholly of it, than by its greater lights who are more than half, at least, of all time. The only minor poets, for example, mentioned in this chapter besides Godeau, are (p. 257) Voiture, Chapelain and Racan. Benserade is given a passing mention elsewhere (p. 38). But Maynard, Théophile, Tristan l'Hermite, Saint-Amant, de Gombauld, Sarasin, de Brébeuf, Le Moyne, Desmarests, de Malleville, de Montreuil, etc. are not mentioned at all. Segrais is not mentioned as a poet. Minor prose writers and dramatists are equally neglected.

T. B. RUDMOSE-BROWN.

DUBLIN.

### MINOR NOTICES.

There has certainly been no lack within recent years of short books on the history of the English Language. Dr Lindelöf's *Grundzüge der Geschichte der Englischen Sprache* (B. G. Teubner, Leipzig) is one of the shortest and most summary of these. There is of course no room for new theories in a book of this kind, and in general plan it follows the usual lines of such works. Its chief merit is perhaps that the author is careful to indicate how many problems are still unsolved in the history of our language and to avoid a tendency to dogmatism which is only too often found in the authors of elementary text-books, conscious of the limitations of their readers, but forgetful how important it is to develop a critical attitude from the first. The chief weakness of the book is the attempt to crowd too much detail into the very few pages which the author has allowed himself. Fuller discussion and exposition of more general points would have been of greater value to the student at this stage in his development, and would have saved him from the familiar difficulty of not being able to see the wood for the trees. The book would also have been improved by devotion of a greater



proportion of space to Modern in contrast to Old and Middle English developments. Writers on the history of our language are still slow in giving full recognition to the fact that in sound if not in writing our language has been completely transformed since the close of the sixteenth century.

A. M.

It is with feelings of mingled pleasure and regret that we call attention to two works of Dr Otto Jespersen, viz. his *Elementarbuch der Phonetik* (Teubner, Leipzig) and his *Engelsk Fonetik* (Gyldendalske Boghandel, Copenhagen): pleasure, that Professor Jespersen is continuing his good work in promoting the study of phonetics and of modern languages on phonetic principles; regret, because they remind us how much we are missing in England through having no translation of any of his work on phonetics. The *Elementarbuch* is a shortened form of his well-known *Lehrbuch der Phonetik*, and gives us a systematic and comprehensive study of the sound-relations of the three chief vernaculars of modern Europe. The whole work is a model of clearness and conciseness of presentation, and should be in the hands of every student and teacher of modern languages who desires to study their phonology in a form which is scientific but not overburdened with technicalities. *Engelsk Fonetik* is a study of English phonetics on the same lines as those of Professor Jespersen's study of Danish in his very popular *Modersmålets Fonetik*. It has been compiled from his larger works by Mr Helwig-Möller under Dr Jespersen's direction. Intended primarily for the use of Danish teachers and students of English, it is at the same time full of interest for all who are interested in the phonetic study of English speech.

A. M.

We doubt whether even the best among the numerous versions of Petrarch's lyrics have ever afforded much enjoyment to their readers; but there can be no question that translations of his Latin works serve a useful purpose. Students of modern literature are unfortunately not always acquainted with Latin; and it is impossible to understand Petrarch the man and humanist without a knowledge of his Latin works. His earliest moral treatise, the *De Contemptu Mundi*, has at length been rendered into English by William H. Draper (*Petrarch's Secret*, London, Chatto and Windus, 1911); and the translation may be accounted a distinct success (in spite of occasional lapses, such as: 'I wonder what is your meaning. Do you mind being more explicit?'). Above all it is accurate. The introduction, too, is well worth reading. Sincerity was scarcely Petrarch's strong point; at any rate, it is difficult to believe that he was as sincere in this particular work as he would have us believe and as the sub-title, *Secretum Meum*, would seem to suggest. And yet these three dialogues are invaluable to every student of the great man's life and character; while they illustrate various phases and illuminate many a curious corner of medieval thought.

H. O.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS.

March—May, 1913.

### GENERAL.

- DUPOUY, A., *France et Allemagne, littératures comparées.* Paris, Delaplane. 3 fr. 50.
- FEIST, S., *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen.* Berlin, Weidmann. 13 M.
- GARROD, H. B., *Dante, Goethe's Faust, and other Lectures.* London, Macmillan. 3s. 6d. net.
- HUDSON, W. H., *An Introduction to the Study of Literature.* 2nd ed., enlarged. London, Harrap. 4s. 6d. net.
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## THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE LATER 'APPIUS AND VIRGINIA.'

IN the process of detailed work on Webster, I have come to the conclusion that *Appius and Virginia* is not by him. Proofs of the attribution of a play based on internal evidence are necessarily long, detailed and elusive. I have only space to summarise them here. May it be kept in mind that by compression they lose much of their force.

### I.

*Appius and Virginia* has passed, hitherto, in the general body of Elizabethan plays without attracting any particular notice. It seems desirable to show first that it deserves notice.

It is to be remarked that critics, whether of the Elizabethans in general or of Webster in particular, have always exhibited either conscious discomfort or unconscious haste and lack of interest, when they came to *Appius and Virginia*. As they have never questioned its genuineness, their perfunctory and unprofitable treatment of it is noteworthy. They cannot fit it in.

We may sympathise with them. The flavour by which we recognise Webster developed between 1607 and 1615. It is a clinging, unmistakable one. In the earlier collaborate plays, *Northward Ho!* and *Westward Ho!* we do not expect to find it. In the late imitative plays it is less powerful. But a close, long scrutiny, before which *Appius and Virginia* grows more cold and strange, increasingly reveals Webster in *The Devil's Law-Case*, even in *A Cure for a Cuckold*, of which he only wrote part.

Examine *Appius and Virginia* æsthetically and as a whole. Webster is a dogged, slow writer; and romantic—in the sense that single scenes, passages, or lines have merit and intensity on their own account. And there is a kind of dusty heat over all. *Appius and Virginia* is precisely the opposite to all this. Its impression is simple and cool. It seems more an effort at classicism,—unconscious perhaps. There are not many

lines and images you stop over. You see right on to the end of the road.

Descend from general to particular æsthetic examination; Webster is still absent. The characters are slight and ordinary. The clown is quite unlike anything we could expect Webster to invent. Appius, the Machiavellian villain, has a little fire. Virginius is a mere stage-creature, and, as that, quite creditable. Virginia is a virgin. The crowd of soldiers is a soldiers' crowd. Webster's characters, in the other plays, if they do not always (compared at least with Shakespeare's) make a highly individual impression on the mind, always leave a dent.

The metre of *Appius and Virginia* is not Webster's. The blank verse is much stricter. Webster's loose, impressionistic iambics, with their vague equivalence and generous handling, are very unlike these regular, rhetorical lines. Webster's great characteristic of beginning a line with what classical prosodists would call an anapæst finds no place here. And the general metrical technique of which this is only the most obvious manifestation—the continual use of substitution and equivalence in the feet, or, better, the thinking more in lines and less in feet—is strikingly absent in *Appius and Virginia*. These prosodic habits are also almost as little prominent in the possibly Websterian part of *A Cure for a Cuckold*. But there is another point which marks *Appius and Virginia* off from all the rest. In the other plays, there is little attempt to keep a line that is divided between two speakers pentametical. If one speech ends with a line of two and a half feet, the next may begin with a line of two feet, or of three, or with a complete line. *Appius and Virginia* keeps almost invariably to the old tradition, by which the speeches dovetail perfectly. There are other differences, such as the greater number of rhyming lines in *Appius and Virginia*, which could more easily be the result of a conscious attempt to write in a different style<sup>1</sup>.

The first and almost the only characteristic in *Appius and Virginia* to strike a casual reader, is the vocabulary. It is full of rare, Latin words, mostly wearing an air of recent manufacture; 'to deject' (in a literal sense), 'munition,' 'invasive,' 'devolved,' 'donative,' 'palpèd,' 'enthronized,' 'torvèd,' 'strage,' and many more. This very un-Websterian vocabulary is a mark of certain writers, especially about the beginning

<sup>1</sup> For the perplexing metrical part which *Appius and Virginia* plays, see the metrical table on p. 190 of Dr Stoll's *John Webster*. Its resemblance to *A Cure for a Cuckold* is only in some directions, and more statistical than real. The metre of both is rather smooth; but in a very different way. It is, of course, rather risky to lay much emphasis on *A Cure for a Cuckold*: it may have been worked over by Rowley.

of the seventeenth century. Among the major dramatists, Ben Jonson had a touch of this Latin word-coinage; Marston, Heywood, Chapman, and Shakespeare show it chiefly.

In this and every notable respect the language of *Appius and Virginia* is unlike Webster's. Whatever linguistic point of detail you choose, the lack of resemblance is obvious. To take one instance: Dr Stoll (p. 40), in trying to prove the Webster authorship of the major part of *A Cure for a Cuckold*, uses as a test the occurrence of the exclamation 'Ha!' especially as comprehending a whole speech. He says it is unusually frequent in Webster. 'It appears in the *White Devil* 13 times, 6 of them being whole speeches; in *Malfi* 10 times, 2 of them whole speeches; in the *Law-Case* 9 times, 4 of them whole speeches; in *Appius and Virginia* twice; in the main plot of the *Cure for a Cuckold* 7 times, 2 of them whole speeches.' The oddness of the *Appius and Virginia* figures does not strike Dr Stoll, who is on other business. He explains them, vaguely, by 'the frigidity and academic character of the play'; which is far from fair to the slightly Marlovian, and 'Machiavellian' nature of much of *Appius and Virginia*. It is not a Jonsonian Roman play. There is no reason why Appius should not have said 'Ha!' thirteen times, six of them whole speeches, except that the author did not write like that.

Again, the word 'foul' was, characteristically, a common one with Webster. It occurs often in *The White Devil*, on almost every page in *The Duchess of Malfi*. 'Think on your cause,' says Contarino to Ercole in *The Devil's Law-Case* II, 2; 'It is a wondrous foul one.' And when the real 'devil's law-case' comes on (IV, 2), the shameless Winifred desires, 'Question me in Latin, for the cause is very foul.' There was this habit in Webster of thinking of such moral rottenness as 'foul,' slightly materialising it. A reader would feel safe in betting that Webster would use the word several times in connection with the trial of Virginia. One knows his comment on it, as one knows how a friend will take a piece of news. The word does not occur in this passage.

Analysis might find a thousand more points, positive and negative, in which the style and vocabulary of *Appius and Virginia* are obviously not those of Webster. When the language is unanalytically tasted, as a whole, the dissimilarity becomes still more obvious. In the general handling and construction of the play there is an un-Websterian childishness and crudity. Webster could be *gauche* enough at times, but not in this shallow, easy way. I need only enumerate some of the instances.

There are the soliloquies of II, 1, the end of I, 3, and especially the beginning of the same scene, the interview between Marcus and Appius. Appius is melancholy, declares himself in love. Marcus asks with whom, offering to act pander. Appius tells him, Virginia.

*Marcus.* Virginia's!

*Appius.* Hers.

*Marcus.* I have already found  
An easy path which you may safely tread,  
Yet no man trace you.

He goes on to explain in detail his rather elaborate plan. The liberty taken with time, in V, 3, is extreme, even for an Elizabethan, where Icilius is allowed the duration of *seven lines*, to go from the prison to the house where Virginia's body lies, take it up, and start back with it through the streets, moving the populace to uproar! The extraordinary and pointless discrepancies between II, 3, the interview between Appius and Icilius, and III, 1, Icilius' account of the interview, may possibly, but not probably, be explained by a theory of the play being in a cut and revised state, for which there is other evidence. But nothing can be thought too childish to come from the hand of the author of the crowd-effects of Act II, 2; where the farcical congruence of the choruses culminates in

*First Soldier.* ...from thence arise

A plague to choke all Rome!

*Omnes.*

And all the suburbs!

These are some of the immediate difficulties in believing *Appius and Virginia* to be by Webster. A few of them might be evaded by a theory of Webster attempting a fresh *genus*; but not the subtler points of atmosphere and style. The further difficulties of explaining the nature and date of the play, if it is by Webster, strengthen our incredulity. *How* Webster came to write such a play, his various critics and commentators have not tried to explain; chiefly because they have not understood that there was any need of explanation. They have realised neither how astonishing a *tour de force* it is, for an author so completely to sink his personality, nor that Webster is the last man to be capable of such a feat. The dumb evidence of their inability to make this play fit in with or illuminate the rest of Webster's work, speaks for them. *When* Webster wrote it, is a question they have tried to answer, however dimly. Their answers have all been different, and all importantly unconvincing. In the first place, the whole style of the play, in plot, characterisation, and metre, suggests an early date, somewhere between 1595 and 1615; and joins it, loosely, with *Julius Caesar*

(1601?), *Coriolanus* (1608?) and Heywood's *The Rape of Lucrece* (1604?). This is especially to be remarked of the metre, which is rather formal, without being stiff. It has few 'equivalences.' The licences are regular. They mostly consist of a few limited cases in which elision occurs, always noticeably, and almost conventionally—the chief example is between 'to' and a verb beginning with a vowel<sup>1</sup>. I have already noticed the metrical dove-tailing of speeches. All these prosodic characteristics suit, some rather demand, a date between 1600 and 1610. So does the influence of Marlowe and Machiavellism, and the character of the clown, Corbulo, who is staringly introduced into the original story. Finally the general and specific dissimilarity in style of *Appius and Virginia* and Webster's other plays forbids a middle date, and requires an early rather than a late one, if the play be his. Only a young hand could have disguised its individuality so completely.

The other evidence, however, points in precisely the opposite direction. When you try to suggest a possible date you meet bewildering difficulties. One of the most certain things about *Appius and Virginia* is that it is strongly influenced by Shakespeare's Roman plays, and especially by *Coriolanus*<sup>2</sup>. *Coriolanus* is dated by most critical opinion as 1608–9. So *Appius and Virginia* must be at least as late as 1609. But that is definitely in Webster's middle, most individual, period. *The White Devil* appeared in 1611, and he was confessedly a long time in writing it. If the author of *The White Devil* wrote *Appius and Virginia*, it cannot have been only a year or eighteen months before. Then again you cannot slip the Roman play amazingly between *The White Devil* and *The Duchess of Malfi* (c. 1613). It would be far easier to say that Shakespeare wrote *Titus Andronicus* between *As You Like It* and *Twelfth Night*. And you must leave a decent interval after *The Duchess of Malfi*. You feel inclined to drop it quietly in the vacant space between *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Devil's Law-Case*. But the progression in style here is so clear and gradual that it is nearly as difficult to squeeze it in there as between the tragedies. Besides, if you get as late as 1617 or 1618, you may as well listen to Dr Stoll's evidence—that it is not mentioned in Webster's dedication to *The Devil's Law-Case* (printed 1623), and that it shows such close debts to Shakespeare that Webster must have written it after reading the First Folio (1623). So, buffeted and confused, you take refuge in his

<sup>1</sup> e.g. 'To obey, my lord, and to know how to rule....'

<sup>2</sup> Stoll, pp. 193–197, illustrates this fully enough. A single reading of the play will prove it.

spacious '1623-1639'; a date which is in direct opposition to all your first conclusions. And if you want to adorn the affair, now you have settled it, with the circumstance and charm of reality, you may attribute, with Dr Stoll, not only Webster's style and handling to his study of the First Folio, but his Marlowe characteristics to his recent study of *The Massacre at Paris* (1593) preparatory to writing his own play *The Guise*, his clown to his friendship with Heywood, his strange style to his imitativeness of the fashion of his time, and his writing this sort of play at all to his fancy for going back to the fashions of twenty or thirty years earlier!

## II.

Well then, what reasons are there for thinking that Webster did write *Appius and Virginia*? The reasons are two,—the attribution in 1654, and repetitions or parallels between Webster's other plays and this. They require examination.

*Appius and Virginia* was printed and published in 1654, as by John Webster. The same edition was put forth in 1659 with a new title-page 'Printed for Humphrey Moseley<sup>1</sup>'; and again in 1679, 'Acted at the Duke's Theatre under the name of *The Roman Virgin* or *Unjust Judge*.' It is possible that Moseley only took over the edition between 1654 and 1659. In that case the attribution has even less weight. But let us put it at its strongest (and most probable) and suppose that Moseley was always the publisher. It is being realised more and more how little importance attributions of the second half of the seventeenth century have. The theatrical traditions had been broken. Publishers attributed by guess-work, or hearsay, or to sell the book. In 1661, Kirkman published *The Thracian Wonder* as by Webster and Rowley. 'No one,' says Professor Vaughan, 'except the editor, has ever supposed that Webster can have had a hand in it.' Yet it is as Websterian as *Appius and Virginia*.

Humphrey Moseley was, as a matter of fact, one of the more trustworthy publishers of the time. Malone and Professor Parrott are too hard on him. But he had the faults and ignorance of his period. Among other attributions he gives *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* to Shakespeare, *The Parliament of Love* (Massinger) to Rowley, *The Faithful Friends* to Beaumont and Fletcher, *Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany* to Chapman, *The Widow* (Middleton) to Jonson, Fletcher, and

<sup>1</sup> For Moseley and his activities, v. *Dictionary of National Biography*; Plomer, *Dictionary of Booksellers and Printers, 1641-1667*; Masson, *Life of Milton*, III, 448-457, VI, 352; Parrott, *Tragedies of Chapman*, p. 683; Malone, *Variorum Shakespeare*, III, 229.



Middleton, *Henry I* and *Henry II* (Davenport, probably) to Shakespeare and Davenport, and *The History of King Stephen, Duke Humphrey*, and *Iphis and Iantha* to Shakespeare.

Webster's works have, in one way and another, been pretty thoroughly scrutinised for parallels. Resemblances in phrasing and thought between *The White Devil*, *The Duchess of Malfi*, *The Devil's Law-Case* and *A Monumental Column* are very numerous. *A Cure for a Cuckold* and *Appius and Virginia* are far less closely joined. In *A Cure for a Cuckold* there are certain minor echoes of phrase that have some weight. I give a list of the only connections of *Appius and Virginia* with the other plays that have been discovered previously, or that I have found<sup>1</sup>.

(a) *Appius and Virginia*, 149:

I have seen children oft eat sweetmeats thus,  
As fearful to devour them:

*Duchess of Malfi*, 65:

I have seen children oft eat sweetmeats thus,  
As fearful to devour them too soon.

(b) *A. and V.*, 151:

One whose mind  
Appears more like a ceremonious chapel  
Full of sweet music, than a thronging presence.

*Duchess of Malfi*, 79:

His breast was filled with all perfection,  
And yet it seemed a private whispering-room  
It made so little noise of 't.

*Monumental Column*, ll. 78, 79:

Who had his breast instated with the choice  
Of virtues, though they made no ambitious noise.

(c) *A. and V.*, 163:

*Virginia.* But she hath a matchless eye, Sir.  
*Corbulo.* True, her eyes are not right matches.

*White Devil*, 31:

*Brachiano.* Are not those matchless eyes mine?  
*Vittoria.* I had rather  
They were not matches<sup>2</sup>.

(d) *A. and V.*, 165:

I only give you my opinion,  
I ask no fee for 't.

<sup>1</sup> The references are all by the pages of Dyce's one-volume edition.

<sup>2</sup> Quarto reading. Dyce reads 'matchless': obviously wrongly.

*Westward Ho!* 242:

Take my counsel: I'll ask no fee for 't.

*White Devil*, 7:

This is my counsel and I'll ask no fee for 't.

(e) *A. and V.*, 168:

As aconitum, a strong poison, brings  
A present cure against all serpents' stings.

*White Devil*, 26:

Physicians, that cure poisons, still do work  
With counter-poisons.

(f) *A. and V.*, 171:

I vow this is a practised dialogue:  
Comes it not rarely off?

*Duchess of Malfi*, 63:

I think this speech between you both was studied,  
It came so roundly off.

(g) *A. and V.*, 172:

For we wot  
The Office of a Justice is perverted quite  
When one thief hangs another<sup>1</sup>.

*Duchess of Malfi*, 90:

The office of justice is perverted quite  
When one thief hangs another.

(h) *A. and V.*, 180:

Death is terrible  
Unto a conscience that's oppressed with guilt!

*Duchess of Malfi*, 99:

How tedious is a guilty conscience!

(i) *A. and V.*, 173:

I have sung  
With an unskilful, yet a willing voice,  
To bring my girl asleep.

*White Devil*, 45:

I'll tie a garland here about his head;  
'Twill keep my boy from lightning.

Besides these, there are various words; 'dunghill' (*A. and V.*, 171, 166, *White Devil*, 25), 'mist' (of ignorance) (*A. and V.*, 167, 170, *White*

<sup>1</sup> So Quarto. Dyce thinks this a mistake for 'The office of justice...' as in *The Duchess of Malfi* quotation. He is probably right.

*Devil*, 50<sup>1</sup>) are favourite and typical words of Webster. Note also 'pursenet' in the sense of 'wile' (*A. and V.*, 170, *Devil's Law-Case*, 130) and 'not-being' (*A. and V.*, 180, *Duchess of Malfi*, 90).

Of the resemblances, (c) is a common joke, (e) a common idea (the Ben Jonson, *Sejanus*, quotation which Dyce gives in a note is much nearer than the passage from the *White Devil* to the *A. and V.* quotation), and (d) sounds like a catch-phrase. In (h) the two examples occur near the end of their plays, and slightly recall each other in atmosphere. In (i) the same effect of tenderness is got by the word 'my.'

It seems to me that (b), a suggestion of Mr Crawford's, holds good only between *The Duchess of Malfi* and *A Monumental Column*.

These six examples are such that they would be important if they were ten or fifteen times as numerous; being so few they are of no account. And I do not think many more could be found.

The rest, (a), (f) and (g), are another matter. It is to be noted that (a) and (g) are exactly the sort of images and proverbial sayings (note the expression 'we wot') that Webster and others collected. If Webster wrote *Appius and Virginia*, we can only say that he must have used the same note-book that he wrote *The Duchess of Malfi* with. If not, either the author of *Appius and Virginia* compiled his note-book out of *The Duchess of Malfi* among other books; or else they used common sources. (f) is an even more significant parallel. For the circumstances are similar. In each drama two 'villains' play into each other's hands in a dialogue which the 'hero' discerns, suddenly, or guesses, to have been rehearsed. It is not an obvious thought. That it should be expressed at all is noteworthy; that it should be expressed with such similarity of phrase and (which is important) metrical setting, is a valuable proof of identity of authorship.

The words have little weight. The use of 'mist' is striking; but 'dunghill,' though it irresistibly recalls Webster's manner, was not monopolised by him; and 'not-being' (the repetition of which Dr Stoll seems to think remarkable) is not rare enough or typical enough to be of any significance.

There the proofs of Webster's authorship end. The attribution of a late publisher, which is evidence of a notoriously untrustworthy character, and three or four passages of repetition or resemblance,—that is all. The conclusion, for any impartial mind, is that there is very

<sup>1</sup> Especially the similarity between 'in a mist,' *A. and V.*, 167, and 'in a mist,' *White Devil*, 50.

little evidence of the play being Webster's, rather more for his having had a finger in it, but much stronger evidence still that he had practically nothing to do with it.

### III.

If that is all there is to be said, we are left with an impression of general confusion, and a strongish feeling that anyhow Webster is responsible for very little of the play.

But the question would be cleared, if anyone discovered a more promising candidate. This I believe I have done. I think I can show that *Appius and Virginia* is largely, or entirely, the work of Thomas Heywood. I shall give the direct proofs first: then the more indirect ones, by showing how his authorship fits in with the various facts that have made such havoc of Webster's claims.

I have mentioned the queer distinctive vocabulary, especially of Latin words, used in *Appius and Virginia*. The fact that Heywood uses a very similar vocabulary, especially in all his more classical works, would of itself be of little weight. But an individual examination of all the very unusual words and phrases in this play, together with a hurried scrutiny of Heywood's dramas, provides very startling results. I give a list. More minute search, no doubt, might largely increase it. It serves its purpose. I begin with the more striking words<sup>1</sup>.

#### *A. and V.*, 179:

Redeem a base life with a noble death,  
And through your lust-burnt veins *confine* your breath.

'Confine,' in this sense of 'banish,' was very rare. The *N.E.D.* gives one more or less contemporary example from Holinshed, and one, the only one, from Shakespeare. Dyce, in a footnote, gives five passages; he comments, 'it is somewhat remarkable that they are all from Heywood.' I can add two. It was a very special word of Heywood's.

#### *Pleasant Dialogues*, II, p. 115:

The body's dead, nor canst thou call it thine.  
The soul *confine*,

#### *Royal King and Loyal Subject*, 82:

Which as your gift I'll keep, till Heaven and Nature  
*Confine* it hence.

It is to be noticed that the context in these two examples is similar.

<sup>1</sup> The references to Heywood's plays are to the pages of the six-volume Pearson edition, 1874.

Other examples are in *The Golden Age*, 23, *The Rape of Lucrece*, 242, *A Challenge for Beauty*, 10, *The Brazen Age*, 199, *Γυναικεῖον*, IV, 207.

*A. and V.*, 174:

If the general's heart be so *obdure*.

'Obdure' is a very rare word. It does not occur in Shakespeare. In the Elizabethan age it seems to have been used only by one or two religious writers and Heywood. Heywood is always using it. This word alone might almost be accepted as a proof that the passage it occurs in was by him.

'Obdure' as adjective occurs in *Lucrece*, 219, 224, *Golden Age*, 56, 60, *Fortune by Land and Sea*, 375, *Pleasant Dialogues*, 114: as verb, *English Traveller*, 90, *Γυναικεῖον*, I, 55, *Brit. Troy*, VI, 11. 'Obdureness' comes in *Γυναικεῖον*, I, 55.

*A. and V.*, 162: '*Palpèd*.'

There are only three known instances of this extraordinary word; this one, and two from Heywood's acknowledged works: *Brit. Troy*, xv, XLII, and *Brazen Age*, 206.

I add a short list of instances that are less persuasive individually, but have enormous weight collectively.

*A. and V.*, 152:

Why should my lord droop, or *deject* his eye?

Rare in this literal sense: not in Shakespeare. Heywood, *If you know not me*, 206:

It becomes not  
You, being a Princess, to *deject* your knee.

Cf. also *Lucrece*, 173, 'dejected,' 174, 'dejection.'

*A. and V.*, 153, *prostrate*, in a very uncommon metaphorical usage:

Your daughter...most humbly  
*Prostrates* her filial duty.

This is paralleled twice in Heywood's *The Rape of Lucrece*, and once in another play:

*Rape of Lucrece*, 173:

This hand...  
Lays his victorious sword at Tarquin's feet,  
And *prostrates* with that sword allegiance.

pp. 211, 212:

The richest entertainment lives with us (i.e. that lives with us)  
According to the hour, and the provision  
Of a poor wife in the absence of her husband,  
We *prostrate* to you.

*Royal King and Loyal Subject*, 42:

To you...my liege,  
A virgin's love I *prostrate*.

*A. and V.*, 153:

An *infinite*  
Of fair Rome's sons.

'Infinite' is sometimes, though rarely, used by itself, more or less as a number. But used merely as a substantive, as here, it is very unusual. It is found in Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece*, 234, *Golden Age*, 36; cf. also *Rape of Lucrece*, 243:

Before thee *infinite* gaze on thy face.

*A. and V.*, 153:

The iron wall  
That rings this pomp in from *invasive* steel.

A rare word. Once in Shakespeare. The phrase is repeated in Heywood's *Golden Age*, 40:

The big Titanoyes  
Plow up thy land with their *invasive* steel.

*A. and V.*, 153:

Let Janus' temple be *devolv'd* (i.e. overturned).

A very rare word in this sense. The *N.E.D.* gives only two other examples, one of 1470, one of 1658. Not in Shakespeare. Heywood, *Lucrece*, 244:

For they behind him will *devolve* the bridge.

*A. and V.*, 155:

You *mediate* excuse for courtesies.  
(i.e. beg, on somebody else's behalf.)

Rare: not in Shakespeare. In Webster's *The White Devil* in the sense of 'to take a moderate position'! Marlowe and one or two prose-writers have used it in the sense of the text. It is found in Heywood, *English Traveller*, 84:

Will you...  
Not *mediate* my peace?

A. and V., 161:

Upon my *infallid* evidence.

Very rare: not in Shakespeare. *N.E.D.* gives only two other examples, of which one is Heywood, *Hierarch.*, v, 308:

All these are *infallid* testimonies.

A. and V., 174:

Let him come *thrill* his partisan  
Against this breast.

'*Thrill*, i.e. hurl,—an unusual sense of the word,' says Dyce. He adds two quotations, both from Heywood's *Iron Age*, e.g. p. 316:

All which their javelins *thrild* against thy breast.

Note the correspondence of phrase. This use is not found in Shakespeare.

A. and V., 174:

Marshal yourselves, and entertain this *novel*  
Within a ring of steel.

An uncommon substantive, not found in Shakespeare. Heywood, *English Traveller*, 27, *Golden Age*, 55, *Iron Age*, *Second Part*, 373, *Brazen Age*, 202.

A. and V., 179:

This sight has stiffened all my *operant* powers.

Dyce quotes *Hamlet*, III, 2:

My *operant* powers their function leave to do.

And it is quite probable that the author of *Appius and Virginia* is borrowing the phrase from Shakespeare, for the word is very uncommon. Heywood, in *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject*, probably written just about the same time as *Hamlet*, uses the word, in the same sense (p. 6), only writing 'parts' instead of 'powers.' The sense of this passage is even nearer to the *Hamlet* line: they are obviously connected—through Heywood, as usual, echoing rather than imitating Shakespeare.

When I forget thee may my *operant parts*  
Each one forget their office.

It seems to me probable that Heywood echoed Shakespeare immediately in *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject*, and soon after, rather less closely in *Appius and Virginia*.

*A. and V.*, 179: *Strage*.

A rare Latinism: not in Shakespeare. Heywood uses it in *Pleasant Dialogues*, 111, and in *The Hierarchie*.

There are other general verbal resemblances. The kind of word Heywood invents and uses is the same in *Appius and Virginia* and through the six volumes of his collected 'dramatic works.' 'Eternized,' 'monarchizer,' 'applausive,' 'opposure' occur in the latter; 'imposturous,' 'enthronized,' 'donative,' in the former. Who could distinguish? In *Appius and Virginia*, 178, he invents (possibly adopts) the rare verb 'to oratorize.' In *The English Traveller*, 68, he uses the form 'to orator.' Resemblances of phrase are as numerous, though not so striking. Heywood was too ordinary and too hurried a writer to have much eccentricity of phrase. He wrote in the common style of the time, only slightly garnished by a few queer pet words and a certain Latinism of vocabulary. He does not repeat lines and metaphors as many writers do; only, occasionally, phrases and collocations of words, but these of such a kind as all his contemporaries repeated also. The result is that it is difficult to find parallels of this nature between any of his works. What there are between *Appius and Virginia* and the rest, therefore, have more weight than they would have in the case of some other dramatists.

There is a rather puzzling expression just at the end of *Appius and Virginia* (p. 180):

Appius died like a Roman gentleman,  
And a man both ways knowing.

It is, metrically and in sense, very like a sentence at the end of *The English Traveller* (p. 94):

Dalavill  
Hath played the villain, but for Geraldine,  
He hath been each way noble.

Cf. also *Fortune by Land and Sea*, 386:

Come! I am both ways armed against thy steel.

One of the few points which the author of *Appius and Virginia* introduced into the stories of Dionysius and Livy, is the plot to coerce Virginia by refusing the army's pay and forcing Virginius to sell his goods to pay them. In the first act of *A Maidenhood Well Lost* (espec. 111 ff.) Strozza lays much the same plot against 'the General' and his daughter, and what ensues, the army starving and the general paying the soldiers himself, is exactly the same. This shows, at least,



that the idea was in Heywood's mind when he was writing *A Maidenhood Well Lost*. What is more significant is that another idea in the camp-scenes in *Appius and Virginia* (also original) was in his mind when he was writing *The Rape of Lucrece*. On page 205 the sentry makes the entirely unnecessary remark about his occupation :

Thus must poor soldiers do ;  
While their commanders are with dainties fed,  
And sleep on down, the earth must be our bed.

This is the *motif* of the whole mutiny-scene in *Appius and Virginia* (p. 156). See especially the lines :

I wake in the wet trench,  
Loaded with more cold iron than a gaol  
Would give a murderer, while the general  
Sleeps in a field-bed, and to mock our hunger  
Feeds us with scent of the most curious fare  
That makes his tables crack.

It is obvious that Heywood's mind ran easily into the same trains of thought. Suggest 'Camp' to him, and he readily pictures, in his pleasant light water-colours, the starving, cold soldiers *sub divo* and the general feeding luxuriously and enjoying a bed. Indeed, the parallels of idea with *Lucrece* are numerous, as one would expect. Heywood felt that a great man of that time was attended by a 'secretary.' Porsenna, King of the Tuscans, in his tent (*Lucrece*, 245) wants lights. He calls 'Our secretary!' The secretary appears with 'My lord?' In *Appius and Virginia* (159, 160) when Appius is bearded by Icilius, he calls out for help, 'Our secretary!' and summons him again at the end of the interview, 'Our secretary!...We have use for him.' Marcus appears :

My honourable lord?....

There are other such small points—the bearing of the dead, bleeding bodies of *Lucrece*, and of *Virginia*, before the people, and their sympathy and rage; the vagueness of locality in each play; and so on.

But there is a more remarkable resemblance. It is part of a general link with Heywood's works,—the clown. Dr Stoll has three pages (197—200) pointing out and illustrating the kinship of Corbulo in *Appius and Virginia* with Heywood's clowns, and especially the clown of *The Rape of Lucrece*<sup>1</sup>. The Heywood clown, an early type, was a simple, good-hearted creature, who had little to do with the play, and poured out puns and somewhat Euphuistic jokes to amuse the crowd. There was a painstaking, verbal tumbling they all indulged in. You

<sup>1</sup> See also Eckhardt, *Die lustige Person im älteren englischen Drama*, p. 433, etc.

can pick at random. 'If they suddenly do not strike up,' says Slime of the lingering musicians<sup>1</sup>, 'I shall presently strike them<sup>2</sup> down.' It is the voice of Corbulo. The clown in *The Golden Age* is precisely the same. So is the one in *Lucrece*, and as the plays are more alike, the similarity of his position is the more easily seen. It is, in the first place, a very remarkable coincidence that he should be there at all. *Appius and Virginia* and *The Rape of Lucrece* are the only Roman plays of the adult Elizabethan drama to introduce such a character. It was exactly like Heywood to modify the tradition and *genus* in this way. It would not have been at all like Webster. Dr Stoll emphasises and details this similarity so admirably, and as he has no idea that *Appius and Virginia* is not by Webster, his testimony is so valuable in its impartiality, that I cannot do better than quote his description.

In both cases the clown is servant to the heroine, and he appears in like situations. He is sent by his mistress on errands, is taken to task by her for ogling at her maid (and that in the latter's presence), and is left to chatter with other servants alone. He jokes about his mistress's misfortune, about the sinners in the suburbs, and, being a Roman, out of the Latin grammar. And the comic side of both is the same. It lies all in the speeches—the clown plays no pranks and suffers no mishaps—and it has an episodic, random, and anachronistic character. It is all jest and repartee, puns, quibbles, and catches, and those neither clever nor new; and the drift of it all, whenever it gets beyond words, is satire on London life and manners. It is good-humoured moreover, naive and dirty.

#### IV.

Here, then, in the first place, is a final argument against Webster's authorship of the play. Anyone who believes in it, has now got to explain away not only the date difficulty, not only the general æsthetic absurdity, not only the borrowing of a pet character of Heywood's, but also the sudden entire adoption of Heywood's individual, distinguishing vocabulary. Twenty years' friendship, you are to suppose, never affected Webster's vocabulary in this direction in the slightest degree. Then, in a transport of 'senile' affection, he hurled aside his own personality, and became mere Tom.

In the next place, consider how the theory of Heywood's authorship suits the facts of the play. If Heywood wrote *Appius and Virginia*, there is no difficulty about words or handling. He wrote the play most like it of all the plays in the world. There is no difficulty about style. It is exactly like Heywood when he is writing solemnly, as in parts of *Lucrece*, parts of the various 'Ages,' and the beginning and end of *The*

<sup>1</sup> *A Woman killed with Kindness*, 97.

<sup>2</sup> Old text 'thee.'

*Royal King and the Loyal Subject*. Only it is rather more mature, it has a little more freedom and rhetoric, than the early style of *Lucrece* and some of the 'Ages.' This suits the other indications of date. For, again, there is no difficulty about the date. The difference between *Lucrece* and *Appius and Virginia* is mostly due to the fact that *Coriolanus* (c. 1608) must have intervened. Any date after 1608 would do; immediately after is the most likely, because the resemblances of style and vocabulary are, on the whole, to the rather earlier works.

I imagine that the main part of *Appius and Virginia*, as we have it, was written then. It may, and indeed must, have been cut about and altered, by Heywood or others, before it found a last home with 'Beeston's boys' in 1639, or a final resting-place with Moseley in 1654.

The metrical characteristics noticed in *Appius and Virginia* are Heywood's. Heywood's blank verse, says Dr Schipper<sup>1</sup>, is 'sehr gewandt und harmonisch gebaut.' This applies perfectly to our play. He also calls attention, of course, to the number of rhyming couplets, ending off even short speeches. It is this characteristic in *Appius and Virginia* that slightly puzzles Dr Stoll and suddenly upsets his metrical tables (p. 190). The only detailed examination of Heywood's prosody that I know is in Dr Franz Albert's 'Über Thomas Heywood's Life and Death of Hector of Troy<sup>2</sup>.' It is concerned mainly with certain sides of Heywood's work, mostly undramatic, and it is not very perspicacious, having most of the faults of Germans trying to understand English metre. But it enumerates some of the more tangible characteristics, and lays great stress on that trick of conscious and rather conventionalised elision, especially between 'to' and a verb with an initial vowel, that I had already independently noticed in *Appius and Virginia*, and have remarked on earlier in this paper.

The various characteristics of the play that are no bar to Webster's authorship fit in equally well or better with Heywood's. This is the case with the numerous slight imitations of phrases of Shakespeare, which are rather more a mark of Heywood than of Webster<sup>3</sup>.

The sources of *Appius and Virginia* are, ultimately, Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. If any translation of Livy was used, it was probably Philemon Holland's (1600). No English translation of Dionysius at this time is known. The sources favour Heywood if anything. Of Webster's classical knowledge we can only say that he knew

<sup>1</sup> *Englische Metrik*, 1881, Vol. II, p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> Especially pp. 22, 172.

<sup>3</sup> See *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. VI, p. 106.

other people's Latin quotations. Thomas Heywood, Fellow of Peterhouse, Translator of Sallust, Ovid, and Lucian, author of the learned *Hierarchie*, *Apology for Actors*, *Γυναικεῖον*, etc., was a lover of learning and a reader of Latin and Greek all his life.

## V.

It remains to see what explanation, on the assumption that Heywood is mainly or entirely the author of *Appius and Virginia*, can be given of the exiguous pieces of evidence that point towards Webster. There is first Moseley's attribution. I have said how little weight the attribution of a late publisher carries. If the choice between giving the play to Heywood or Webster lay with Moseley, what inducement there was either way would have led him to choose Webster. For while neither was very famous in the second half of the seventeenth century, some of Webster's plays were revived from time to time, but none, as far as is known, of Heywood's.

But it is easy enough to imagine a play of Heywood's coming without a name, or with a wrong name, into the hands of a publisher of 1654. There were two hundred and twenty plays 'in which I have had either an entire hand or at least a main finger'.<sup>1</sup> On any that came to the press in his lifetime, he seems to have kept an eye. For the others, when they had passed out of his control, he seems not to have cared. 'Many of them, by shifting and change of companies have been negligently lost; others of them are still retained in the hands of some actors, who think it against their peculiar profit to have them come in print'.<sup>2</sup> *Appius and Virginia* may have belonged to either, more probably to the latter class. And it is very easy to trace a possible and probable history of this play.<sup>3</sup> We first hear of it in 1639, in the possession of Christopher Beeston's company of boys, who occupied the Cockpit Theatre from 1637 onwards. Now Christopher Beeston and Thomas Heywood were members of Queen Anne's company from its foundation in 1603. In 1617 the Cockpit opened, and Queen Anne's company went there till 1619. From 1619 to 1625 the lady Elizabeth's company held the Cockpit, and probably, though not certainly, Heywood and Beeston were of them. From 1625 to 1637 they were followed by Queen Henrietta's company, managed by Beeston. And then came Beeston's company of boys, who possessed the play in 1639. Among

<sup>1</sup> *The English Traveller*: To the Reader.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> See Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, Vol. I, pp. 265—270, and elsewhere.

all the various strands of continuity in the Elizabethan theatres and companies, this is a very definite one, forming about Heywood and Beeston, in connection first with Queen Anne's company, and then, locally, with the Cockpit. And with Heywood, Beeston, and, I believe, *Appius and Virginia*, on this long journey, goes significantly *The Rape of Lucrece*.

It is also to be noticed that it was Queen Anne's company that acted two of Webster's three original plays, *The White Devil* (1611) and *The Devil's Law-Case* (1620). He seems to have gone off to the King's Men between these, with *The Duchess of Malfi* (1612-13). But we may suppose that he had most to do with Queen Anne's company.

There remain the similarities and repetitions of phrase in *Appius and Virginia* and Webster's plays. As I have said, only three of these are of any importance, two exact verbal repetitions and one striking similarity of phrase and idea; all connecting with *The Duchess of Malfi*<sup>1</sup>. If Heywood wrote the main part or all of *Appius and Virginia*, there are six possible explanations of these passages. They are an accident; or Heywood imitated Webster; or Webster imitated Heywood; or the play was touched up by some Queen's company actor or author who knew *The Duchess of Malfi*; or Webster himself touched it up; or Webster and Heywood wrote *Appius and Virginia* together, Heywood taking the chief part.

The first is improbable, though far less improbable than it seems. For both (*a*) and (*g*) are sententious sayings such as the Elizabethans delighted to note down and repeat. Webster is full of these. And the identical repetition of one of them by him and Marston supported great theories of his imitation of Marston till Mr Crawford discovered it in Montaigne<sup>2</sup>, the common source to which they had independently gone. Still, the coincidence of the two apophthegms is rather much to account for in this way. It is possible, but that is all. And there is the further difficulty against it that Heywood was not wont to write in this note-book manner. He worked too quickly.

This also counts against what might otherwise seem an easier theory, that (*f*) is either an accident or the imitation of reminiscence, but that these two (*a*) and (*g*) are the result of Heywood directly copying Webster—noting down and using two of his phrases. The possibility of this is also lessened by the probability on other grounds that *Appius and Virginia* is earlier than *The Duchess of Malfi*. Webster may have

<sup>1</sup> (*a*) (*f*) and (*g*) in my list.

<sup>2</sup> Crawford, *Collectanea*, Series II, p. 35.

imitated Heywood. He was a great friend of his at this time<sup>1</sup>. And if *Appius and Virginia* was, as is probable, written early, it must have appeared in the same theatre and about the same time as *The White Devil*<sup>2</sup>. Also it was Webster's habit to take down from other authors and afterwards use sentences and similes of an apophthegmatic or striking nature. We know that he treated Donne, Montaigne, Jonson, Sidney, and perhaps Marston and Dekker in this way. Why not Heywood, his friend and collaborator? It is true Heywood does not lend himself often so easily to such use. That, and the fact that he has not been thoroughly searched for such a purpose, may explain why there are few other known parallels. This theory is the more probable because the lines of (a) and (g), and their ideas, seem more natural and in place in *Appius and Virginia* than they do in *The Duchess of Malfi*. And it is easier to imagine Webster finding (*Appius and Virginia*, 149),

I have seen children oft eat sweetmeats thus,  
As fearful to devour them,

and adding (*Duchess of Malfi*, 65) the words 'too soon' than Heywood doing the opposite.

There remain the various possibilities of two hands having been at work, or the same hand at two periods. These are favoured by the *a priori* probability of a play that had at least thirty years of acting life, being altered in that period, and also by certain indications that all is not right with the play as it stands<sup>3</sup>. It might, of course, have been changed by any member of the Queen's Servants Company. But he would not be likely to have incorporated passages from *The Duchess of Malfi*, a play belonging to the King's Men. If it was Heywood himself that touched it up, in 1613 or so, he might quite well have done this, being a friend of Webster's. But it is most easy to suppose Webster the reviser. Either this, or his collaboration, is rendered rather probable by the presence through the play of ten or a dozen passages, averaging perhaps two lines, that seem to taste slightly of his style. Perhaps it is true that any play, examined closely, would yield the same. And certainly Heywood *could* have written them. But, at moments, there

<sup>1</sup> He wrote some lines 'To his beloved friend Master Thomas Heywood,' prefixed to Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, 1612.

<sup>2</sup> It is an important indication of the date of *Appius and Virginia* that *The White Devil* (1611) does not borrow from it, and *The Duchess of Malfi* (1612-13) does.

<sup>3</sup> The chief of these are, shortly: (a) In the beginning of Act I there is a queer and solitary passage of prose, which looks like an abbreviation for acting purposes. Dyce suspects it; and it is to be noted that the speech following the prose contains one of the two 'repetitions' from *The Duchess of Malfi*. (b) II, 3 (p. 160), Icilius' sudden collapse and Appius' puzzling 'It is no more indeed' suggest abbreviation. (c) The conflicting account in III, 1, of the events of II, 3, suggests two hands, or revision.

does seem to be the flavour, almost imperceptibly present. If reviser or collaborator, Webster obviously had recourse to the same note-books as he used for *The Duchess of Malfi*, which suggests that he would be working on it about 1612 or soon after. And in either case, we should have a very good explanation of his name being connected with the play. If he revised, we must suppose that he shortened and made more dramatic the very beginning of the play, and heightened, or even rewrote, the Trial-scene (IV, 1). It is important to notice that in this rather long scene (1) there are no very characteristic words of Heywood's, (2) there are more of the phrases, words and lines that are faintly reminiscent of Webster than anywhere else in the play<sup>1</sup>, (3) two<sup>2</sup> of the three strong indications of a connection with Webster occur.

Give Webster the revision of these two scenes, and you have satisfied his utmost claims. To yield him more is mere charity. If he collaborated, it is impossible to divide the play up between the two. In certain scenes (e.g. IV, 2 and V, 3) Heywood's vocabulary comes out more clearly than in the rest. But one can only say that Webster's part is very small compared with Heywood's, as unimportant as it is in *Northward Ho!* and *Westward Ho!*

In sum: general, critical and æsthetic impressions, more particular examination of various aspects, and the difficulty of fitting it in chronologically, make it impossible to believe that *Appius and Virginia* is by Webster, while the evidence in favour of his authorship is very slight. All these considerations, and also remarkable features of vocabulary and characterisation, make it highly probable that it is by Heywood. The slight similarities between *The Duchess of Malfi* and *Appius and Virginia* may be due to Webster borrowing in *The Duchess of Malfi* from Heywood, or revising *Appius and Virginia*, or having, not for the first time, collaborated with Heywood, but very subordinately. In any case, *Appius and Virginia* must be counted among Heywood's plays; not the best of them, but among the better ones; a typical example of him in his finer moments, written rather more carefully than is usual with that happy man.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Dunghill,' 'mist,' 'pursenet,' 'to bring my girl asleep,' 'and this short dance of life is full of changes' etc. etc.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. (f) and (g).

## SWIFT'S 'TALE OF A TUB'

### III.

#### DATE OF COMPOSITION<sup>2</sup>.

*A Tale of a Tub*, in the first four issues, consists of the following divisions:

*Dedication to Lord Somers.*

*The Bookseller to the Reader.*

*The Epistle Dedicatory to Prince Posterity.*

*The Preface.*

*A Tale of a Tub.*

Sect. I. The Introduction.

Sect. II.

Sect. III. A Digression concerning Critics.

Sect. IV.

Sect. v. A Digression in the Modern Kind.

Sect. VI.

Sect. VII. A Digression in praise of Digressions.

Sect. VIII.

Sect. IX. A Digression concerning Madness.

Sect. X. A Farther Digression.

Sect. XI.

*The Conclusion.*

To the fifth edition (1710) was prefixed *An Apology* with a *Postscript*.

The stories of the three brothers are told in Sections II, IV, VI, VIII, XI. Sections II and IV deal with the history of Christianity up to the

<sup>1</sup> Concluded from p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise stated, all references in this section are to Vol. I of the Bohn edition of Swift's *Prose Works*.



Reformation. Sections VI, VIII and XI are almost entirely concerned with the history of Jack (representing the Calvinists). The subject of Section VIII (on the Æolists) is closely connected with the *Discourse on the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*.

The question whether Swift was responsible for the form which the volume took when issued, is hardly capable of solution with our present information. Such statements as those in the *Apology*<sup>1</sup> and in *The Bookseller to the Reader*<sup>2</sup> are explicit as far as they go, but do not tell us much.

However, as Swift never made any substantial changes in the book we must suppose that he was not much dissatisfied with it, notwithstanding

<sup>1</sup> He [Swift] was then [i.e. when he wrote the *Tale*] a young gentleman much in the world, and wrote to the taste of those who were like himself; therefore, in order to allure them, he gave a liberty to his pen, which might not suit with maturer years, or graver characters, and which he could have easily corrected with a very few blots, had he been master of his papers, for a year or two before their publication. (pp. 12—13.)

To instance only in that passage about the three wooden machines, mentioned in the Introduction: In the original manuscript there was a description of a fourth, which those who had the papers in their power, blotted out, as having something in it of satire, that I suppose they thought was too particular. (pp. 15—16.)

How the author came to be without his papers, is a story not proper to be told, and of very little use, being a private fact of which the reader would believe as little, or as much, as he thought good. He had, however, a blotted copy by him, which he intended to have writ over with many alterations, and this the publishers were well aware of, having put it into the bookseller's preface, that they apprehended a surreptitious copy, which was to be altered, etc. This, though not regarded by readers, was a real truth, only the surreptitious copy was rather that which was printed; and they made all haste they could, which, indeed, was needless; the author not being at all prepared; but he has been told the bookseller was in much pain, having given a good sum of money for the copy. (p. 22.)

In the author's original copy there were not so many chasms as appear in the book; and why some of them were left, he knows not; had the publication been trusted to him, he would have made several corrections of passages, against which nothing hath been ever objected. (p. 23.)

The author observes, at the end of the book, there is a discourse called *A Fragment*, which he more wondered to see in print than all the rest. Having been a most imperfect sketch, with the addition of a few loose hints, which he once lent a gentleman, who had designed a discourse on somewhat the same subject; he never thought of it afterwards; and it was a sufficient surprise to see it pieced up together, wholly out of the method and scheme he had intended; for it was the ground-work of a much larger discourse; and he was sorry to observe the materials so foolishly employed. (*ibid.*)

<sup>2</sup> It is now six years since these papers came first to my hand, which seems to have been about a twelvemonth after they were writ; for the author tells us in his preface to the first treatise, that he has calculated it for the year 1697, and in several passages of that Discourse, as well as the second, it appears they were written about that time.

As to the author, I can give no manner of satisfaction; however, I am credibly informed, that this publication is without his knowledge; for he concludes the copy is lost, having lent it to a person, since dead, and being never in possession of it after: so that, whether the work received his last hand, or whether he intended to fill up the defective places, is like to remain a secret.

If I should go about to tell the reader by what accident I became master of these papers, it would, in this unbelieving age, pass for little more than the cant or jargon of the trade. I therefore gladly spare both him and myself so unnecessary a trouble. There yet remains a difficult question, why I published them no sooner. I forbore upon two accounts; first, because I thought I had better work upon my hands; and secondly, because I was not without some hope of hearing from the author, and receiving his directions. But I have been lately alarmed with intelligence of a surreptitious copy.

what he wrote in the *Apology*<sup>1</sup>. He was not the man to be guided by a bookseller's apprehensions. On the whole it seems most likely that Swift arranged, or did not prevent, the publication of the book through the agency of a friend (Hofmann suggests Addison<sup>2</sup>), and that his friend allowed himself a certain amount of latitude in suppressing things that seemed dangerous<sup>3</sup>.

The sources of information as to the date of composition are these:

(a) Swift's statements in the *Apology* of 1709 (published in the fifth edition of the *Tale*, 1710), and in *The Bookseller to the Reader*. (b) The date subscribed to the *Dedication to Prince Posterity* (December, 1697) and the date mentioned in the *Preface* (August, 1697). (c) References in the text to persons and events. (d) Considerations arising from the circumstances of Swift's life, and the order of his other works.

Swift's statements would date the book at 1696 or 1697. It is difficult to see why he should have chosen these dates unless they were the true ones: no doubt he wanted to make it appear that he had written the work as a young man, in order that excuse might be found for some of its contents. But at the expense of omitting some references to Dryden and Bentley he might have put it much earlier. This would have been very much more to his purpose, especially if he had made it appear that he had written the book before he took orders (1694). It is true that he never acknowledged the authorship of the book: and that in 1704 he may not have foreseen the harm it would do him: but if he did not foresee the consequences, he had no motive for falsifying the dates: if he did foresee the consequences, he would have falsified the dates more effectively. In the main, therefore, we must accept Swift's statements, unless there is good evidence against them.

References to persons and events are usually an unsatisfactory kind of evidence, because they are easily added after the main part of a work has been completed. And they are especially perilous here, because the book was not prepared all at one time<sup>4</sup>. However, in default of

<sup>1</sup> Some overtures have been made, by a third hand, to the bookseller, for the author's altering those passages which he thought might require it; but it seems the bookseller will not hear of any such thing, being apprehensive it might spoil the sale of the book. (p. 23.)

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 30—32.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the history of the publication of *Gulliver's Travels*, in Mr G. R. Dennis's edition, pp. xii ff. and xxvi ff.

<sup>4</sup> [the] discourse is the product of the study, the observation, and the invention of several years. (*Apology*, p. 17.)

...it was thought necessary, in order to quiet the minds of men, that this opposer [Wotton] should receive a reprimand, which partly occasioned that discourse of the Battle of the Books; and the author was farther at the pains to insert one or two remarks on him, in the body of the book. (*ibid.* p. 19.)

better evidence we may consider what this kind suggests. The important passages which can be dated are the following<sup>1</sup>:

*Dedication to Lord Somers.*

'Tis true, I should be very loth, the bright example of your Lordship's virtues should be lost to after-ages, both for their sake and your own; but chiefly because they will be so very necessary to adorn the history of a *late reign*. (p. 28.)

The late reign is that of William III, who died on the 8th March, 1702.

*The Bookseller to the Reader.*

It is now six years since these papers came first to my hand, which seems to have been about a twelvemonth after they were writ; for the author tells us in his preface to the first treatise, that he has calculated it for the year 1697, and in several passages of that Discourse, as well as the second, it appears they were written about that time.

The dates show that this passage was written in 1704.

*Dedication to Prince Posterity.*

I do therefore affirm, upon the word of a sincere man, that there is now actually in being a certain poet, called John Dryden, whose translation of Virgil was lately printed in a large folio, well bound, and, if diligent search were made, for aught I know, is yet to be seen. There is another, called Nahum Tate, who is ready to make oath, that he has caused many reams of verse to be published, whereof both himself and his bookseller, (if lawfully required,) can still produce authentic copies, and therefore wonders why the world is pleased to make such a secret of it. There is a third, known by the name of Tom Durfey, a poet of a vast comprehension, an universal genius, and most profound learning. There are also one Mr Rymer, and one Mr Dennis, most profound critics. There is a person styled Dr B—tl-y, who has written near a thousand pages of immense erudition, *giving a full and true account* of a certain squabble, of wonderful importance, between himself and a bookseller: He is a writer of infinite wit and humour; no man rallies with a better grace, and in more sprightly turns. Farther, I avow to your Highness, that with these eyes I have beheld the person of William W—tt-n, B.D., who has written a good sizeable volume against a friend of your governor, (from whom, alas! he must therefore look for little favour,) in a most gentlemanly style, adorned with the utmost politeness and civility; replete with discoveries equally valuable for their novelty and use; and embellished with traits of wit, so poignant and so apposite, that he is a worthy yokemate to his forementioned friend. (pp. 37—38.)

The references to Dryden must have been written after the publication of his *Virgil* in July, 1697. Rymer published *An Essay, concerning Critical and Curious Learning: In which are contained some Short Reflections on the Controversie betwixt Sir William Temple and Mr*

<sup>1</sup> As references to Wotton and Bentley are numerous the following list of dates will save a good deal of repetition:

(i) Sir William Temple: *Miscellanea*. The Second Part...I. *Upon Ancient and Modern Learning*...1690.

(ii) William Wotton: *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*...1694.

(iii) Wotton and Bentley: *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*...The Second Edition...*With a Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris*...1697.

(iv) Richard Bentley: *A Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris*...1699.

Wotton...in 1698. Dennis's first critical work, *The Impartial Critick*, appeared in 1693. The reference to Bentley's 'thousand pages of immense erudition' must have been written in or after 1699 when his complete *Dissertation* was published.

At the end the *Dedication* is dated 'Decemb. 1697.'

### *The Preface.*

(a) The wits of the present age being so very numerous and penetrating, it seems the Grandees of Church and State begin to fall under horrible apprehensions, lest these gentlemen, during the intervals of a long peace, should find leisure to pick holes in the weak sides of Religion and Government. (p. 39.)

(b) However, being extremely solicitous, that every accomplished person, who has got into the taste of wit calculated for this present month of August, 1697,..... (p. 41.)

The reference to 'a long peace' presents some difficulty. The Conference at Ryswyck opened May 7, 1697. Peace was concluded in September of the same year. Probably Swift regarded the settlement as final, and was looking forward to 'a long peace,' not back upon it. If we take the date (August, 1697) at p. 41 as applying to the whole of the Preface, he was writing before the Peace of Ryswyck was signed.

(c) *The tax upon paper does not lessen the number of scribblers, who daily pester,* &c. (p. 42.)

The tax upon paper was imposed in 1696 (*Statutes of the Realm*: VII, pp. 189 and ff.).

### *The Introduction.*

(a) The Hind and Panther. This is the masterpiece of a famous writer now living, intended for a complete abstract of sixteen thousand school-men, from Scotus to Bellarmin. (p. 56.)

Dryden died in 1700. *The Hind and the Panther* was published in April, 1687.

(b) The Wise Men of Gotham, *cum appendice*. This is a treatise of immense erudition, being the great original and fountain of those arguments, bandied about, both in France and England, for a just defence of the moderns' learning and wit, against the presumption, the pride, and ignorance of the ancients. This unknown author has so exhausted the subject, that a penetrating reader will easily discover whatever has been written since upon that dispute, to be little more than repetition. An abstract of this treatise has been lately published by a worthy member of our society. (p. 56.)

'The Wise Men of Gotham, *cum appendice*,' is Wotton's *Reflections* with Bentley's *Dissertation* (1697).

(c) I confess to have been somewhat liberal in the business of titles, having observed the humour of multiplying them, to bear great vogue among certain writers, whom I exceedingly reverence. And indeed it seems not unreasonable, that books, the children of the brain, should have the honour to be christened with variety of names, as well as other infants of quality. Our famous Dryden has

ventured to proceed a point farther, endeavouring to introduce also a multiplicity of godfathers ; which is an improvement of much more advantage upon a very obvious account. (p. 58.)

The reference in the last passage is to Dryden's *Virgil* published in July, 1697.

### Section III.

Every true critic is a hero born, descending in a direct line, from a celestial stem by Momus and Hybris, who begat Zoilus, who begat Tigellius, who begat Etcætera the elder ; who begat Bentley, and Rymer, and Wotton, and Perrault, and Dennis ; who begat Etcætera the younger. (p. 71.)

See the notes on the passages quoted from the *Dedication to Prince Posterity*.

### Section v.

(a) When I consider how exceedingly our illustrious moderns have eclipsed the weak glimmering lights of the ancients, and turned them out of the road of all fashionable commerce, to a degree, that our choice town wits, of most refined accomplishments, are in grave dispute, whether there have been ever any ancients or no : in which point, we are likely to receive wonderful satisfaction from the most useful labours and lucubrations of that worthy modern, Dr Bentley. (p. 90.)

The reference to Dr Bentley must have been written in 1697 or later.

(b) But I have still behind a fault far more notorious to tax the author [Homer] with ; I mean, his gross ignorance in the common laws of this realm, and in the doctrine as well as discipline of the Church of England. A defect, indeed, for which both he, and all the ancients, stand most justly censured, by my worthy and ingenious friend, Mr Wotton, Bachelor of Divinity, in his incomparable treatise of *Ancient and Modern Learning*. (p. 92.)

The reference to Wotton need not be later than 1694, when his *Reflections* appeared.

### Section IX.

(a) This, indeed, was the fatal mistake of that worthy gentleman, my most ingenious friend, Mr Wotton : a person, in appearance, ordained for great designs, as well as performances ; whether you will consider his notions or his looks. (p. 117.)

On Wotton see the second note on Section v.

(b) Upon all which, and many other reasons of equal weight, though not equally curious, I do here gladly embrace an opportunity I have long sought for, of recommending it as a very noble undertaking to Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Christopher Musgrave, Sir John Bowls, John How, Esq., and other patriots concerned, that they would move for leave to bring in a bill for appointing commissioners to inspect into Bedlam, and the parts adjacent. (pp. 121—2.)

In April, 1699, a clause was added to the Land Tax Bill by which 'seven Commissioners were empowered to take account of the property forfeited in Ireland during the late troubles.' (Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.*, Chap. XXIV.)

(c) Is any student biting his straw in piece-meal, swearing and blaspheming...? Let the right worshipful the commissioners of inspection give him a regiment of dragons, and send him into Flanders among the rest. (p. 122.)

The reference to Flanders is difficult. There was no war in Flanders between 1697 and 1701 to which English soldiers would be sent, though during this period, 'the Seventh Fusiliers were retained in the Dutch service, or at any rate in Holland' (Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, I, 388). In June, 1701, twelve battalions were shipped to Holland (*ibid.* 399). Swift may have written the passage before the Peace of Ryswyck (Sept. 1697), or have spoken of Flanders as a common battle ground, or he may have added the passage later.

#### Section x.

In due deference to so laudable a custom, I do here return my humble thanks to His Majesty, and both houses of Parliament. (p. 125.)

*His Majesty* is William III. Queen Mary died in 1694, William in 1702.

#### Section xi.

How Jack's tatters came into fashion in court and city; how he got upon a great horse and eat custard. (p. 141.)

The following note appears in the fifth edition of *A Tale of a Tub*: 'Sir Humphry Edwyn, a Presbyterian, when lord-mayor of London, in 1697, had the insolence to go in his formalities to a conventicle, with the ensigns of his office<sup>1</sup>.'

#### Conclusion.

I have already hired an author to write something against Dr Bentley, which, I am sure, will turn to account. (p. 142.)

Dr Bentley: see note on p. 457.

From this evidence we get the following result<sup>2</sup>:

*Dedication to Lord Somers*...March 1702 +.

*The Bookseller to the Reader*...1704.

*Epistle Dedicatory to Prince Posterity* (dated December, 1697)...1693 +, 1697 +, 1698 +, 1699 +.

*The Preface* (dated August, 1697)...1696 +, Sept. 1697 +.

*A Tale of a Tub*.

Sect. I. The Introduction.

...1687—1700, 1697 +, July, 1697 +.

Sect. II....No date.

<sup>1</sup> See also Wilson's *Defoe*, I, pp. 270 and ff.

<sup>2</sup> The sign + is used to mean 'or later': thus '1694 +' means '1694 or later.'

Sect. III...1693 +, 1697 +, 1698 +, 1699 +.

Sect. IV...No date.

Sect. V...1694 +, 1697 +.

Sect. VI...No date.

Sect. VII...No date.

Sect. VIII...No date.

Sect. IX...1694 +, April, 1699 +.

Sect. X...Between 1694 and 1702.

Sect. XI...1697 +.

*The Conclusion*...1697 +, or 1699 +.

If we except the *Dedication to Somers* and *The Bookseller to the Reader*, it will be seen that on this evidence the date 1696 to 1699 may reasonably be held to cover the writing of the whole book. It is probable that the dates which Swift gives (1696 and 1697) are true for a very large part of the work. There is no certain evidence in favour of later dates than those mentioned here<sup>1</sup>.

This date (1696—1699) is confirmed by reference to the circumstances of Swift's life and to his other work. He was living with Temple from 1689 to 1690, from 1691 to 1694, and from 1696 to 1699. During the interval 1694 to 1696 he was in Ireland. In October, 1694, he was ordained Deacon, and in 1695 he was appointed Prebendary of Kilroot, near Belfast. Hatred of the Nonconformists is one of the chief motives of the *Tale*, and in Ulster he was likely to confirm his ancestral prejudices against them<sup>2</sup>. On his return to Temple's house he would be ready to write his book. Very possibly he had begun or planned it at Kilroot, and there Waring may have seen some part of it in 1696. Deane Swift was probably referring to this in the passage quoted earlier in this paper (p. 305). He was a very inaccurate writer. In the passage we are discussing he gives the date of the publication of *A Tale of a Tub* as 1697 (instead of 1704), and calls Waring 'Warren.' Swift was probably not nineteen years old when Waring saw his MS., but twenty-nine<sup>3</sup>. He was nineteen years old in 1686, and twenty-nine years old in 1696. From 1689 to 1693 Swift wrote Pindaric Odes and a few other poems. From 1693 to 1698 we have nothing. After 1698 there are a few poems: then come the editions of Temple's Works (1700 and later),

<sup>1</sup> Hofmann's dates are based partly on doubtful evidence, and partly on misunderstandings of the text of *A Tale of a Tub*, but he is right in calling attention to the intimate knowledge of London shown in some parts of the *Tale*.

<sup>2</sup> See *Autobiography*, B. xi, pp. 371 ff., and compare Jeremy Taylor's experiences: Gosse, *Jeremy Taylor*, Chaps. v and vi.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Forster, *Life of Swift*, p. 84.

and the *Dissensions at Athens and Rome*, published in 1701. From 1696 to 1699 we may well suppose him to have been occupied with the *Tale of a Tub*, the *Battle of the Books*, and the *Discourse*.

Swift's early works lend no support to the theory that he was capable of writing *A Tale of a Tub* (or any considerable part of it) in 1686 or 1688. Nevertheless it may be true that the sections containing the allegory were written or planned somewhat earlier than the rest of the book. I do not think that Sections II, IV and VI can be separated from Sections VIII and XI as work of a much earlier period.

#### IV.

##### THE MECHANICAL OPERATION OF THE SPIRIT.

In the Apology prefixed to the fifth edition of the *Tale of a Tub* (1710) Swift disclaimed responsibility for the *Discourse on the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*<sup>1</sup>, and a footnote was added at the beginning of the text:

This Discourse is not altogether equal to the former, the best parts of it being omitted; whether the bookseller's account be true, that he durst not print the rest, I know not; nor indeed is it easy to determine, whether he may be relied on in anything he says of this or the former treatises, only as to the time they were written, which, however, appears more from the discourses themselves than his relation. (p. 191.)

In the first and subsequent editions a *Bookseller's Advertisement* was prefixed to the *Discourse*:

The following Discourse came into my hands perfect and entire. But there being several things in it which the present age would not very well bear, I kept it by me some years, resolving it should never see the light. At length, by the advice and assistance of a judicious friend, I retrenched those parts that might give most offence, and have now ventured to publish the remainder; Concerning the author I am wholly ignorant, neither can I conjecture whether it be the same with that of the two foregoing pieces, the original having been sent me at a different time, and in a different hand. The learned reader will better determine; to whose judgment I entirely submit it.

Swift had lent the work to a gentleman while it was still 'a most imperfect sketch, with the addition of a few loose hints,' and was 'surprised to see it pieced up together, wholly out of the method and scheme he had intended,' and 'sorry to observe the materials so foolishly employed.' The Bookseller received the work 'perfect and entire,' but suppressed part of it. What are we to make of these statements?

<sup>1</sup> The passage is printed at p. 455 above.



The only passages which date the work are the following :

(a) I have not had a line from the *Literati* of Topinambou these three last ordinaries. (p. 192.)

This contains a reference to Boileau's epigrams on Perrault's *Siècle de Louis le Grand*. One of these appeared in *Some Thoughts upon reviewing The Essay of Ancient and Modern Learning*, by Sir William Temple, printed for the first time in 1701, in the third part of Temple's *Miscellanea*, issued under Swift's supervision. This particular epigram had been written in 1687<sup>1</sup>.

(b) The first ingredient toward the Art of Canting is, a competent share of *inward light*; that is to say, a large memory, plentifully fraught with theological polysyllables, and mysterious texts from holy writ, applied and digested by those methods and mechanical operations, already related: the bearers of this light, resembling lanthorns compact of leaves from old Geneva Bibles; which invention, Sir Humphrey Edwin, during his mayoralty, of happy memory, highly approved and advanced; affirming the Scripture to be now fulfilled, where it, says: *Thy word is a lanthorn to my feet, and a light to my paths*. (p. 202.)

On Sir Humphry Edwin see p. 460 above. He was Lord Mayor in the year 1697-8.

So far as this evidence shows, the *Discourse* would seem to belong to the same period as the rest of the volume in which it appeared, namely 1696-9, and I do not find anything to contradict this result.

It would seem probable that the *Discourse* was originally written as part of *A Tale of a Tub*, and in close connection with Sections VIII and XI. Swift may have rejected it, and then have begun to recast it. The person who sent the volume to the Bookseller may have put the *Discourse* into the form in which it now appears. Some such hypothesis would justify the statements both of the Bookseller and of Swift.

A. C. GUTHKELCH.

LONDON.

<sup>1</sup> See Rigault, *Histoire de la Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, p. 158, note 2.

## RICHARDSON AND HIS FRENCH PREDECESSORS

IT has been a debated question whether the resemblance which, with many differences, is sufficiently obvious, between the work of Marivaux in fiction, and that of Richardson, is merely a coincidence, or is due to acquaintance on the part of the English writer with *La Vie de Marianne*, the greater part of which was published earlier than any of Richardson's novels. The differences are obvious enough. Marianne herself is very unlike Pamela and perhaps more unlike Clarissa. She is French, and they in their several ways are English. Everyone, too, can appreciate the superiority of Marivaux in grace and lightness of touch, in good taste and in refinement, and of Richardson in depth of observation, in command of pathos and in firmness of composition. It is needless to say, moreover, that the rather heavy morality of Richardson has no counterpart in Marivaux's work. Nevertheless the resemblances are sufficiently marked. Both writers deal with the romance of every-day life essentially in the same manner, and each in his own country is the founder of a new way of writing which leads directly to the modern novel. *Clarissa* was on its first appearance compared with *La Vie de Marianne* by a foreign critic, whose review of it was translated in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of June and August, 1749, a review from which Richardson himself quotes in the enlarged Postscript to *Clarissa*; and Diderot, Richardson's greatest admirer, says: 'Les romans de M. de Marivaux ont inspiré Paméla, Clarisse et Grandisson.' This in fact was the common opinion, at least among French critics, in the eighteenth century. On the other hand, English writers on Richardson in our own time have for the most part denied that there was any obligation of this kind, laying rather undue stress upon the points of difference, and somewhat ignoring the essential likeness<sup>1</sup>. It does not appear that anyone has hitherto cited the evidence of Richardson himself on the subject: yet there is in existence an utterance of his, or at least authorised by him, which may be regarded as practically settling the question.

<sup>1</sup> e.g. Mr Austin Dobson in his *Samuel Richardson* (English Men of Letters Series) and Miss Clara Thompson in her book *Samuel Richardson*.

As this interesting document is not very accessible, and has escaped the notice, apparently, of all those who have written upon Richardson in recent times, it will be convenient to cite it at length, after a few words of preliminary explanation.

*Clarissa* was published in 1748, in three instalments, the first two volumes being followed after an interval by the third and fourth, and these after several months by the last three. At the beginning of the fourth volume there is an address headed 'The Editor to the Reader.' (Richardson, I need hardly say, usually calls himself the 'editor' rather than the author of *Pamela* and *Clarissa*.) In this preface, which has been overlooked because it occurs only in the first edition, and in a place, too, where no preface was to be expected, the development of prose fiction in modern times is briefly traced, and the relation in which Richardson's work stands to that which has gone before it, is clearly indicated. It runs thus<sup>1</sup>:

If it may be thought reasonable to criticise the Public Taste, in what are generally supposed to be Works of mere Amusement; or modest to direct its Judgment, in what is offered for its Entertainment; I would beg leave to introduce the following Sheets with a few cursory Remarks, that may lead the common Reader into some tolerable conception of the nature of this Work, and the design of its Author.

THE close connexion which every Individual has with all that relates to MAN in general, strongly inclineth us to turn our observation upon human affairs, preferably to other attentions, and impatiently to wait the progress and issue of them. But, as the course of human actions is too slow to gratify our inquisitive curiosity, observant men very easily contrived to satisfy its rapidity, by the invention of *History*. Which, by recording the principal circumstances of past facts, and laying them close together, in a continued narration, kept the mind from languishing, and gave constant exercise to its reflections.

BUT as it commonly happens, that in all indulgent refinements on our satisfactions, the Procurers to our pleasures run into excess; so it happened here. Strict matters of fact, how delicately soever dressed up, soon grew too simple and insipid to a taste stimulated by the Luxury of Art: They wanted something of more poignancy to quicken and enforce a jaded appetite. Hence the original of the first barbarous *Romances*, abounding with this false provocative of uncommon, extraordinary, and miraculous Adventures.

BUT satiety, in things unnatural, soon brings on disgust. And the Reader, at length, began to see, that too eager a pursuit after *Adventures* had drawn him from what first engaged his attention, MAN and his Ways, into the Fairy Walks of Monsters and Chimeras. And now those who had run farthest after these delusions, were the first that recovered themselves. For the next Species of Fiction, which took its name from its *novelty*, was of Spanish invention. These presented us with something of Humanity; but of Humanity in a stiff unnatural state. For, as everything before was conducted by *Incantment*; so now all was managed by *Intrigue*. And tho' it had indeed a kind of *Life*, it had yet, as in its infancy, nothing of *Manners*. On which account, those, who could not penetrate

<sup>1</sup> I quote from a copy in my own possession of the Dublin edition (1748) published by Faulkner simultaneously with the first London edition. This seems to be rather rare, for neither the British Museum nor any other public library with which I am acquainted has a copy. The text is practically the same as that of the London edition.

into the ill constitution of its plan, yet grew disgusted at the dryness of the Conduct, and want of ease in the Catastrophe.

THE avoiding these defects gave rise to the *Heroical Romances of the French*; in which some celebrated Story of antiquity was so stained and polluted by modern fable and invention, as was just enough to shew, that the contrivers of them neither knew how to lye, nor speak truth. In these voluminous extravagances, *Love* and *Honour* supplied the place of *Life* and *Manners*. But the over-refinement of Platonic sentiments always sinks into the dross and feces of that Passion. For in attempting a more natural representation of it, in the little amatory Novels, which succeeded these heavier Volumes, tho' the Writers avoided the dryness of the Spanish Intrigue, and the extravagance of the French Heroism, yet, by too natural a representation of their Subject, they opened the door to a worse evil than a corruption of *Taste*; and that was, A corruption of *Heart*.

At length, this great People (to whom, it must be owned, all Science has been infinitely indebted) hit upon the true Secret, by which alone a deviation from strict fact, in the commerce of Man, could be really entertaining to an improved mind, or useful to promote that Improvement. And this was by a faithful and chaste copy of real *Life and Manners*: In which some of their late Writers have greatly excelled.

It was on this sensible Plan, that the Author of the following Sheets attempted to please, in an Essay, which had the good fortune to meet with success: That encouragement engaged him in the present Design: In which his sole object being *Human Nature*, he thought himself at liberty to draw a Picture of it in that light which would show it with most strength of Expression; tho' at the expence of what such as read merely for Amusement, may fancy can be ill-spared, the more artificial composition of a story in one continued Narrative.

HE has therefore told his Tale in a Series of Letters, supposed to be written by the Parties concerned, as the circumstances related, passed. For this juncture afforded him the only natural opportunity that could be had, of representing with any grace those lively and delicate impressions which *Things present* are known to make upon the minds of those affected by them. And he apprehends, that, in the study of Human Nature, the knowlege of those apprehensions leads us farther into the recesses of the Human Mind, than the colder and more general reflections suited to a continued and more contracted Narrative.

THIS is the nature and purport of his Attempt. Which, perhaps, may not be so well or generally understood. For if the Reader seeks here Strange Tales, Love Stories, Heroical Adventures, or, in short, for any thing but a *Faithful Picture of Nature in Private Life*, he had better be told beforehand the likelihood of his being disappointed. But if he can find Use or Entertainment; either *Directions for his Conduct*, or *Employment for his Pity*, in a HISTORY of LIFE and MANNERS, where, as in the World itself, we find Vice, for a time, triumphant, and Virtue in distress, an idle hour or two, we hope, may not be unprofitably lost.

In the second edition both this preface and that which had been published in the first volume were omitted, a short Advertisement to the Reader being substituted for the former of the two; but in the third and subsequent editions we find at the beginning of the work a preface which reproduces with slight alterations that in the first volume of the first edition, down to the end of the sixth paragraph, but from that point is different. In this preface Richardson makes the following reference to that which had appeared in the fourth volume of the first edition:

The work having been originally published at three different times; and a greater distance than was intended having passed between the first publication and

the second; a Preface was thought proper to be affixed to the third and fourth Volumes; being the second publication. A very learned and eminent Hand was so kind as to favour the Editor, at his request, with one. But the occasion of inserting it being *temporary*, and the Editor having been left at liberty to do with it as he pleased, it was omitted in the Second Edition, when the whole work came to be printed together.

Richardson then was not actually the writer of the preface which we have cited, but it was published of course with his authority. Who, we may ask, was the 'very learned and eminent Hand' who furnished it? Some things in it rather suggest Johnson; but there is a certain slovenliness of style here and there which makes it unlikely that he was the writer. In any case Richardson must be held responsible for the observations that it contains, so far as they concern his work.

We have then here a definite statement made on Richardson's own authority that in writing *Pamela* he had been following the lead of those modern French writers who had at length hit upon the true secret 'by which alone a deviation from strict fact, in the commerce of Man, could be really entertaining to an improved mind, or useful to promote that Improvement.' It is clear that Richardson acknowledges obligation to the way of writing in which some of the late French writers had greatly excelled, and that he ascribes not to himself but to the French the discovery of the true secret of fiction.

It remains only to say a word on a point which has often been objected, when this question of Richardson's possible obligations has been discussed. We know on the very best authority, namely by Richardson's own statement, that he did not read French. 'Your ladyship probably reads French: I cannot,' and so in other passages of his Letters. Therefore it is clear that for his acquaintance with French romances he must have been dependent on translations. This, however, does not cause any real difficulty. An English translation of *La Vie de Marianne*, so far as it had then proceeded, was published in 1736, four years before the publication of *Pamela*, and there were abundant means available for making acquaintance in English with the work of the Abbé Prévost, and still more with that of Le Sage, who are perhaps both to be included among the writers referred to with approval in this preface. And finally we know from Richardson's correspondence that he was in the habit of reading translations from the French, though no particular reference is made there to French novels.

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CAMBRIDGE.

## A CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT OF DONNE'S SERMONS.

IN an earlier article in the *Modern Language Review*<sup>1</sup> I tried to call attention to the intimate connection of Donne's sermons with his poems, and Professor Grierson's splendid edition of the poems has now demonstrated the importance of a study of the sermons for a right understanding of Donne's poetry. Again and again by his acquaintance with the sermons Professor Grierson has been able to restore and vindicate an earlier reading which previous editors had found hopelessly obscure<sup>2</sup>.

Hitherto, however, no attempt has been made to arrange the sermons chronologically, though it is evident that the lack of such an arrangement is a serious stumbling-block in the way of any student who wishes to illustrate the course of Donne's life by reference to his sermons, or to trace any development in his theology and his inward experience during the sixteen years of his ministry.

In the *LXXX Sermons* of 1640 the sermons are arranged according to the festivals on which they were delivered. A certain number are dated, and these are generally arranged in order, e.g., the Christmas sermons are dated 1622, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1627, 1628, followed by an undated sermon. No conclusion can safely be drawn from the position of the undated sermon, as the Whitsunday sermons are thus arranged—1627, 1628, one undated, 1629, six undated. A gap in the series of sermons may sometimes be supplied from a later volume; thus in the series described as 'preached in Lent,' and delivered, as the dates show us, on what Walton calls Donne's 'old constant day,' the first Friday in Lent, the sermon missing for the year 1629<sup>o</sup> is found as the fourth sermon in the *XXVI Sermons* of 1669<sup>o</sup>.

The *L Sermons* of 1649 are arranged as 'Sermons preached at Marriages,' 'at Christenings,' 'at Churchings,' 'at Lincoln's Inn,' 'at

<sup>1</sup> Vol. VII, p. 40, Jan. 1912, 'Donne's Sermons and their Relation to his Poetry.'

<sup>2</sup> E.g. *The Dreame*, l. 16; *To the Countesse of Bedford*, l. 58; *A Valediction: of my name, in the window*, l. 32; *Hymne to Christ*, l. 12; *Hymn to God my God*, l. 18.

Whitehall,' 'to the Nobility,' 'at S. Paul's,' 'at S. Dunstan's.' Many of the sermons are undated, and in one case the date given is certainly incorrect<sup>1</sup>.

No arrangement is apparent in the *XXVI Sermons* of 166<sup>a</sup><sub>p</sub>, but they are all (with three exceptions) headed and dated.

A further problem is presented by the untrustworthy nature of a few of the headings. Such a heading as that of the thirteenth Sermon in the *LXXX Sermons*, 'Preached in Lent, To the King, April 20, 1630,' is manifestly incorrect, for Ap. 20 fell that year on the Tuesday following the third Sunday after Easter. A sermon which appears twice in the *XXVI Sermons* (as nos. 5 and 16) is dated in one case Feb. 12, 1629, and in the other Feb. 22, 1629. Here a reference to the ecclesiastical calendar for the year 16<sup>29</sup><sub>30</sub> shows that the former date is probably correct, that being the first Friday in Lent.

On the whole, however, if used with caution, the headings are of considerable help in making a chronological arrangement of the sermons. It is impossible to accept Gosse's conjecture that the *LXXX Sermons* are identical with those revised by Donne during his retreat at Chelsea from the plague in 1625<sup>2</sup>, and that therefore 'we may accept with confidence all the autobiographical touches which its headings supply.' Twenty-six of these sermons are dated subsequently to the letter in which Donne mentions this revision, and no. 71 is definitely connected by its heading with the last year of Donne's life—'At the Haghe Decemb. 19, 1619. I Preached upon this Text. Since in my sicknesse at *Abrey-hatche* in Essex, 1630. revising my short notes of that Sermon, I digested them into these two.'

It is possible that some of the *XXVI Sermons* were among the eighty revised by Donne in 1625, for the majority of them belong to the earlier part of his career and their headings are much more complete than those of the previous volumes.

Out of the hundred and fifty-four sermons contained in the three volumes, less than thirty offer us no clue as to their date. The headings of eighty-three contain either actual dates, or a clear reference to current events by which the sermon can be dated. By far the larger number of these belong to the later period of Donne's life, whilst he was Dean of St Paul's. Only three sermons are dated as

<sup>1</sup> Sermon 35, which is dated Feb. 21, 1611, several years before Donne entered Holy Orders.

<sup>2</sup> See the letter dated 25th November, 1625, quoted by Gosse in *Life and Letters of John Donne*, Vol. II, pp. 222-225, and Gosse's comment on p. 310. The impossibility of accepting Gosse's conjecture was pointed out in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. IV, pp. 240, 241, by Mr F. E. Hutchinson.

belonging to the two-and-a-half years between his ordination and his wife's death, and two of these are dull and lifeless. Probably Donne felt in later years that his early sermons were unworthy of his subsequent reputation, and therefore he did not trouble to revise and preserve them.

Each of the years 1618, 1619, and 1620 has four sermons ascribed to it. Those preached in 1619 are of especial interest owing to the circumstances under which they were delivered. One was 'preached to the Lords, upon Easter Day, at the Communion. The King being then dangerously sick at Newmarket.' The second was the 'Sermon of Valediction,' preached just before Donne's departure on the Bohemian Embassy with Lord Doncaster, and closely connected in thought and expression with the 'Hymn to Christ, at the Author's Last Going into Germany.' The third was preached in Heidelberg before the Princess Palatine, that unfortunate lady Elizabeth, daughter of James the First, who recalled in later years the 'delight' and 'edification' with which she had listened to Donne; and the fourth was delivered at the Hague, where the States General presented Donne with a gold medal representing the Synod of Dort.

Donne was appointed Dean of St Paul's in November, 1621, and after this the number of sermons which have been preserved increases rapidly. Ten are dated as belonging to 1622, and two of these were considered sufficiently important to be published at once. One was delivered at St Paul's Cross to explain 'some reasons, which His Sacred Majesty had been pleased to give, of those Directions for Preachers, which he had formerly sent forth.' James was delighted with this sermon, and desired to see it in print, saying 'that it was a piece of such perfection as could admit neither addition nor diminution<sup>1</sup>.' The other was preached to the Virginia Company, and is described by Dr Jessopp as the first missionary sermon in the English language.

The sermons dated as belonging to 1623 are much less numerous. Donne's serious illness in the last months of the year deprived us of the Christmas sermon which it was his custom to preach at St Paul's, but gave us instead the *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*.

In 1624 Donne was appointed Vicar of St Dunstan's, and we have several sermons preached in that church soon after his institution. The early part of 1625 is rich in sermons, amongst them being one preached a few days before King James' funeral and another in presence of his successor. No sermons date from the autumn of 1625, as

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Viscount Doncaster to Donne, in the Tobie Matthew Collection.



the plague was then raging in London, and Donne was forced to retreat to Chelsea—at that time a remote village—where he spent some months in Sir John Danvers' house, in the congenial company of George Herbert and his mother, the saintly lady to whom Donne had already addressed several poems, and whose funeral sermon he was to preach not quite two years later.

Donne returned to London to preach the Christmas sermon at St Paul's, and in January, 1626, he delivered a striking sermon at St Dunstan's on the plague which had so recently devastated the city. He was now at the height of his fame, and more of his sermons have been handed down to us as belonging to this year than to any other. The year 1627 was also marked by a large number of sermons, one of which incurred the suspicions of Charles the First and Laud, though Donne was able to clear himself to the King's satisfaction from all charge of disloyal Puritanism. Donne's letters show that he found it difficult to see how this sermon could have roused the King's displeasure in any way, but there are phrases in it which might easily have been construed as an attack on Henrietta Maria and the 'Romanising' policy which her influence was supposed to favour<sup>1</sup>. One of Donne's most interesting sermons of this year, 1627, is that preached on July 1 at Lady Danvers' funeral, in which he draws a striking picture of the home-life of the Herbert family.

During the years 1628 and 1629 Donne suffered from attacks of illness which for several months prevented him from preaching, but nevertheless we have a fair number of sermons dating from this time. It was not till the summer of 1630 that his health finally broke down. During his illness at Abury Hatch in the autumn of 1630 he revised some of his sermons, as we learn from the heading to no. 71 in the *LXXX Sermons*. He came to London again early in 1630 to preach before the King on the first Friday in Lent, when he delivered his last sermon, the famous 'Death's Duel,' which was published in 1632.

<sup>1</sup> E.g., 'When they [the Apostles] came in their peregrination, to a new State, to a new Court, to Rome it selfe, they did not enquire, how stands the Emperour affected to Christ, and to the preaching of his Gospel; Is there not a Sister, or a Wife that might be wrought upon to further the preaching of Christ? Are there not some persons, great in power and place, that might be content to hold a party together, by admitting the preaching of Christ? This was not their way; They only considered who sent them; Christ Jesus: And what they brought; *salvation* to every soul that embraced Christ Jesus....All Divinity that is bespoken, and not ready made, fitted to certaine turnes, and not to generall ends; And all Divines that have their *soules* and *consciences*, so disposed, as their *Libraries* may bee, (At that end stand Papists, and at that end Protestants, and he comes in in the middle, as neare one as the other) all these have a brackish taste; as a River hath that comes near the Sea, so have they, in comming so neare the Sea of Rome.'

## 472 *A Chronological Arrangement of Donne's Sermons*

After the sermon he went back to his house, 'out of which,' as Walton says, 'he never moved, till, like St Stephen, "he was carried by devout men to his grave."' His death took place on March 31, 1631.

The following list includes only those sermons of which the date is clearly given in the heading. The dates in italics have been supplied from a comparison of the ecclesiastical and civil (Julian) calendars for the period.

VOL. AND NO.	DATE	PLACE AND OCCASION
XXVI, 11 <sup>1</sup>	1615 Ap. 30 ( <i>3rd Sun. after Easter</i> )	At Greenwich.
" 6	1616 Ap. 21 ( <i>3rd Sun. after Easter</i> )	At Whitehall.
" 24	161 $\frac{1}{2}$ Mar. 24	'A Sermon Preached at Pauls Cross to the Lords of the Council, and other Honorable Persons...It being the Anniversary of the Kings coming to the Crown, and his Majesty being then gone into Scotland.'
" 7 <sup>2</sup>	1617 Nov. 2 ( <i>20th Sun. after Trinity</i> )	At Whitehall.
" 18	" Dec. 14 ( <i>3rd Sun. in Advent</i> )	At Denmark House to Queen Anne.
" 1	161 $\frac{1}{2}$ Feb. 20 ( <i>1st Fri. in Lent</i> )	At Whitehall.
" 12	1618 Ap. 12 ( <i>1st Sun after Easter</i> )	" "
" 13	" Ap. 19 ( <i>2nd Sun. after Easter</i> )	" "
" 2	161 $\frac{3}{8}$ Feb. 12 ( <i>1st Fri. in Lent</i> )	" "
LXXX, 27 <sup>3</sup>	1619 Mar. 28 ( <i>Easter Sun.</i> )	'To the Lords upon Easter-day, at the Communion, The King being then dangerously sick at New-Market.'
XXVI, 19	" Ap. 18 ( <i>3rd Sun. after Easter</i> )	At Lincoln's Inn. 'A Sermon of Valediction at my going into Germany.'
" 20	" June 16	'Two Sermons, to the Prince and Princess Palatine, the Lady Elizabeth at Heydelberg, when I was commanded by the King to wait upon my L. of Doncaster in his Embassy to Germany. First Sermon as we went out <sup>4</sup> .'
LXXX, 71 & 72	" Dec. 19 ( <i>4th Sun. in Advent</i> )	At the Hague. 'Since in my sicknesse at Abreyhatche in Essex, 1630, revising my short notes of that Sermon, I digested them into these two.'
" 14	161 $\frac{9}{10}$ March 3 ( <i>1st Fri. in Lent</i> )	At Whitehall.
XXVI, 9 <sup>5</sup>	1620 Ap. 2 ( <i>5th Sun. in Lent</i> )	" "

<sup>1</sup> This is the earliest of Donne's sermons which we possess, for L, 35, which is headed Feb. 21, 1611, must be incorrectly dated, as Donne was not ordained till Jan. 161 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

<sup>2</sup> If L, 48 is the sermon on Lam. iii. 1 mentioned by Walton as Donne's first after his wife's death, it must belong to Aug. 1617 and should be inserted here.

<sup>3</sup> The heading of this sermon does not give the year, but the mention of the King's illness at Newmarket points conclusively to 1619.

<sup>4</sup> The second sermon to the Prince and Princess Palatine has apparently been lost.

<sup>5</sup> Numbered erroneously as 10 in the 166 $\frac{1}{2}$  edition, no. 9 being omitted, and this and the following sermon (which is on the same text) being both numbered as 10. I believe

VOL. AND NO.	DATE	PLACE AND OCCASION
LXXX, 74	1620 Ap. 30 ( <i>2nd Sun. after Easter</i> )	At Whitehall.
" 42	" June 11 (Trinity Sunday)	At Lincoln's Inn.
L, 30	1629 Jan. 7 ( <i>1st Sun. after Epiphany</i> )	'To the Countesse of Bedford, then at Harrington house.'
XXVI, 4	" Feb. 16 ( <i>1st Fri. in Lent</i> )	Before the King at Whitehall.
" 14 <sup>1</sup>	1621 Ap. 2 ( <i>Easter Monday</i> )	At Whitehall.
LXXX, 70	" Ap. 8 ( <i>1st Sun. after Easter</i> )	" "
L, 36	" Dec. 25 (Christmas Day)	At St Paul's.
LXXX, 15	1621 Mar. 8 ( <i>1st Fri. in Lent</i> )	At Whitehall.
XXVI, 25	1622 Ap. 22 (Easter Monday)	At the Spital.
" 23	" May 30 (Ascension Day)	At Lincoln's Inn.
L, 37	" June 24 (Midsummer Day)	At St Paul's.
" 31	" Aug. 25 ( <i>10th Sun. after Trinity</i> )	'At Hanworth, to my Lord of Carlile, and his company, being the Earles of Northumberland, and Buckingham, etc.'
Published separately in 1622	" Sept. 15 ( <i>13th Sun. after Trinity</i> )	The Cross (i.e. St Paul's Cross). 'Wherein occasion was justly taken for the publication of some reasons, which His Sacred Majesty had been pleased to give, of those Directions for Preachers, which he had formerly sent forth.'
L, 38	" Oct. 13 ( <i>17th Sun. after Trinity</i> )	At St Paul's.
" 43	" Nov. 5	'The Anniversary celebration of our Deliverance from the Powder Treason. Intended for Pauls Crosse, but by reason of the weather, Preached in the Church.'
Published separately in 1622	" Nov. 13	Preached to the Honourable Company of the Virginian Plantation.
LXXX, 1	" Dec. 25 (Christmas Day)	At St Paul's.
" 16	1622 Feb. 28 ( <i>1st Fri. in Lent</i> )	At Whitehall.
" 18	1623 Ap. 13 (Easter Day)	At St Paul's, 'in the Evening.'
Published separately in 1623	" May 22 (Ascension Day)	'Encœnia. The Feast of Dedication Celebrated At Lincolnes Inne... At the Dedication of a new Chappell there.'
LXXX, 19	1624 Mar. 28 (Easter Day)	At St Paul's... 'in the Evening.'
L, 45	" Ap. 11 ( <i>2nd Sun. after Easter</i> )	At St Dunstan's. 'The first Sermon in that Church, as Vicar thereof.'
" 46	" Ap. 25 ( <i>4th Sun. after Easter</i> )	'The second Sermon Preached by the Author after he came to St Dunstanes.'
LXXX, 43	" May 23 (Trinity Sunday)	At St Dunstan's.

that Sermon 10, which is clearly a continuation of 9, though undated, should be inserted here, as it probably followed at an interval of one or two weeks.

<sup>1</sup> This sermon is evidently a continuation of xxvi, 13 which is dated Ap. 19, 1618, since it is called 'A Second Sermon preached at Whitehall' and allusion is made in it to the foregoing one. It is difficult to believe that Donne would have reminded his hearers of a sermon preached three years before. One of the two dates is probably incorrect.

# 474 *A Chronological Arrangement of Donne's Sermons*

VOL. AND No.	DATE	PLACE AND OCCASION
L, 32	1624 June 13 ( <i>3rd Sun. after Trinity</i> )	'To the Earl of Exeter, and his company, in his Chappell at Saint Johns.'
LXXX, 2	" Dec. 25 (Christmas Day)	At St Paul's, 'in the Evening.'
L, 49	162 $\frac{1}{2}$ Jan. 1 ( <i>Circumcision</i> )	At St Dunstan's.
LXXX, 46 <sup>1</sup>	" Jan. 30 ( <i>4th Sun. after Epiphany</i> )	'At S. Paul's, The Sunday after the Conversion of S. Paul, 1624.'
" 17	" Mar. 4 ( <i>1st Fri. in Lent</i> )	At Whitehall.
Published separately in 1625	1625 Ap. 3 ( <i>5th Sun. in Lent</i> )	'The First Sermon preached to King Charles, At Saint James.'
LXXX, 20	" Ap. 17 (Easter Day)	At St Paul's, 'in the Evening.'
L, 33	" Ap. 26	'At Denmark house, some few days before the body of King James was removed from thence, to his buriall, Ap. 26, 1625.'
LXXX, 65	" May 8 ( <i>3rd Sun. after Easter</i> )	At St Paul's. 'The first of the Prebend of Cheswicks five Psalmes.'
" 3	" Dec. 25 (Christmas Day)	At St Paul's.
XXVI, 21	162 $\frac{1}{2}$ Jan. 15 ( <i>2nd Sun. after Epiphany</i> )	At St Dunstan's. 'The First Sermon after Our Dispersion by the Sicknes.'
LXXX, 66	" Jan. 29 ( <i>4th Sun. after Epiphany</i> )	At St Paul's. 'The second of my Prebend Sermons upon my five Psalmes.'
Published separately in 1626	" Feb. 24 ( <i>1st Fri. in Lent</i> )	'A Sermon Preached to the Kings M <sup>tie</sup> at Whitehall.'
LXXX, 21	1626 Ap. 9 (Easter Day)	'The first Sermon upon this Text, preached at S. Pauls, in the Evening.'
" 73	" Ap. 18	'Preached to the King in my Ordinary wayting at Whitehall.'
XXVI, 8	" Ap. 30 ( <i>3rd Sun. after Easter</i> )	To the Household at Whitehall.
LXXX, 77	" May 21 ( <i>Sun. after Ascension Day</i> )	At St Paul's.
" 78	" June 21	"
" 67	" Nov. 5	St Paul's 'In Vesperis.' 'The third of my Prebend Sermons upon my five Psalmes.'
" 80	" Dec. 12	'Preached at the funerals of Sir William Cokayne, Knight, Alderman of London.'
" 4	" Dec. 25 (Christmas Day)	At St Paul's.
" 68	162 $\frac{6}{7}$ Jan. 28 ( <i>Sexagesima Sun.</i> )	" 'The fourth of my Prebend Sermons upon my five Psalmes.'
" 22	1627 Mar. 25 (Easter Day)	At St Paul's.

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that this sermon should be dated 162 $\frac{1}{2}$ , since in LXXX, 49 (preached on the Conversion of St Paul 162 $\frac{3}{4}$ ) Donne alludes to this and the two following sermons (dated 162 $\frac{1}{2}$  and 162 $\frac{3}{4}$ ) and says, 'In which respect, at this time of the yeare, and in these dayes when the Church commemorates the Conversion of S. Paul, I have, for divers yeares successively, in this place, determined my selfe upon this Book' [i.e., Acts]. He then enumerates the texts on which LXXX, 46, 47, 48 had been preached.

VOL. AND No.	DATE	PLACE AND OCCASION
I, 27	1627 Ap. 1 ( <i>1st Sun. after Easter</i> )	To the King, at Whitehall.
„ 41	„ May 6 ( <i>Sun. after Ascension Day</i> )	At St Paul's Cross.
LXXX, 28	„ May 13 (Whitsunday)	At St Paul's.
„ 44	„ May 20 (Trinity Sunday)	At St Dunstan's.
Published separately in 1627	„ July 1 ( <i>6th Sun. after Trinity</i> )	'A Sermon of Commemoration of the Lady Danvers, late Wife of Sir John Danvers. Preached at Chilsey [i.e. Chelsea] where she was lately buried.'
L, 1	„ Nov. 19	'At the Earl of Bridgewater's house in London at the marriage of his daughter, the Lady Mary, to the eldest sonne of the L. Herbert of Castle-island.'
LXXX, 5	„ Dec. 25 (Christmas Day)	At St Paul's.
„ 47	162 $\frac{1}{2}$ Jan. 27 ( <i>3rd Sun. after Epiphany</i> )	'At S. Paul's, The Sunday after the Conversion of S. Paul.'
XXVI, 15	„ Feb. 29 ( <i>1st Fri. in Lent</i> )	At Whitehall.
LXXX, 54	1628 Ap. 5	'To the King at Whitehall, upon the occasion of the Fast.'
„ 23	„ Ap. 13 (Easter Day)	At St Paul's.
„ 75	„ Ap. 15 ( <i>Easter Tuesday</i> )	'To the King at Whitehall.'
„ 29	„ June 1 (Whitsunday)	At St Paul's.
L, 42	„ Nov. 23 ( <i>24th Sun. after Trinity</i> )	St Paul's 'in the Evening' <sup>1</sup> .
LXXX, 6	„ Dec. 25 (Christmas Day)	At St Paul's.
„ 48	162 $\frac{2}{3}$ Jan. 25 (Conversion of St Paul)	'At S. Pauls in the Evening, Vpon the day of S. Paul's Conversion, 1628.'
XXVI, 3 <sup>2</sup>	„ Feb. 20 ( <i>1st Fri. in Lent</i> )	At Whitehall.
L, 28 <sup>3</sup>	1629 Ap. —	'Preached to the King, at the Court in April, 1629.'
LXXX, 24	„ Ap. 5 (Easter Day)	Probably at St Paul's (no place given).
„ 31	„ May 24 (Whitsunday)	At St Paul's.
L, 44	„ Nov. 22 ( <i>25th Sun. after Trinity</i> )	At St Paul's Cross.
LXXX, 49	163 $\frac{2}{3}$ Jan. 25 <sup>4</sup> (Conv. of St Paul)	At St Paul's.
XXVI, 5 <sup>6</sup>	„ Feb. 12 ( <i>1st Fri. in Lent</i> )	To the King at Whitehall.
LXXX, 25	1630 Mar. 28 (Easter Day)	At St Paul's.
„ 13	„ Ap. 20	<sup>6</sup> 'Preached in Lent, to the King.'

<sup>1</sup> This is the heading of the sermon, though the pages are headed 'At Saint Pauls Crosse.'

<sup>2</sup> This sermon is repeated as xxvi, 17, where no date is given.

<sup>3</sup> Before its appearance in the *L Sermons*, this was published in 1634 by the University of Cambridge as one of *Six Sermons upon Severall Occasions* preached by Donne.

<sup>4</sup> Should this sermon be dated Jan. 24 or 31 (the Sundays preceding and following the Feast of St Paul's Conv.) rather than Jan. 25, the actual date of the Feast? See Donne's remarks on his habit of celebrating festivals on the Sunday preceding or following, in LXXX, 47. The place is not mentioned in the title, but from Donne's words 'I have, for divers yeares successively, in *this place*, determined my selfe upon this Book,' it is clear that the sermon was preached at St Paul's.

<sup>5</sup> This sermon is repeated as xxvi, 16, where the date is given as Feb. 22. Since that date fell on a Monday, it is evident that xxvi, 5 gives the correct date, the first Friday in Lent being, as Walton tells us, Donne's 'old constant day.'

<sup>6</sup> There is an error in this title, for in 1630 Easter fell on March 28, so that Ap. 20 could not possibly have been in Lent. Gosse dates the sermon Ap. 23 and adds a footnote

# 476 *A Chronological Arrangement of Donne's Sermons*

VOL. AND NO.

DATE

PLACE AND OCCASION

XXVI, 26

1639 Feb. 25<sup>1</sup> (1st Fri. in Lent)

At Whitehall before the King.

(published

separately in 1632

as 'Death's Duel')

## *Conjectural and approximate dates.*

LXXX, 7. 'Preached upon Christmas Day.' If Gosse is correct in his statement 'For the first time since he [Donne] was appointed Dean, he was not able to preach in his Cathedral on Christmas Day, 1629<sup>2</sup>,' this sermon must belong to Christmas Day in one of the years 1615-1620. A few pages later, however, Gosse states, referring to 1630, 'For the first time in twenty years, he did not even preach before the King at Christmas<sup>3</sup>.' In the absence of evidence corroborating Gosse's former statement, I am inclined by internal evidence to ascribe this sermon to Christmas 1629. It is clearly not the work of a man who has just entered the Church, and if it belongs to the 1615-1620<sup>4</sup> period, must be ascribed to the end of it.

LXXX, 9. 'Preached upon Candlemas day.' The heading of this sermon tells us that the text (Rom. xiii. 7) formed 'part of the Epistle of that day, that yeare.' The text occurs in the Epistle for the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany, and the sermon must therefore belong to Feb. 2nd, 161 $\frac{6}{7}$ , or 162 $\frac{3}{4}$ , those being the only years during Donne's ministry in which the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany fell on Feb. 2nd. Of the two dates, 162 $\frac{3}{4}$  seems to me to be preferable.

LXXX, 10. 'Preached upon Candlemas day.' At the beginning of this sermon Donne says, alluding to his text (Rom. xii. 20), 'It falls out...that those Scriptures which are appointed to be read in the Church, all these dayes, (for I take no other this Terme) doe evermore afford, and offer us Texts, that direct us to patience.' This indicates that Donne was preaching in the week of the Third Sunday after Epiphany, in the Epistle for which this text is found. The only years during Donne's ministry in which Candlemas Day fell in this week were 162 $\frac{1}{2}$  and 162 $\frac{7}{8}$ . References in the sermon to 'the miseries of our

'Misprinted "April 20" in the 1640 edition (p. 127). Dr Jessopp points out that the third Sunday after Easter fell on the 23rd' (*Life and Letters of John Donne*, II, p. 263). This emendation only increases the confusion, for as a matter of fact, Ap. 23 was a Friday, and moreover was not in Lent.

<sup>1</sup> The XXVI *Sermons* give no date for this sermon, but Walton tells us that it was preached on the 1st Fri. in Lent. The separate edition (1632) says that it was delivered 'in the beginning of Lent 1630' [i.e. 1639].

<sup>2</sup> *Life and Letters of John Donne*, Vol. II, p. 262.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 266. 'Twenty years' must be used here somewhat loosely, as Donne was not ordained till 1615.

<sup>4</sup> 1619 is impossible, as Donne was then on the Continent with Doncaster's embassy.

brethren round about us,' and 'the aimes and plots of our adversaries upon us' (p. 97) make the year 162 $\frac{1}{2}$  seem probable, as men's minds were then much disturbed by the sufferings of the Protestants in Germany.

LXXX, 11. 'Preached upon Candlemas day.' The last sentence runs 'And therefore since all the world shakes in a palsie of wars, and rumours of wars, since we are sure that Christs Vicar in this case will come to his *Dimittuntur peccata*, to send his Bulls, and Indulgences, and Crociatars for the maintenance of his part, in that cause, let us also, who are to do the duties of private men, to obey and not to direct, by presenting our diseased and paralytique souls to Christ Jesus, now, when he in the Ministry of his unworthiest servant is preaching unto you,...let us endeavour to bring him to his *Dimittuntur peccata*, to forgive us all those sins, which are the true causes of all our palsies, and slacknesses in his service; and so, without limiting him, or his great Vicegerents, and Lieutenants, the way, or the time, to beg of him, that he will imprint in them, such counsels and such resolutions, as his wisdom knows best to conduce to his glory, and the maintenance of his Gospell.' This might refer to the agitation felt in England over the defeat of the Elector Palatine at Prague in October, 1620. Public opinion was strongly in favour of war; men were anxious that James I should take up arms on behalf of his son-in-law the Elector, and thus defend the Protestant cause on the Continent against that of Roman Catholicism.

Thus Feb. 2, 162 $\frac{2}{3}$ , seems a probable date for this sermon. If LXXX, 10 is correctly dated as belonging to Feb. 2, 162 $\frac{1}{2}$ , and LXXX, 9 as Feb. 2, 162 $\frac{3}{4}$ , these years are excluded. Feb. 2, 162 $\frac{3}{4}$ , is excluded by Donne's illness at that time. Feb. 2, 162 $\frac{4}{5}$ , is also a possible date.

LXXX, 26. 'Preached upon Easter-day.' It was Donne's duty as Dean of St Paul's to preach in the Cathedral on Easter Day. He was elected Dean in November, 1621, and we possess Easter sermons preached at St Paul's for 1623 and all the succeeding years of his life. This sermon probably belongs therefore to Easter 1622.

LXXX, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37. 'Preached upon Whitsunday.'

As Dean Donne was required to preach at St Paul's on Whitsunday. We have sermons for 1627, 1628, and 1629 (LXXX, 28, 29, 31). Six of these sermons may therefore be assigned to the Whitsundays of 1622, 1623, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1630. There would then remain one sermon not accounted for. This might be LXXX, 30, which is inserted between the Whitsunday sermons of 1628 and 1629. In this case

LXXX, 32 would probably belong to 1630, as it follows LXXX, 31 which is dated 1629, and LXXX, 33-37 might form a series for the years 1622-1626. This is made more likely by the relation between LXXX, 36 and 37, which are on the same text and were probably preached on successive Whitsundays (cf. LXXX, 28 and 29, which were both preached on John xiv. 26, and are dated Whitsunday 1627, and Whitsunday 1628 respectively).

LXXX, 38, 39, 40, 41. 'Preached upon Trinity Sunday.' A careful examination of these sermons shows that they form a course, announced by Donne in no. 38, as intended to deal, not in a controversial spirit but in one of devotion and edification, with the Three Persons of the Trinity and with sins directed against each Person. No. 38 takes as its subject God the Father, no. 39 sins directed specially against Him, no. 40 God the Son, and no. 41 sins directed specially against Him. Donne's introductory words in no. 38 indicate that the course was preached at Lincoln's Inn not on separate Trinity Sundays, but on successive Sundays after Trinity during the summer term<sup>1</sup>. It was Donne's duty as Reader of Lincoln's Inn—a post which he held from October, 1616, to February, 1622—to preach 'every Sabbath day in the term, both forenoon and afternoon, and once the Sabbath days before and after every term, and on the Grand Days every forenoon.' We possess a sermon preached at Lincoln's Inn on Trinity Sunday 1620 (LXXX, 42) and in 1619 Donne was in Germany with Doncaster's embassy. Thus it seems that this course of sermons should be ascribed to the Trinity season of 1617, 1618, or 1621, and of these dates 1621 is, in my opinion, to be preferred.

LXXX, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55. 'Preached upon the Penitentiall Psalmes.'

These form a series on Psalm vi. with LXXX, 54, which is headed 'Preached to the King at White-hall, upon the occasion of the Fast, April 5, 1628.' Hence it is probable that LXXX, 50-53 were preached in 1627, 1627½, and LXXX, 55 in 1628.

LXXX, 69. 'The fifth of my Prebend Sermons upon my five Psalmes: Preached at S. Pauls.'

This must be later than Jan. 28, 1627, when the fourth of Donne's prebend sermons was preached (LXXX, 68). The prebend sermons followed one another at intervals of a few months, so this sermon may be safely assigned to 1627.

<sup>1</sup> 'I have bent my meditations, for those dayes, which this Terme will afford, upon that, which is the character and mark of all Christians in generall, the Trinity, the three Persons in one God.' LXXX, 38, p. 376. Had the sermon been preached anywhere but at Lincoln's Inn, Donne would hardly have mentioned the Term.



LXXX, 76. 'Preached to the Earle of Carlile, and his Company, at Sion.'

Viscount Doncaster was created Earl of Carlisle in September, 1622, so the sermon was probably preached after that date.

LXXX, 79. 'Preached at S. Pauls.'

Political references in this sermon seem to date it as belonging to 1620-1622.

E.g. 'I may have a full measure in my selfe, finde no want of temporall conveniencies, or spirituall consolation even in inconveniencies, and so hold up a holy alacrity and cheerefulnesse for all concerning my selfe, and yet see God abandon greater persons, and desert some whole Churches, and States, upon whom his glory and Gospel depends much more then upon me, but this is a prayer of charitable extension, *Satura nos*, not *me*, but *us*, all us that professe thee aright<sup>1</sup>.'

'But he may derive help upon us, by meanes that are not his, not avowed by him. He may quicken our Counsels by bringing in an *Achitophell*, he may strengthen our Armies by calling in the Turke, he may establish our peace and friendships, by remitting or departing with some parts of our Religion; at such a deare price we may be helped, but these are not his helps<sup>2</sup>.'

'God does all that he can for us; And therefore when we see others in distresse, whether nationall, or personall calamities, whether Princes be dispossessed of their naturall patrimony, and inheritance, or private persons afflicted with sicknesse, or penury, or banishment, let us goe Gods way, all the way<sup>3</sup>.'

'Our Ancestors who indured many yeares Civill and forraine wars, were more affected with their first peace, then we are with our continuall enjoying thereof, And our Fathers more thankfull, for the beginning of Reformation of Religion, then we for so long enjoying the continuance thereof<sup>4</sup>.'

The references here are probably to Frederick, Elector Palatine, and his expulsion from the Palatinate. In 1620 James I was moved to anger by a rumour that Frederick had invited the Turks into Hungary to help him in his Bohemian campaign<sup>5</sup>. Feeling in England ran high in favour of Frederick, and great impatience was manifested at the reluctance of James to assist his son-in-law.

L, 8. 'Preached at Essex House, at the Churching of the Lady Doncaster.'

<sup>1</sup> LXXX, 79, p. 805.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 808.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 806.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 811.

<sup>5</sup> Tillieres' despatch, April 1<sup>st</sup>, Raumer, *Briefe aus Paris*, II, 299, as quoted by S. R. Gardiner, *History of England*, 1603-1642, Vol. III, p. 344.

Doncaster married, as his second wife, Lucy Percy, daughter of the Earl of Northumberland. The marriage took place in November, 1617. Doncaster was created Earl of Carlisle in Sept. 1622. This sermon therefore belongs probably to 1618–1622. From May, 1619 to Jan. 1620 Doncaster and Donne were abroad on the Bohemian Embassy. It seems therefore that 1618 is the most probable date for this sermon.

L, 9. 'Preached at a Churching.'

10. 'Preached at the Churching of the Countesse of Bridgewater.'

These two sermons have the same text, and the second is evidently a continuation of the first, if indeed the two do not form one sermon, divided by Donne when he revised his notes, as we know to have been the case with LXXX, 71 and 72<sup>1</sup>.

The Earl and Countess of Bridgewater had a numerous family, consisting of four sons and eleven daughters, of whom two sons and three daughters died in infancy. The occasion of L, 10 must have been afforded by the birth of one of the younger members of the family, perhaps that of John<sup>2</sup> (born 1622), the eldest surviving son, who succeeded to the title in 1649. The sermon cannot be later than 1623, when the youngest child of the Earl and Countess was born.

L, 11. 'Preached at Lincolns Inne, preparing them to build their Chappell.'

This sermon must belong to 1617 when the foundation stone of the new Chapel was laid.

L, 12–23. 'Preached at Lincolns Inne.'

These sermons evidently belong to the period during which Donne held the office of Reader at Lincoln's Inn (Oct. 1616–Feb. 162 $\frac{1}{2}$ ), a post which involved, so Dr Jessopp computes, the preaching of not less than fifty sermons a year. During term he was required to preach twice every Sunday.

Of this group nos. 12 and 13 are closely connected and were apparently preached on the same day, one in the morning and the other in the evening<sup>3</sup>. Donne's words in no. 13 imply that he had already been Reader for more than a year<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The conjecture that the two sermons are really one is supported by the absence of any reference in L, 9 to the occasion on which it was preached.

<sup>2</sup> John, Viscount Brackley, played the part of the Elder Brother in the performance of Milton's *Comus* at Ludlow Castle in 1634.

<sup>3</sup> These two also appeared in 1634 in the *Six Sermons*.

<sup>4</sup> 'In such an appearance doth this Text differ from that which I handled in the forenoon, and as heretofore I found it a usefull and acceptable labour, to employ our Evening exercises upon the vindicating of some such places of Scripture, as our adversaries of the Roman Church had detorted in some point of controversie between them and us, and restoring those places to their true sense, (which course I held constantly for one

Nos. 14 and 15 are similarly connected.

No. 16 may be one of the course of controversial sermons mentioned in no. 13. If so it preceded nos. 13-15, and must have been preached in an earlier term.

Nos. 17 and 18 both take as their text St Matt. xviii. 7 and no. 18 is evidently a continuation of no. 17. It is probable that they belong to the winter of 1620-1, for there are passages in no. 18 which seem to point to the dismay in England at the news of the Elector Palatine's defeat at Prague, and to the general impatience for war on his behalf<sup>1</sup>.

Nos. 19-23 form a series preached on Ps. xxxviii., and of these nos. 21-23 take ver. 4 as their text.

L, 26. 'Preached to the King, at White-Hall, the first Sunday in Lent.'

162 $\frac{2}{3}$  seems a probable date for this sermon, as that is the only year from 161 $\frac{7}{8}$  till Donne's death for which we possess no sermon preached at Whitehall on the first Friday in Lent. (There is no sermon for 162 $\frac{3}{4}$ , when Donne was recovering from his dangerous illness.) It is hardly probable that the King would have ordered Donne to preach before him on the 1st Sunday in Lent as well as on the 1st Friday.

L, 29<sup>2</sup>. 'Preached to the King, at the Court.' This is evidently a continuation of L, 28 which was preached to the King in April 1629 on the same text, Gen. i. 26.

L, 47, 48, 50. 'Preached at St Dunstons.' These sermons probably belong to the period when Donne was Vicar of St Dunstan's. He preached his first sermon there as vicar on Ap. 11, 1624.

No. 47 is headed 'An Anniversary Sermon preached at St Dunstons,

whole year) so I think it a usefull and acceptable labour, now to employ for a time those Evening exercises to reconcile some such places of Scripture, as may at first sight seem to differ from one another; In the morning we saw how Christ judged all [no. 12 has as its text "The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment to the Son"]; now we are to see how he judges none: *I judge no man.*' L, 13, p. 101.

<sup>1</sup> Speaking of the man who is easily scandalized, Donne says 'Hee stays not to give men their Law, to give Princes, and States time to consider, whether it may not be fit for them to come to leagues, and alliances, and declarations for the assistance of the Cause of Religion next year, though not this. But *continuo scandalizatur*, as soon as a *Catholique army* hath given a blow, and got a victory of any of our forces, or friends, or as soon as a *crafty Jesuit* hath forged a Relation, that that Army hath given such a blow, or that such an Army there is, (for many times they intimidate weak men, when they shoote nothing but Paper, when they are onely *Paper-Armies*, and *Pamphlet-Victories*, and no such in truth) *Illico scandalizatur*, yet with these forged rumours, presently hee is scandalized.' L, 18, p. 147.

Prof. S. R. Gardiner says 'The first news of Frederick's defeat reached London on November 24 [1620]. The agitation was great. It was easy to see that, in their hearts, the citizens laid the blame of all that had taken place upon the King. Not a few took refuge in incredulity. The story, it was said, had come through Brussels, and had probably been invented by the Papists. Many days passed before the unwelcome news was accepted.' *History of England, 1603-1642*, vol. III, p. 385.

<sup>2</sup> Also published in 1634 in the *Six Sermons*.

upon the commemoration of a Parishioner, a Benefactor to that Parish.'

No. 48 has as its text Lam. iii. 1. 'I am the man that hath seen affliction by the rod of his wrath.' This is the text on which, according to Walton, Donne preached his first sermon after his wife's death. On this evidence Gosse<sup>1</sup> has identified this sermon with the one described by Walton, though the latter expressly states that the one to which he refers was 'preached 'where his [Donne's] beloved wife lay buried—in St Clement's Church, near Temple Bar, London,' whereas L, 48 is headed 'Preached at St Dunstons' and is included among a number of sermons preached at that church. It is possible, of course, that Gosse is right in regarding Walton's statement as one of his numerous inaccuracies, or the heading of L, 48 may be incorrect; on the other hand, as Gosse has remarked, there is nothing in L, 48 which has any clear reference to Donne's bereavement, or makes it in any sense a funeral sermon<sup>2</sup>. During his ministry Donne preached an enormous number of sermons, and it is possible that the sermon described by Walton has not been preserved, and that as Vicar of St Dunstan's, at least seven years having elapsed since his wife's death, Donne used the same text and treated it somewhat differently.

In no. 50 Donne refers to a previous sermon on the text 'Jesus wept<sup>3</sup>.' We possess a sermon (LXXX, 16) on this text preached at Whitehall on the first Friday in Lent (Feb. 28) 1623.

xxvi, 10. This is a continuation of xxvi, 9 (also numbered as 10, no. 9 being omitted in the *XXVI Sermons*) which is dated Ap. 2, 1620. This sermon may therefore safely be dated as belonging to 1620.

Thus there remain only the few following Sermons to which as yet no date can be assigned. Further investigation will probably lessen their number still further.

- LXXX, 8. 'Preached upon Candlemas Day.'
- 12. 'Preached upon Candlemas Day.'
- 30. 'Preached upon Whitsunday.'
- 45. 'Preached upon All-Saints Day.'

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Letters of John Donne*, II, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Walton says, 'And indeed his very words and looks testified him to be truly such a man ["as had seen affliction"]; and they, with the addition of his sighs and tears, expressed in his sermon, did so work upon the affections of his hearers as melted and moulded them into a companionable sadness.'

<sup>3</sup> 'We reade in the Naturall Story, of some floating Islands, that swim, and move from place to place; and in them a Man may sowe in one place, and reape in another: This case is so farre ours, as that in another place we have sowed in tears, and by his promise, in whose tears we sowed them, when we handled those two words, *Jesus wept*, we shall reape in Joy.' p. 466.

- LXXX, 56—64. 'Preached upon the Penitentiall Psalmes' (56—63 form a series on Ps. xxxii).  
 L, 2, 3<sup>1</sup>. 'Preached at a Mariage.'  
     4—7. 'Preached at a Christning.'  
 24, 25. 'Preached at White-Hall.'  
 34. 'To the Nobility.'  
 35<sup>2</sup>. 'To the Nobility. Preached February 21. 1611.' This must be an error, as Donne was not ordained till Jan. 161 $\frac{1}{2}$ .  
 39, 40. 'Preached at Saint Pauls.'  
 XXVI, 22. 'Preached at the Temple.'

EVELYN M. SPEARING.

CAMBRIDGE.

<sup>1</sup> No. 3 also appeared in 1634 in the *Six Sermons*.<sup>2</sup> Also published in the *Six Sermons*.

## NOTES ON ROMANIC SPEECH-HISTORY.

IN order to describe the development of certain Romanic sounds, it will be necessary to employ a number of special symbols, in addition to the well-known Spanish *ñ*, Bohemian *š* and *ž*. Those that need explaining are  $\chi^1$   $\gamma^2$  velar fricatives;  $\xi^1$   $y^2$  prepalatal fricatives;  $\kappa^1$   $g^2$  prepalatal occlusives;  $\theta^1$   $\delta^2$  dental fricatives;  $\lambda$  = Portuguese *lh*;  $\eta$  = English final *ng*. The letter *y* is also used for the slightly opener non-fricative sound heard in English *year*. As French fricative *y* in *brille* and non-fricative *y* in *vaillant* are not distinguished in ordinary transcriptions, either by native or foreign writers, I trust that I may be pardoned for a similar vagueness in cases where the exact sound cannot be known<sup>3</sup>.

### \*CINCTULU.

It used to be thought that Sp. *vergüenza* contained normal *z* < *dy*; Baist is unwilling to give up this theory<sup>4</sup>, which is as unreasonable as his spelling *verguenza*<sup>5</sup>. It seems to be established that the Sp. derivative of *ñg* varied with the position of stress<sup>6</sup>: hence it follows that the variant *vergüena* (= Pt. *vergonha* = It. *vergogna*) is the normal representative of *uerecundia*<sup>7</sup>. The older form of *vergüenza* (= Pt. *vergonça*) had  $\zeta^8$ , which cannot represent *dy*; evidently this  $\zeta$

<sup>1</sup> Voiceless.

<sup>2</sup> Voiced.

<sup>3</sup> Abbreviations. *Alb.*: Pekmezi, *Grammatik der albanesischen Sprache*, Wien, 1908; *Altb.*: Leskien, *Handbuch der altbulgarischen Sprache*, Weimar, 1898; *Altfr.*: Schwan-Behrens, *Grammatik des Altfranzösischen*, Leipzig, 1907; *Altsp.*: Zauner, *Altspanisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg, 1908; *Ast.*: Munthe, *Anteckningar om folkmälet i en trakt af vestra Asturien*, Upsala, 1887; *Ctl.*: Fabra, *Contribució a la gramática de la llengua catalana*, Barcelona, 1898; *Eng.*: Sweet, *A History of English Sounds*, Oxford, 1888; *Esp.*: Menéndez Pidal, *Manual elemental de gramática histórica española*, Madrid, 1905. *Frn.*: Passy, *Les Sons du français*, Paris, 1899; *Gr.*: Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, I, Strassburg, 1906; *Ir.*: Windisch, *A Concise Irish Grammar*, Cambridge, 1882; *Ltn.*: Stolz-Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, München, 1910; *Mhd.*: Paul, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*, Halle, 1900; *Phn.*: Viëtor, *Elemente der Phonetik*, Leipzig, 1898; *Prt.*: Vianna, *Exposição da pronúncia normal portuguesa*, Lisboa, 1892; *Rmn.*: Titkin, *Rumänisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg, 1905; *Spn.*: Ford, *The Old Spanish Sibilants*, Boston, 1900; *Urg.*: Streitberg, *Urgermanische Grammatik*, Heidelberg, 1896. *Fr.*: French; *It.*: Italian; *Pt.*: Portuguese; *Pv.*: Provençal; *Rm.*: Rumanian; *Sp.*: Spanish.

<sup>4</sup> *Gr.*, 900.

<sup>5</sup> *Gr.*, 888 and 900.

<sup>6</sup> *Esp.*, 86.

<sup>7</sup> *Modern Philology*, VIII, 595.

<sup>8</sup> *Spn.*, 44.

may be ascribed to the influence of the common abstract-ending *-nça < -ntia*<sup>1</sup>. It ought not to be needful to insist on this fact; but several writers disregard it and imagine that a voiceless resultant, in the medieval Hispanic tongues, can somehow be obtained from a voiced sound-group. In the second edition of his grammar, Menéndez Pidal still assumes that early Sp. *ç* (= *ts*) can come from *dy* or *ddy*<sup>2</sup>; and this mistake has recently been repeated by Millardet<sup>3</sup>. In the same work Menéndez Pidal derives *cincho* from *cingulu*<sup>4</sup> and mentions *uña* only to leave it a mystery. Likewise Zauner clings to the *cingulu*-theory<sup>5</sup> and ignores the disagreement with *uña < ungula*, which is really a normal development<sup>6</sup>. Cornu treats Pt. *ç* as the regular derivative of *dy* in *ouço* (for *\*oivo < audio*) and other verbs<sup>7</sup>, where it is analogic, presumably due to the influence of *faço*. These eminent scholars overlook an important fact: it is one thing for a voiceless sound to stay voiceless, as in *braço* = It. *braccio*, *mancha* = It. *macchia*; and a very different thing for a voiced sound to become voiceless. Of course the latter change may result from assimilation: the derivatives of *kl* have become entirely voiceless in Sp. *mancha* and Pt. *mancha*. But a general loss of voicing between voiced sounds, as in Castilian-Galician *x*<sup>s</sup> (= *š*) for medieval *j* (= *ž*), is a late development with few Romanic parallels outside of Spain, and none in early Hispanic. Italian has *cintolo < \*cinctulu*; Sp. *cincho* (= Pt. *cincho*?) must be derived from this diminutive, which was apparently formed from *cinctu* under the influence of *cingulu*. The development of *tl*, after a consonant, agrees with Sp. *macho* = Pt. *macho < martulu*, the original *t* of this stem being kept in Sp. *marti(e)llo* = Pt. *martelo < martellu*. The word *cingulu* is the source of Sp. *ceño*, at least for the meaning 'hoop,' and presumably of Pt. *cenho*, which has some of the other meanings of the Spanish word; the *e* corresponds to that of Sp. *seños* (with the variant *sendos*, explained in *Modern Philology*, VIII, 596) = Pt. *senhos < singulos*.

#### LAICU.

Latin *laicu* makes Sp. *lego* and Pt. *leigo*. It is assumed by Millardet that *lego* was developed from dissyllabic *\*layku*<sup>8</sup>. This idea can hardly be maintained, so long as we admit the existence of sound-laws. In Sp. *coto* = Pt. *couto < cautu*, Sp. *poco* = Pt. *pouco < paucu*, no voiced sounds were formed like those of *segada < secata*, because *w* was just

<sup>1</sup> *Spn.*, 45; *Altsp.*, 48.

<sup>3</sup> *Romania*, xli, 250.

<sup>6</sup> *Modern Philology*, VIII, 595.

<sup>8</sup> *Modern Philology*, iv, 280.

<sup>4</sup> *Esp.*, 105.

<sup>2</sup> *Esp.*, 92.

<sup>5</sup> *Altsp.*, 46.

<sup>7</sup> *Gr.*, 960.

<sup>9</sup> *Romania*, xli, 249.

as much a consonant as *l* in *altu* > *alto* or *n* in *tantu* > *tanto*. Since *w* had the effect of a consonant, it is plain that *y* would have had the same effect. It is commonly held that a transposed *y* protected *p* in Sp. *sepa* < *sapiat*, but perhaps it is better not to lay too much weight on this supposed example: It. *sappia* and Catalan *sápiga*<sup>1</sup> show that the Sp. form may have a different explanation. A clearer case is Sp. *mitad* < *meytad* (= Pt. *metade*) < \**meytade* < \**meytate* < \**meyetate*; this evidently parallels Sp. *poco* = Pt. *pouco*, and makes *g* < *k* impossible in *lego* and *leigo*, if we start from \**layko* or \**layku*. We must therefore conclude that *laicu* made \**laigo* or \**laëgo* with three syllables, whence *leigo* and *lego*. That is, the derivative of dissyllabic *ai*, which was extremely rare in popular Latin, did not become monosyllabic until after the voicing of occlusives in Hispanic. It might be supposed that Sp. *aire* < *aëre* makes *lego* < \**laëgo* impossible; but this is by no means certain. We can assume \**laëgo* > \**laygo* contemporary with unchanged *aëre* > *aëre*, whence later Sp. \**leygo* beside *aire*. The influence of *r* in producing or protecting open vowels is found in nearly all Romanic tongues: it is regressive in Pt. *ar* < *aëre*, Sp. *barrer* < *uerrere*, Asturian *ñeru* = Sp. *nido* < *nīdu*, Fr. *par* < *per*, progressive in Rm. *întreg* < *întegru* beside normal *pierd* < *perdo*.

## LIGNU.

Anyone who takes the trouble to look into the history of Latin sounds can see that written GN must have been pronounced *ɲn* medially. Original *e* becomes *i* before *ɲk* and *ɲg*<sup>2</sup>, and also before the sound-group spelled GN<sup>3</sup>. Stressed *e* is kept before *g*, for example in *lego* and *rego*, notwithstanding the *i* of *colligo* and *erigo*, which would have strengthened a tendency to form stressed *i* before *g*, if such a tendency had existed. Since *e* is kept before oral *g*, it is hard to understand why *e* became *i* in IGNI- (= Sanskrit *agni*- < \**egni*-), if we assume that written G meant the sound *g* here. But if we admit the pronunciation *ɲnis*, it is clear that the *i* corresponds to *i* in *tingo* = Greek *τέγγω*. The Latin spelling GN = *ɲn* had at least a historic basis, like our *ng* = *ɲ* < *ɲg*, and that is more than can be said for the Greek spelling of the velar nasal.

Likewise the alteration of the occlusives indicates that GN meant *ɲn*. Before a nasal, an occlusive becomes nasalized: *dm* > *mm*, *dn* > *nn*, *tn* > *nn*<sup>4</sup>, *gm* > *mm*, *pm* > *mm*, *bn* > *mn*, *pn* > *mn*<sup>5</sup>. In view of such

<sup>1</sup> Compare Catalan *dugas* < *duas*.<sup>3</sup> *Ltn.*, 41.<sup>4</sup> *Ltn.*, 144.<sup>2</sup> *Ltn.*, 40.<sup>5</sup> *Ltn.*, 145.



developments and parallel  $dl > \mathcal{U}^1$ , it is unreasonable to suppose that written *g* in  $GN < kn^1$  was sounded as oral *g*. In Germany there is a traditional pronunciation of Latin *gn* as  $\eta n^2$ ; this may be a continuation of the ancient Latin sound. Likewise Spaniards sometimes sound *gn* as  $\eta n$  in book-words, instead of the  $\gamma n$  or *gn* that the spelling appears to require.

These facts about *gn* seem to have been overlooked by Millardet when he constructed his theory of Sp.  $\tilde{n} < \gamma n < gn^3$ . Could *yn* have come from  $\eta n$ ? Evidently not. The development of  $\eta n$  was nearly parallel with that of *kt*. In modern French the group *kt* has an explosive *k*, which may be indicated by writing *kṭ*. In English, *k* is not explosive before *t*, so that our *kt* sounds like *tt* to French ears<sup>4</sup>; this *k* is so slightly audible that *picture* is vulgarly confused with *pitcher*, and even in educated speech *st* may replace the *skt* of *asked*. The regular formation of It. *tt* from *kt* implies a non-explosive *k*; being almost inaudible as a separate element, the *k* was naturally assimilated to *t*. We might perhaps suppose that, beside  $tt < kt$ , a symmetric speech-development would require  $nn < \eta n$ ; but the parallel is not perfect. In *kt*, pronounced in the English way, the *k*-position is accompanied by no sound at all; what is heard, and identified with the impression of ordinary *k*, is due merely to the movement of closure, the glide from the preceding sound-position to the *k*-position. But in  $\eta n$  each element is audible throughout its whole duration. Hence when  $\eta n$  was assimilated, each element changed towards the other, producing the present Italian pronunciation  $\tilde{n}\tilde{n}$ : *legno* = *leñño*. This formation of a new non-Latin sound, intermediate to *n* and  $\eta$ , was perhaps helped by the slightly earlier development of the same sound from *ny*<sup>5</sup>.

Outside of Italy the *k* of *kt* was probably explosive, and for this reason the derivative of *k* did not generally disappear, except after a consonant. It seems possible that the foreigners who learned Latin may have begun with *otto* for *okto* before this change became general in Italy; the Italians would naturally insist on the *k*-sound, thereby causing the foreigners to exaggerate and say *ok'to*, instead of *okto* with non-explosive *k*. It is also possible that the Italians, who said *okto* ordinarily, changed this to emphatic *ok'to* for the benefit of foreign

<sup>1</sup> *Ltn.*, 144.

<sup>2</sup> *Phn.*, 248.

<sup>3</sup> *Romania*, xli, 253.

<sup>4</sup> *Frn.*, 121.

<sup>5</sup> I have explained the relative chronology of these consonants in an article that will be published in *Modern Philology*.

learners, and the latter imitated carefully what they heard<sup>1</sup>. Hence *kt* remained distinct from *tt* almost everywhere outside of Italy. Rumanian has *pt* < *kt*, and likewise *mn* < *ɲn*: *lemn*. In western Romanic, where double consonants<sup>2</sup> were regularly simplified, we find *ñ* < *ññ*, corresponding to It. *ññ*: Pt. *lenho* = Sp. *leño*, Pv. *denhe* = Fr. *daigne*.

The early Fr. *y* of *saint* < \**san̄to* and the Sp. formation of *mbr* from *mn* might seem to favour the possibility of *yn* < *ɲn*; but they do not really do so. In Italian and Hispanic speech, \**san̄to* developed no *y*. Sp. *mbr* < *mn* is an isolated development, and comparatively late, subsequent to the general Hispanic change of *mn* to *nn* (\**donno* < *domnu*). The Sp. vowel of *leño* is strong evidence against such a formation as \**liynu*. In Sp. *tiña* < *tīn̄a*, *tiñe* < \**tīn̄get* < *tīngit*, the vowel *i* is plainly due to the influence of *ñ*: for this sound has a tongue-position related to that of close *i* nearly as that of close *i* is to that of open *i*. Evidently \**liynu* would have developed stressed *i* in Spanish, by contraction of *iy*; or if we adopt Millardet's theory of a rapid change to *ñ*, the latter sound would have furnished an even stronger ground for the formation of close *i*, in accordance with *tiña* and *tiñe*.

The theory of *ñ* < *yn* < *gn* was invented to explain the apparent difference between Sp. *tamaño* = Pt. *tamanho* < *tam magnu* and Sp. *fecho* = Pt. *feito* < *factu*, Sp. *era* = Pt. *eira* < \**ayra*. Its purpose was praiseworthy but misguided. As there was no *gn* to begin with, the whole theory falls. If there had been a real *gn*, and if it had become *yn*, the principle of syllabication would be discredited by the behaviour of *y*. Near the beginning of his essay Millardet states, as a general principle, that *ay* remains or changes according to syllable-division: Sp. *ma-yor* < *maiore* but *me-rino* < \**may-rino* < *maiorinu*. This principle is all-important; we cannot help being grateful to Millardet for pointing out a fact which other writers have commonly ignored even if they were not ignorant of it. But this fundamental principle does not harmonize well with *a* in a derivative of the supposed \**mayno*. Hence it becomes necessary for Millardet to assume a quick change of *yn* to *ñ* before the syllables had time to notice what was happening. Really the principle of syllabication is valid, and must be defended against its author. If \**mayno* does not obey the law, so much the worse for

<sup>1</sup> I have heard an English-speaking person (American) pronounce emphatic *You do?* nearly like *You too?*, with a strongly aspirated *t*. The *d* was held so long that it became voiceless, and was aspirated as if it had been an ordinary *t*.

<sup>2</sup> Except *rr*, which is still different from intervocalic *r* in Hispanic. The reduction of *ll* and *nn* was late in Hispanic, and was accompanied by palatalization in Spain.

\**mayno*. Let us banish \**mayno* and look at the facts. In the first place, Latin had no sound-group *gn* in *magnu*; the written *g* was sounded *ŋ*, as shown above. Secondly, the probabilities are against a change of *ŋn* to *yn*. And lastly, *yn* would give a wrong Hispanic result anyway (Sp. \**meño* or \**meno*). The *yn*-theory is its own disproof. In Italy and the west, early *mn* was assimilated. So was *ŋn*, and it produced intermediate *ññ* and *ñ*.

\*OCLU.

Menéndez Pidal supposes that intervocalic *kl* and *gl* formed early Sp. *j* (= *ž*) by passing through *yl*<sup>1</sup>. Apparently he does not assume *λ* between *yl* and *ž*: 'la oclusión de la *c* se afloja en una fricación, *y*, que en aragonés palataliza la *l*<sup>2</sup>, en leonés la absorbe<sup>2</sup> *y* en castellano ant. se fortalece en *j* absorbiendo la *l*.' This treatment of Leonese seems insufficient; the various agreements of Leonese with Portuguese imply *y* < *λ*, the sound *λ* being kept unchanged in Pt. *ólho*. A difficulty with regard to Castilian is the seeming discord between assumed \**kwaylo* > *cuajo* and \**ayra* > *era*. Millardet, who adopts the *yl*-theory, notices this difficulty and tries to explain *a* in *cuajo* by supposing that *yl* produced *λ* before *ay* elsewhere changed to *ey*<sup>3</sup>. Such an assumption might perhaps be justified, so far as the *λ* is concerned, if we could prove that *kl* and *gl* were the only sources of early Sp. *yl*. Can we prove this?

In Sp. *meytad* < \**mey(e)tate*, the *t* indicates a very early loss of the pretonic vowel. We may assume a parallel development in *uigilare* > \**veylar(e)*, which makes—not what the *yl*-theory requires, but—Sp. *velar*! This does not agree over-well with theoretic \**kwaylo* > *cuajo*, \**oylo* > *ojo*, \**teyla* > *teja*. It might be objected that \**meyetate* and \**veylare* could have lost their pretonic vowels at different dates. True; but the difference would favour an earlier \**veylar(e)*, for *y* and *l* are both voiced, and might therefore have formed a group more readily than *y* and *t*. Again, it might be supposed that *velar* is based on *vela* < \**veela* < \**veyela* with loss of *y* before posttonic *e* disappeared. But this seems highly improbable, on account of the *y* in early Sp. *seyello* < *sigillu*, *veyo* < *uideo*. Evidently we must assume *uigilat* > \**veyela* > \**veyla* > *vela*, parallel with *digitu* > \**deyedo* > \**deydo* > *dedo*, the posttonic vowel being lost later than the pretonic one of \**mey(e)tate*.

<sup>1</sup> *Esp.*, 100.

<sup>2</sup> The author gives the derivatives of *muliere*, to exemplify these dialectal developments of *kl*!

<sup>3</sup> *Romania*, xli, 254.

In Pt. *metade* < \**meytade* < \**meytate* < \**meyetate*, we find a contraction of stressless *ey* to *e*, in accord with Pt. *velar* < \**veylar(e)* < *uigilare*. Intervocalic Pt. *l* was lost in the 12th century<sup>1</sup>: *véu* < *veo* < *uelu*, *má* < *maa* < *mala*. This loss of *l* seems to prove that the *y* of Pt. \**veylar(e)* had the effect of a consonant and protected *l* until the 12th century, just as *y* protected *t* at a much earlier period in *metade* < \**meytate*. We cannot well call Pt. *velar* a book-word, for an early book-word would lose *l*, not *g*—and this is precisely what happened in Pt. *vigiar*. Thus we may assume a common early Sp.-Pt. \**veylar(e)*, in which *yl* did not form  $\lambda$ , notwithstanding the  $\lambda$  of Pt. *cualho* < *coagulu*, *ólho* < *oculu*, *telha* < *tegula*. Apparently the *yl*-theory will not do for the Hispanic development of *kl* and *gl*.

The stressed vowels of Sp. *cuajo* and Pt. *cualho* involve the same difficulty as those of *tamaño* and *tamanho*. I have shown above that the *yn*-theory is untenable, as well as needless. Of course the *yl*-theory is not directly dependent on the *yn*-theory; but with the possibility of \**mayno* gone, the persistent vowel of *cuajo* and similar words stands by itself in Spanish. In order to account for *cuajo* < \**kwaylo*, we must shelve Millardet's excellent syllable-proposition. Evidently we cannot well disprove the idea that this principle began to operate in Hispanic at a certain convenient date: but neither can we prove it. It seems much more reasonable to consider it a permanent principle, since it agrees with Latin *ai* > *ae* > *e* and wide-spread Romanic *au* > *o*. In speaking of Sp. *o* < *au*, as in *oca* and *oro*, Millardet says<sup>2</sup> that the syllabic division of *ma-yo* has no parallel with regard to *au*. This is a mistake. The difference between *oca* < *au(i)ca*, *oro* < *auru*, and *ave* < *aue*, *llave* < *clauē*, is a perfect parallel with *merino* < *mai(o)rinu*, *era* < \**ayra*, beside *mayor* < *maiore*, *mayo* < *maiū*. The common habit of writing *v* for the sound *w* in *avis*, *clavis*, but not in *aurum*, *claudio*, is based on the medieval pronunciation of Latin. The well-known Hispanic treatment of *cautu* (> Pt. *couto* = Sp. *coto*) and *paucu* (> Pt. *pouco* = Sp. *poco*) shows that *au* ended with the consonant-sound *w*. Apparently the traditional spellings *avis* and *aurum* caused Millardet to overlook the identity of sound in such cases. It is curious to notice that the Macedonian dialect of Rumanian has *av* < *au* before a consonant, corroborating the Hispanic evidence with regard to *au*: *lavdu* = literary Rm. *laud* < *laudo*<sup>3</sup>.

The Hispanic derivative of *oculu* seems to have become \**oglo* at the time when *k* changed to *g* in *lágrima*. We might perhaps expect

<sup>1</sup> Gr., 970.<sup>2</sup> Romania, xli, 257.<sup>3</sup> Rmn., 6.

the *g* of *\*oglo* to become *γ*, but probably this did not occur. The formation of *λ* from *l*, after *k* and *g*, is a wide-spread Romanic development, and may be assumed for Hispanic medial *gl*; compare *tš* < *κγ* < *kλ* < *kl* in Sp. *macho* (= Pt. *macho*) < *masculu*. Apparently *gλ* underwent further assimilation through *gλ* to *λλ* and *λ*, in accordance with *ll* < *bl* in Sp. *trillar* < *tribulare*. These changes differ from the development of *espalda* < *spatula*, because Romanic words and syllables could begin with *kl* (*kλ*), *gl* (*gλ*), *pl*, *bl*, but not with *tl* and *dl*. On account of *tš* < *kλ* after a consonant, we might reasonably assume Sp. *\*oglo* > *ogyo* > *\*odžo*; but Pt. *λ* in *ólho* makes this rather improbable. So long as there is no good evidence of disagreement between the two languages, it is more natural to suppose that they developed alike. But after reaching *λ*, the common intervocalic development ended. Sp. *λ* became *g*, which is represented by *d* in *codrá*<sup>1</sup> = *cogerá* < *colligere habet*, *medrar* = *mejorar* < *meliorare*; compare *t* in *petral* < *pectorale* beside *tš* in *pechos* < *pectus*, *s* in *fresno* < *fraxinu* beside *š* in *exe* < *axe*. Portuguese also has formed *d* < *λ* before a consonant in *medrar* = *melhorar* < *meliorare*.

The Sp. development of intervocalic *g* < *λ* was due to the need of avoiding confusion with the new *λ* formed from Latin *ll*. Before a vowel *g* became *dž* (= English *j* or *dg* in *judge*). This value of early Sp. *j* is proved by the modern use of *dž* in Jewish speech<sup>2</sup>, by the threefold evidence with regard to Arabic *ج*<sup>3</sup> and by *tš* < *dž* < *g* < *λ* in western Asturian<sup>4</sup>. The later change of *dž* to *ž* has so many Romanic parallels that it needs no discussion. It may seem strange that *dž* should have lost *d* while *tš* kept *t*; but this difference of treatment has parallels in Slavonic. Thus in Old Bulgarian we find *ts* < *k* and *tš* < *k* before front vowels, corresponding to *z* < *dz* < *g* and *ž* < *dž* < *g*<sup>5</sup>. Of course it is possible that Sp. *dž* lost *d* before *tš* developed from *κ* and *κγ*.

#### OCTO.

Literary Italian has *tt* < *pt*, *tt* < *tt*, *tt* < *kt*, and the corresponding Venetian resultant is *t*, in accordance with the usual reduction of doubled consonants. This levelling is not generally found outside of Italy: *factu* > Rm. *fapt*, Fr. *fait*, Pv. *fach*, Sp. *fecho*, Pt. *feito*. All these developments may be explained by supposing that *kt* became *χt*; similar developments are Irish *χt* < *kt*<sup>6</sup>, Greek *χt* < *kt* and *ft* < *pt*<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Altsp.*, 93.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue hispanique*, II, 54, 62, 66.

<sup>3</sup> *Ir.*, 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Modern Philology*, VIII, 591.

<sup>5</sup> *Ast.*, 33.

<sup>6</sup> *Alt.*, 43.

<sup>7</sup> *Revue des patois gallo-romans*, II, 10.

In Albanian, Romanic *kt* became  $\chi t$ , whence  $ft^1$  after a labial vowel; compare  $f < \chi$  in English *rough*, the reverse change in German<sup>2</sup>, and the frequent interchanges, both  $f < \chi^3$  and  $\chi < f^4$ , that occur in Rumanian. The close connection between Rumanian and Albanian allows us to assume Rm.  $pt < ft < \chi t < kt$ . This change from occlusive to fricative, and then back to occlusive, may seem odd, but such developments are not uncommon in the history of language. Stressless  $u < o < u$  is normal in Portuguese and Rumanian<sup>5</sup>. Latin has  $o < we$  (= Sanskrit *wa*)<sup>6</sup> in *somnus*<sup>7</sup> and *socer*<sup>7</sup>; and this  $o$  has produced *we* in Sp. *sueño*, *suegro*. Danish has  $\ddot{o} < \bar{a} < \ddot{o}$  in *otte* = Icelandic *átta* = Latin *octo*. German has  $t < d < \delta < \theta < t^8$  in *mutter* = Latin *mater*. English *mother* < *módor* has  $\delta < d < \delta < \theta < t$ ; in vulgar American-English  $\delta$  is often changed to  $d$ .

In French we find *fait* < *factu* beside *façon* < *factione*. We might perhaps account for this difference by supposing that *kty* lost its *k* before intervocalic *kt* became  $\chi t^9$ . But such a development is highly improbable. We can readily understand why Spanish shows no trace of *k* in *santo* < *sanctu*, *yerto* < *\*erctu*, *siesta* < *sexta*: *k* is almost inaudible in the groups  $\eta kt$  and  $r kt$ , and *ks* before a consonant was abnormal in Latin, being artificially preserved or restored in *sextus* and *textus* under the influence of *sex* and *texere*<sup>10</sup>. But an explanation of this kind would be hardly reasonable for *kty* and intervocalic *kt*, as the *k* is equally audible in each case, and equally abnormal in the living forms of Romanic speech.

If we assume *factu* > *\*faxto* and *factione* > *\*faxtšone*, it is clear that in the latter word  $\chi$  (or its derivative  $\xi$ ) could easily be eliminated by dissimilation, in accordance with the development<sup>11</sup> of *ts* for *sts* in early Fr. *oz* < *hostis*. We may suppose that to produce Fr. *fait* and Catalan *fet*,  $\chi t$  became  $\xi t$  by partial assimilation and afterwards  $\xi$  changed to the corresponding voiced sound *y*. This last step can be called assimilative also, since the  $\xi$  was always preceded by a voiced sound. In Provençal there was a stronger tendency to assimilation: apparently  $\xi t$  developed through  $\xi \kappa$  to  $\xi \kappa \xi$  or  $\acute{s}t\acute{s}$ <sup>12</sup>, and then the first fricative was eliminated as in *triz* for *tristz*. The *ch* of Pv. *sancha*, a variant of *santa*, implies *\*sañka* < *\*sañta*, with direct assimilation<sup>13</sup> of the

<sup>1</sup> Alb., 42.<sup>2</sup> Mhd., 48.<sup>3</sup> Rmn., 53.<sup>4</sup> Rmn., 68.<sup>5</sup> Romanic Review, I, 431.<sup>6</sup> Ltn., 42.<sup>7</sup> Cp. early English *swefn* and *swehor*.<sup>8</sup> Urg., 124.<sup>9</sup> Altfr., 96.<sup>10</sup> Ltn., 137.<sup>11</sup> Previous to the general loss of *s* before a consonant.<sup>12</sup> With  $t\acute{s} < \kappa \xi < \kappa$  as in Rm. *cinci*, It. *cinque* and Fr. *charge*.<sup>13</sup> Here too stronger than in French.

velar-dental group to an intermediate prepalatal one. It is of course possible that *facta* likewise produced Pv. *facha* through *\*faka*, with direct assimilation of *kt*; but this is rather unlikely, on account of the disagreement with the other Romanic forms. In French *saint*, *y* was due to the *η* of *\*santo* < *san̄ktu*; in Italian and the Hispanic tongues *\*santo* became *santo* by assimilation, parallel with *contare* and *contar* from *computare*.

According to Millardet<sup>1</sup>, 'la plupart des hispanistes' hold that *kt* developed into *yt*, from which Sp. *ch* was formed. This theory might perhaps be made to harmonize with some Romanic dialects, but it will not do as a general principle in Spanish. In the first place, even if it were true for *ocho* and *pechos*, it would not be the whole truth. Leaving aside words like *santo* and *yerto*, where *k* was dropped between consonants, we find Sp. *collaço* = Pt. *colaço* < *collacteu*: here *k* evidently did not make *y*, whatever may have happened in Sp. *fecho* = Pt. *feito* < *factu*.

Secondly, it is not clear how Sp. *ocho* could develop from *\*oyto*. Two eminent supporters of the *yt*-theory, Zauner<sup>2</sup> and Menéndez Pidal<sup>3</sup>, tell us that Sp. *we* was derived from *oy* in such cases as *agüero* = Pt. *agoiro*, *Duero* = Pt. *Doiro*. This development, presumably to be explained as *we* < *oé* < *óe* < *oy*, in accord with Sp. *fué* = Pt. *foi* < *foe* < *fuit*, would seem to require Sp. *\*ueto* or *\*uecho* from *\*oyto*. It cannot be assumed that the originally open *o* of *octo*, beside close *o* < *u* in *auguriu* (and *fuit*), might have made a difference; for the Pt. *o* is close in such words<sup>4</sup>, and Sp. *ocho*, with *o* < *ö* contrary to *huésped* < *hospite*, shows that this language too developed close *o* before a palatal. Neither can we reasonably suppose that *\*oyto* made *ocho* before the *oy* of Sp. *\*agoyro* underwent change, for Sp. *vergüena* and *cigüena* have *we* < *oy*. If the *y* of Sp. *\*oyto* had been expansive enough to palatalize *t* and be absorbed therein, the *y* of *\*vergoyña* would have been absorbed even more readily by *ñ*, since *ñ* and *y* have nearly the same tongue-positions. Therefore *octo* did not develop *y* in Spanish.

Finally, it is plain that 'la plupart des hispanistes' overlooked Sp. *mitad* < *meytad* < *\*mey(e)tate*, in constructing or adopting the *yt*-theory. In this word the *y* was in contact with *t* early enough to hinder the formation of *d*: contemporary forms were *medietates* and *uetata*, *\*meytates* and *\*vetata*, *meytades* and *vedada*. We cannot assume *\*oyto* and *\*peytos* as having *yt* later than the formation of *yt* in

<sup>1</sup> *Romania*, xli, 249.

<sup>3</sup> *Esp.*, 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Altsp.*, 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Prt.*, 79.

\**meytates*, for the *yt* of *meytad* existed until after the Sp. development of *ch*; \**oyto* and \**peytos* contemporary with early *meytades* (or \**meytates*) would require later \**mechad* parallel with *ocho* and *pechos*. And we cannot assume *ch* < *yt* before \**meyetate* lost the second vowel, for *uictu* makes *vito*. Supposing \**meyetates* to have been contemporary with \**peytos* and \**vityto*, the next step \**meytates* would require an altered form of \**peytos*, such as \**pe(y)kos* or *petšos*. At the same time \**vityto* must have lost *y*, as *vito* is not parallel with the derivative of \**peytos*. Thus we should have *vito* contemporary with \**meytates*, for in the latter word *y* and *t* must have been in contact a considerable time before *meytades* was developed: and \**meytates* > *meytades* would have required *vito* > \**vido*. That is, \**meytates* excludes both earlier \**peytos*, which would require \**vityto* > \**vido*, and contemporary or later \**peytos*, which would require \**mechad*. Notwithstanding Pt. *peito* and *oito*, we must give up Sp. \**oyto* and \**peytos*; the common development stops short of this point. The *yt*-theory may be sound with regard to *vito*, but it cannot be true for *pechos* and *ocho*.

In the Hispanic derivatives of *collacteu*, *ty* became *tsy* or *tš<sup>1</sup>* very early, and the fricative (presumably  $\chi$ ) representing *k* was eliminated so soon that it did not affect the vowel *a*. The elimination of the fricative was analogous to Sp. *s*—*p* for *s*—*sp* in *escupo* < *exconspuo*, *ts* for *sts* in *mecer* < *miscere*, *tš* for *stš* in *macho* (= Pt. *macho*<sup>2</sup>) < *masculu*, Catalan *aquets*<sup>3</sup> for *aquests* < \**accu<sup>4</sup> istos*, and the Fr. and Pv. developments mentioned above.

In the Hispanic derivatives of *factu*, *kt* became  $\chi t$ , whence  $\xi t$  by partial assimilation. From this point Spanish and Portuguese entered upon different paths. In the west  $\xi t$  became *yt*, in accordance with the Catalan and French developments. In Castilian,  $\xi t$  produced  $\xi \kappa$  by further assimilation, and afterwards the  $\kappa$  became  $\kappa \xi$  and *tš*; compare It. *tš* <  $\kappa$  in *cinque*, Sp. *tš* < ( $\lambda$ ) $\kappa$  < *lt* in *mucho*. The sound-group  $\xi \kappa \xi$  (or later *štš*) lost its first element in the same way as the derivatives of *kty* and *skl*.

The sound  $\xi$  has nearly the same tongue-position as *y*, and therefore affected the preceding vowel. A change similar to that of Hispanic \**fuχto* > \**feχto* is found in early English *niht* = German *nacht*, with *i* (for *e* < *æ*) due to  $\xi$  <  $\chi$ <sup>5</sup>. Likewise the open vowels of \**oχto* and \**peχtos* became close, in accord with Sp. *moyo* < *mōdju*, *meyo* < *mēdju*;

<sup>1</sup> For Hispanic  $\zeta$  = *ts* < *tš*, see *Modern Philology*, VIII, 597.

<sup>2</sup> Northern Pt. *ch* is still sounded *tš*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ctl.*, 110.

<sup>4</sup> That is, *eccu* modified by *hac*.

<sup>5</sup> *Eng.*, 174.



but close *e* remained in \**estreξto* < *strictu*, as in *dedo* < \**deyeto* < *digitu*. In *vito* < *uictu* the ξ (or its derivative *y*) was absorbed by the very similar sound *i* before it had time to palatalize the Sp. *t*. Here, as in the earlier treatment of *kty*, Spanish and Portuguese agreed with regard to the consonants. They agreed in the treatment of all vowels followed by *kt*, and we may therefore assume that the Pt. vowel-changes were due to ξ, not to the later *y* which would have had the same effect.

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## VICTOR HUGO'S USE OF CHAMBERLAYNE'S 'L'ÉTAT PRÉSENT DE L'ANGLETERRE' IN 'L'HOMME QUI RIT.'

WE have seen what use Victor Hugo made of Beeverell's *Délices de la Grande Bretagne* in creating the setting of *L'Homme qui rit*<sup>1</sup>; another of his 'livres de chevet' was a French translation of Chamberlayne's *Present State of England*, published in Amsterdam in 1688 under the title of *L'État Présent de l'Angleterre*. Certain facts made use of by Victor Hugo, we find both in the *Délices* and in the *État Présent de l'Angleterre*, but for the most part, the matter of these two books differs essentially. The *Délices* aims at giving a picture of England, to a large extent physical and geographical; the *État Présent* barely touches on the outward appearance of England, but deals with it rather from the historical, civil, social and legal side. Hence we find that whereas Victor Hugo borrowed from the *Délices* colour for his pictures of physical, traditional, legendary England, he borrows from Chamberlayne certain facts relating to certain people who played a part in the civil or social life of their day, some information with regard to the army, many details which helped him to his conception of the English nobility and of court life under Charles II, James II and Queen Anne; on Chamberlayne, too, he seems to depend largely for his knowledge of English law.

None but Victor Hugo could have seen the possibilities of Chamberlayne's book as a source of information; none other could have had such a power of using disjointed facts, arid in nature, of weaving them into the whole plan of his work. See what use he makes of individual people mentioned by Chamberlayne. Ursus, we are told, had written comedies, as he had sold drugs. 'Il avait, entre autres œuvres, composé une bergerade héroïque en l'honneur du chevalier Hugh Middleton qui, en 1608, apporta à Londres une rivière. Cette rivière était tranquille dans le comté de Hartford, à soixante milles de Londres; le chevalier Middleton...se mit à remuer la terre, la creusant ici, l'élevant là, parfois

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Language Review*, vol. VIII, pp. 173 ff.

vingt pieds haut, parfois trente pieds profond, fit des aqueducs de bois en l'air, et ça et là huit cents ponts, de pierre, de brique, de madriers, et un beau matin, la rivière entra dans Londres.' This is the matter on which the poetic imagination of Ursus works, and creates 'une belle bucolique entre le fleuve Tamis et la rivière Serpentine.' Chamberlayne is not responsible alone for Victor Hugo's choosing to make Sir Hugh Middleton's exploit the subject of Ursus' pastoral; Sir Hugh's enterprise made a great impression on seventeenth century writers. Chamberlayne says (we quote from the French edition of 1688, used by Hugo): '...une nouvelle Rivière que le Chevalier Hugh Middleton, qui meritoit pour cela une Statue de Bronze, fit venir à ses propres depens, et par une adresse ingenieuse, d'Amwell et de Chadwell, qui sont deux sources d'eau près de Ware dans la Province de Hartford d'où elle fait en serpentant un cours de 60 milles auparavant que de venir à Londres' (II, p. 159). In the *Nouvelles Observations sur l'Angleterre* by l'abbé Coyer published in 1769—a book which Victor Hugo knew and quotes in *L'Homme qui rit*—we find another detail not given by Chamberlayne: 'Un patriote, Sir Hugh Middleton, y amena par son art, et à ses frais d'une distance de vingt lieues, une rivière qui, à son arrivée, se partage en huit-cents aqueducs.' Mention is made of Sir Hugh also in the fourth volume of Beeverell's *Délices*. It seems to be the phrase 'à ses frais' that suggested to Hugo the curious comparison of the stream to the young love of an old man, who must be bought with a price.

Again in Chamberlayne's book (I, p. 179), among a number of court officials, mention is made of 'Guillaume Sampson Coq, un ancien Officier qui chante toute la nuit comme un Coq, et declare par son Chant quelle heure il est.' His wages are given as '9. l. st. 2. chel. 6. sols.' In the English edition of 1687, William Sampson is printed in italics, and followed by a comma, while 'Cock' is added in ordinary print, to describe his office. Hugo uses this piece of information to give an air of truth to his theories with regard to the comprachicos. He tells us how, in the time of Charles II. a man was operated on in such a way as made it possible for him to crow like a cock. Thus does he insinuate that mutilation for one reason or another was a thing of ordinary occurrence at that time. However, the operation disgusted the Duchess of Portsmouth, and a non-mutilated man was appointed to the post. And so Hugo makes up his patchwork of fact and fiction; he introduces in natural fashion his quotation from Chamberlayne, and adds in a footnote, 'Voir le docteur Chamberlayne, "État Présent de l'Angleterre 1688, 1<sup>re</sup> partie, chap. xiii, p. 179."' 'On choisissait,'

he writes, 'd'ordinaire pour cet emploi honorable un ancien officier. Sous Jacques II, ce fonctionnaire se nommait William Sampson Coq, et recevait annuellement pour son chant neuf livres deux schellings six sous.' It is characteristic of Hugo to write 'William' instead of Guillaume; he delights in using the few English words which he treasured in his vocabulary.

*L'Homme qui rit* furnishes us with yet another example of the use Hugo makes of a historical personage in connection with a fictitious character, so as to give a semblance of historical reality to that character. In the last paragraph of the chapter in which Hugo describes Josiane, he says, 'Elle possédait de grands biens, dont plusieurs venaient des dons de Madame sans queue au duc d'York. *Madame sans queue*, cela veut dire Madame tout court. On appelait ainsi Henriette d'Angleterre, duchesse d'Orléans, la première femme de France après la reine.' The whole of this paragraph seems to have been an afterthought, as it was added to the original manuscript. Chamberlayne in speaking of Henriette de France says, 'Cette princesse, on l'appelloit Madame sans Queuë comme étant la première Dame de France.' The name 'Madame sans queue' pleased Hugo, who straightway profited by it, in giving an 'état civil' to Josiane.

In the brouillon of *L'Homme qui rit*, there are many historical notes on Queen Anne, all jumbled together, and in many cases illegible; for Victor Hugo made note of what might be of service to him, on whatever lay nearest to his hand—it might be an old visiting card, the back of an envelope, or the unused space of a telegram! From the brouillon we learn that 'Anne était lente et taciturne.' 'Elle était bornée et obstinée.' Hugo works out a comparison between Anne and Elizabeth which was suggested to him by Beeverell's *Délices* (vol. v, pp. 931, 959—961); he borrows but one detail from Chamberlayne, but it, in itself, is most interesting and instructive. Hugo wishes to show us Anne, jealous of Josiane, jealous for many reasons, and not least because Anne was a simple lady, daughter of Anne Hyde. To accentuate this lack of royalty in Anne, and to prepare us for it, Hugo says early in his chapter on Anne's life: 'Elle était humiliée de n'avoir pour parrain que Gilbert, archevêque de Cantorbéry... Un simple primat est un parrain médiocre.' Chamberlayne says in his summary of Anne's life: 'Son parrain étoit Monseigneur Gilbert, Archevêque de Cantorbery' (I, p. 142). The humiliation in having such a godfather, instead of the pope of Rome, exists only in the mind of Hugo.

'Le vrai titre de ce livre serait l'aristocratie,' says Victor Hugo

in the preface of *L'Homme qui rit*. The court is the stage on which the nobility plays its part; consequently Victor Hugo lets slip no opportunity of describing, not so much court life, as court functions, court dress, court etiquette, court officials, noblemen who are to be met at court; in such description, in putting before us odd ceremonies, what might almost be called the technicalities of court life, Victor Hugo has constant recourse to Chamberlayne.

At the beginning of the first book, Hugo describes Ursus' caravan. Inside there are two inscriptions: 'Seules choses qu'il importe de savoir,' and 'Satisfactions qui doivent suffire à ceux qui n'ont rien.' The 'satisfactions,' as we have seen, have been suggested almost entirely by the descriptions of the mansions of the English nobility to be found in Beeverell's *Délices*. The 'Seules choses qu'il importe de savoir' are of a different nature. They concern not the property of the nobility, but their rights, their rights to bear certain titles, to wear certain jewels, their privileges, their immunity from punishment. These 'seules choses' have been copied almost word for word from Chamberlayne, I, pp. 219, 289—315. Here and there, there is some slight alteration, as, for instance, Hugo writes, 'La baronie entière se compose de treize fiefs nobles et un quart.' Chamberlayne says 'et un tiers.' But the variations from the text of Chamberlayne are few and unimportant. One paragraph which was added to the original manuscript, 'Quand il plaît à un lord, il lève un régiment et le donne au roi; ainsi font leurs grâces le duc d'Athol, le duc de Hamilton, et le duc de Northumberland,' is to be found in l'abbé Coyer's *Nouvelles Observations sur l'Angleterre*, 1779, p. 46.

Hugo had an intimate knowledge of Chamberlayne's book. Yet when he speaks of court officials, he does not seem to be clear as to what their functions are. This may be due to his habit of reading things superficially, and of giving free play to his imagination with regard to what he read, before he had thoroughly mastered its meaning; it may on the other hand mean that Hugo reserved for himself the right to treat facts in an arbitrary manner. Thus he tells us that Lord David was a 'gentilhomme du lit. Un gentilhomme du lit couche toutes les nuits près du roi sur un lit qu'on dresse. On est douze gentilshommes et on se relaie' (Chamberlayne says they were nine, not twelve). 'Lord David, dans ce poste, fut le chef de l'avenier du roi, celui qui donne l'avoine aux chevaux et qui a deux cent soixante livres de gages.' Chamberlayne tells us on the contrary that the post of 'chef de l'avenier du roi' was held under the Grand Ecuyer, and had consequently no

connection with that of the gentleman of the bedchamber. In the passage that follows, Hugo changes the figures at will: 'Cinq cochers,' he says, 'les cinq postillons du roi, les cinq palefreniers du roi.' Chamberlayne allows twenty-one 'palefreniers,' but only four coachmen and no postillions! (Chamberlayne, I, p. 192).

David at one moment had almost been appointed 'groom of the stole,' but the king finally decided not to appoint him to this lofty position because 'il faut pour cela être prince ou pair' (Chamberlayne, I, p. 180). We wonder whether Victor Hugo remembered when he thus disqualified David, that the 'groom of the stole' is simply the first of the gentlemen of the bedchamber? Or was there in reality an impassable gulf between the first gentleman of the bedchamber, and his fellows?

Ursus in one of his long harangues on the aristocracy says to Gwynplaine, 'Sais-tu que le lord haut chambellan, qui est un office héréditaire dans la famille des ducs d'Ancaster, habille le roi le jour du couronnement?' This is hard to reconcile with Chamberlayne, p. 170, where we read: 'Les Comtes d'Oxford ont long-temps possédé cette dignité depuis le temps du Roy Henry I, par une espèce de succession hereditaire; mais aux derniers Couronnements, ces ceremonies ont esté faites par les Comtes de Lindsey, qui pretendent que cette dignité leur est deüe par droit de succession hereditaire, comme estant descendus d'une fille et heritiere universelle.'

In Beeverell's *Délices*, too, we find the name of Robert Bertie, Marquis of Lindsey, Lord Great Chamberlain of England.

The description of the ceremony which took place when Gwynplaine is restored to his rightful place as Lord Fermain Clancharlie, is exceedingly curious. The costumes and the speeches of the attendants alike astonish us. We wonder how much of these is the creation of Hugo's imagination. The problem solves itself as we read the following in Chamberlayne (II, pp. 235—240): 'Du College des Herauts.' 'Dans cette Societé, il y a premièrement trois que l'on appelle, Reges Armorum Anglorum, Roi d'Armes; six Herauts d'Armes, & quatre poursuivants d'Armes.

'Entre les Rois d'Armes, le premier et principal a le Nom de Garter, institué par le Roi Henri V. Son Office est de servir les Chevaliers de la Jarretiére dans leurs Cérémonies, de regler les solemnitez des Funerailles des Grands Seigneurs, de porter la nouvelle & d'avertir ceux qui sont nouvellement élevez à cet honneur, de leur faire sçavoir le temps qu'ils seront installez à Windsor; d'avoir soin de faire mettre leurs armes sur leurs sieges....

‘Le second Roi d’Armes porte le nom de Clarencieux, ainsi appelé du Duc de Clarence, à qui il appartenait premièrement....Son Office est d’ordonner et de disposer les Pompes funebres de la petite Noblesse, comme des Baronets, Chevaliers, Ecuyers, et Gentils-hommes du côté du Midy de la Rivière de Trente, d’où vient qu’on l’appelle quelquefois Surroy ou Southroy.

‘Le 3. Roi d’Armes s’appelle Norroy ou Northroy dont l’Office est le même que le précédent dans le Nord de la Rivière de Trente....

‘Les six Herauts, qui appartenont autrefois à des Ducs, ont été quelquefois appelez, Ducs d’Armes, aujourd’huy on les appelle et on les range ainsi. 1. Windsor, 2. Richemond, 3. Chester, 4. Somerset, 5. York, 6. Lancastre....

‘Anciennement il y avoit plusieurs de ces Herauts en Angleterre, et de ceux aussi qu’on appelle poursuivants d’Armes, mais ils sont reduits aujourd’huy à quatre seulement, qui se nomment, 1. Croix Rouge, 2. Rouge Dragon, 3. Portecullis, 4. Manteau Bleu, à cause des marques qu’ils portoient sur eux....

‘Pour la Création et pour le Couronnement du Roi d’Armes Garter, il y a premièrement une Epée et un Liv., sur lequel on prête le serment solennel; ensuite une Couronne Dorée, un Collier d’SS., un Gobelet de Vin, lequel après la Cérémonie appartient au Roi d’Armes nouvellement créé, une Cotte d’Armes de Velours d’une riche broderie....

‘Un Heraut d’Armes est aussi créé avec la même Cérémonie, hormis la Couronne et avec cette différence qu’il faut que sa Cotte d’Armes soit de Satin en broderie d’or....Ils font un Serment solennel d’être fideles au Roi, Officieux à la Noblesse; de garder le Secret des Chevaliers, Ecuyers, Dames, & Demoiselles; d’assister les pauvres Gentils-hommes, & Demoiselles, les Veuves & les Vierges....’

The quotation is long, but serves to show how Hugo found his matter for the whole scene, which is by no means the creation of his imagination. The heralds, their names, picturesque in themselves, their costumes, differing only in details, their offices, and their oaths; all this does Chamberlayne supply, all this does Hugo accept, and of it makes the very groundwork of his scene. There is no invention on his part, but only clever adaptation and arrangement.

As Victor Hugo drew on Beeverell’s *Délices* for descriptions of the homes of the English nobility, so does he depend on Chamberlayne for information concerning the nobles themselves, their number, their rights and privileges, their power and duties in the House of Lords.

English peers, he tells us, may not, except in special cases bear foreign titles. Chamberlayne says (I, p. 291), 'Les Loix d'Angleterre defendent à tous les Sujets du Royaume de recevoir aucun Titre héréditaire d'honneur ou de dignité, ou des Presents d'aucun Prince Etranger....' Henry Arundel, baron Arundel de Wardour, 'comte du Saint-Empire,' is one of the exceptions mentioned. Chamberlayne speaks of him as 'comte de l'Empire.' How characteristic of Hugo to add 'Saint'! What visions of past glories the word evokes!

But Hugo's great attempt to give us an idea of the inner meaning of the English aristocracy is to be found in the chapter entitled 'Gwynplaine est dans le juste, Ursus est dans le vrai.' Elsewhere he may describe curious ceremonies and the outward trappings of the nobility; but here, through his interpreter Ursus, with scarcely veiled irony, Victor Hugo makes clear his condemnation of what he considers to be the birthright of the aristocracy.

'Tous les titres des lords indiquent une souveraineté sur une terre, le comte Rivers excepté, qui a pour titre son nom de famille,' writes Hugo. The same exception is made by Chamberlayne (I, p. 211). From the following page of Chamberlayne, Hugo gleaned the fact that the oldest English viscount was Robert Brent, who was granted his title by Henry V; and on the following page again, we read that the Bishop of Man is subject to the 'comte de Derby.' Hugo makes this particular fact his basis for generalisation, 'Le clergé lui-même relève des lords. L'évêque de Man est le sujet du comte de Derby.'

Victor Hugo was keenly interested in figures and statistics of all kinds. In different places, and in quite different connections he discusses the numbers of the nobles, the numbers of lords under different kings, the proportion of knights and commons in the House of Commons. In this connection there are several interesting pages in the brouillon-manuscript of *L'Homme qui rit*. On page 167 there are various notes, roughly jotted down, and crossed out, for the most part, on the English peerage. On the following page, we have the heading 'Pairie' and this note, 'Nom des nobles éteints—6.' Then on the next page (170) there are many rough jottings, as, for instance, 'Jacques II,' 'noms selon la vieille orthographe française normande très usitée à la chambre des lords en ce temps là,' 'Chambre des Pairs (+ 2 archevêques et 24 évêques).' There follows a list of the nobles, three marquises, sixty-six counts and countesses, nine viscounts, and sixty-nine barons and baronesses. In the margin Victor Hugo adds up the different numbers, so we find this little sum:



15	and beside it: Ann	29
<b>3</b>		<b>5</b>
66		77
9		9
69		<u>61</u>
162		181
26 ev.		<u>26</u>
188 - 6		207

We understand that he subtracts the six nobles whose families had died out, from the total, under James.

These numbers and details have evidently been taken from Chamberlayne (I, p. 304). In Ursus' speech, we see the life Hugo gives to these dead facts, 'Et même entre eux, ils ont des nuances, ces hauts seigneurs. ...Que c'est beau pour un peuple d'avoir vingt-cinq ducs, cinq marquis, soixante-seize comtes, neuf vicomtes et soixante et un barons, qui font cent soixante-seize pairs, qui les uns sont grâce et les autres seigneurie.' We do not understand why Hugo has slightly altered the figures from those he noted down correctly in the brouillon, but it is easy to see why he introduces these figures when we hear Ursus' ironical comment, 'Après cela, quand il y aurait quelques haillons par-ci par-là ! Tout ne peut pas être en or. Haillons, soit; est-ce que ne voilà pas de la pourpre ? L'un achète l'autre.' In 'Le Capitole et son voisinage' Hugo gives the number of lords under James II as one hundred and eighty-eight (which corresponds to the total in the brouillon), and compares it with the number under Anne—207. The number under Anne he deduced from Beeverell's *Délices* (vol. v, p. 872). Chamberlayne (I, p. 312) supplied him with the number of lords under Elizabeth. From the small peerage under Elizabeth, and the growing numbers of lords under James II and Anne, Hugo deduces a general proposition. 'Délayer l'aristocratie est une politique....La seigneurie moins nombreuse est plus intense.'

A little earlier in the same chapter, in discussing the powers of the aristocracy, Victor Hugo gives us the numbers of commons and knights in the Lower House. We cannot see how Hugo has arranged his numbers—he quotes correctly the sixteen barons of the Cinq-Ports—elsewhere he says, 'Les barons des Cinq Ports étant huit,' whereas Chamberlayne says (II, p. 72), 'Les huit Cinq Ports envoient seize Barons,' but when we add up the figures given by Chamberlayne we get the total of three hundred and ninety commons. We wonder sometimes

whether Victor Hugo was not at times satisfied with remembering approximately figures which he had accurately noted, and partially forgotten.

But if Victor Hugo can draw philosophical-political conclusions from mere numbers, how fruitful must the consideration of the privileges of the nobility be! It seems to matter little what a noble is or says or does; he is a noble, that alone is sufficient to safeguard him against the punishment or the judgment that might be meted out to an ordinary mortal. Thus 'William Cavendish, duc de Devonshire, qui était très imbécile, avait tous les grades d'Oxford et ne savait pas l'orthographe.' In Chamberlayne (I, p. 295) we read: 'Tout Pair du Royaume qui a voix et séance au Parlement, sera sur sa Requête, par un Statut d'Edouard VI, jugé pour la première fois comme un Clerc convaincu, quand même il ne sçauroit pas lire.' If a noble commits a crime, he may not be hanged like a commoner (Chamberlayne, I, p. 55). In Ursus' tirade on a lord, he sums him up as 'celui qui a tout et est tout' and then explains in detail what he means by 'tout.' Much of this has been suggested by Chamberlayne. Chamberlayne makes mention of Lucius, the most ancient king of England (I, p. 32); of the 'ad consilium impendendum' of royal letters convoking the commons, as compared with the more modern 'ad consentiendum' (II, p. 68); of the Doomsday-book, as the register of the property of subjects, prepared by William the Conqueror (II, pp. 83—84), and kept by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (II, p. 84). 'Les grands sont grands,' writes Hugo, 'Un pair parlant de lui-même dit nos. Un pair est au pluriel. Le roi qualifie les pairs consanguineis nostri.' This too has been taken from Chamberlayne (I, p. 288). So near indeed are the peers to royalty, that one of them, Henry Ratecliff, Count of Surrey, has the right to remain covered in the presence of the king (I, p. 299).

Thus does Victor Hugo, by wise choice of detail, draw a sharp contrast between those who are all and have all, and those who, to keep the proper balance, are nothing and have nothing.

But in this magnificent and privileged world there are differences; there are various degrees of splendour, various ranks of dignity. These differences must be clearly brought out when England's aristocracy meet to deliberate on affairs of state. It is difficult to speak with authority on Hugo's sources of information with regard to the Houses of Parliament. In the brouillon, for instance, there are several notes (pp. 173—5) which seem to have been copied direct from Grosley's *Londres* (vol. IV, p. 344); but unless we consider the similarity of

the pieces as proof, we have no proof that Hugo knew Grosley's *Londres*—he might, on the other hand, have known a book which had stolen large pieces from Grosley, as literary honesty seemed to be very rare in those days. Other notes in the brouillon we find to correspond to pieces in Latour's book on London.

To return to Chamberlayne, however, there are certain details given by Hugo, of which Chamberlayne makes no mention—mostly details which refer to the decoration of the halls. But having made these reservations, we can say that here, as elsewhere, Hugo owes much to Chamberlayne. We read, for instance (II, p. 52), 'Le roi prend place au haut bout de la Chambre sur une Chaise Royale qui est sous un Daiz,' and again, 'A la main droite du roi contre la muraille, il y a un Banc où s'assient les deux Archevêques.' Victor Hugo says that on the left of the throne, there were 'pliants pour les ducs royaux.' Chamberlayne has, 'A la main gauche du Roi, il y a un Siège pour le Duc d'York'; Hugo speaks of 'un crieur de la Verge noire' and Chamberlayne of 'un crieur qui se tient dehors.' But for those slight alterations, and the omissions mentioned above, the whole description of the nobility, arranged round the throne, is to be found in Chamberlayne.

In one detail, Chamberlayne says exactly the contrary to what Hugo states, 'Lorsque le Roi est en Parlement avec sa Couronne sur la Tête, les Seigneurs sont decouverts' (II, p. 54). Hugo says, 'Dans les cérémonies royales, les pairs temporels avaient la couronne en tête, et les pairs spirituels la mître.' Yet there can be no doubt but that Chamberlayne is Hugo's authority; he follows Chamberlayne's order of precedency in the case of the archbishops, and accepts his chronological order of peers (II, p. 53) and the distinction he makes between bishops and the archbishop of Canterbury. Chamberlayne says (I, p. 244): 'Le Roy dans les Lettres qu'il luy écrit luy donne la qualité de Dei gratiâ archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, et luy-même en écrivant, il met Divinâ Providentiâ, au lieu que les autres Evêques écrivent Divinâ Permissione.' Victor Hugo condenses and says: 'il est, lui, évêque par la divine providence, tandis que les autres ne le sont que par la divine permission.'

In the discussion in the House of Lords as to whether the provision for Anne's husband should be increased or not, the lords, Hugo tells us, rise and say, 'Content ou non-content,' Chamberlayne says, 'Chacun répondant à part "Content" ou "non"' (II, p. 65). This form of answer, however, is quoted in many books on seventeenth and eighteenth century England.

But Chamberlayne proved useful to Victor Hugo in yet another direction, in providing him with invaluable information on English punishments, laws, and law-court officials. Hugo used such information entirely at his own discretion, with little respect for legal or historical accuracy. Thus he wishes to draw a distinct line of difference between the Stuarts and William and Mary with regard to the comprachicos. His point is to show that Gwynplaine was mutilated with the king's knowledge if not with his consent; and that such things could no longer happen when the Stuarts were deposed. And so he must manufacture laws against the comprachicos, approved by William and Mary. Thus we have in the last paragraph of the book devoted to the comprachicos, a list of laws brought in against them. All those laws are given almost word for word by Chamberlayne. Thus we have (I, p. 57), 'Le Parjure ou faux Temoïn avec Serment, est puni du Pillory appellé en Latin Collistrigium, et on le marque au front avec un fer chaud d'un P, ses Biens sont confisqués et les Arbres de ses bois déracinés,' and again (I, p. 56), 'le Criminel doit être marqué à la main gauche avec un fer chaud imprimant un I,' and yet again, 'On punit les Femmes quérelleuses en les faisant asseoir dans un trébuchet appellé par les Anglois Cucking Stool, peut-être du mot François Coquine et de l'Allemand Stul qui signifie Chaise de Putain. On les asseoit dans cette Chaise suspendue sur quelque Rivière ou Etang profond, et on laisse tomber la Chaise dans l'eau, où l'on plonge la Femme par trois fois pour rafraîchir sa Colère.' But the curious point is, that those laws have no bearing whatsoever on the comprachicos, that Chamberlayne (whom Victor Hugo quotes in the last line to give an air of greater verity to the whole) quotes those laws in as early an edition of his work as that of 1671, and that they consequently could not have been measures taken in the time of William and Mary. Even if Hugo did not realise that an earlier edition of *L'État Présent de l'Angleterre* existed, he knew that the date of the translation which he possessed was 1688, and William and Mary began to reign in 1689. It is clear that Hugo here changed the facts, not accidentally, but by design, to suit his case. One other point strikes us in this connection. Hugo insists on the longevity of English law, 'Cette punition (that of the cucking-stool) existe encore dans la législation d'Angleterre,' and quotes Chamberlayne as if in support of his statement, yet surely it is not permissible to call the seventeenth century 'to-day'!

Ursus quotes the laws of this chapter of Chamberlayne (I, pp. 58, 59) when he admonishes Gwynplaine to be careful in speaking of the

aristocracy. The punishment meted out to the drunkard, to him who strikes a person in Westminster Hall, or in the palace of the king, to him who is convicted of heresy—all this Hugo has copied from Chamberlayne, 'On punit les Yvrognes, les Vagabonds etc., en leur mettant les pieds aux Ceps pour quelques heures' (I, p. 59); 'Celuy qui frappe quelqu'un à la Cour du Roy...a la main droite coupée publiquement... Celuy qui frappe une personne dans la Salle de Westminster...est condamné à une prison perpétuelle et ses Biens confisqués...' (I, p. 57); 'Un Homme ou une Femme convaincus d'Hérésie...étoient livrés au bras Seculier et bruslés tous vifs.' Chamberlayne adds, of this last punishment, 'Ce supplice a été revoqué depuis.' It would, however, ill suit Hugo's purpose to make mention of increased leniency, so he omits Chamberlayne's last phrase.

Hugo has drawn on Chamberlayne (I, p. 55) for his description of the torture chamber. 'Au cas qu'un Criminel de petite Trahison, ou de Félonnie, refuse de répondre, ou d'être jugé par ses véritables Juges, on punit aussi-tôt son Silence et son Opiniâtreté du supplice que nous appellons *Peine forte et dure*, c'est à dire, qu'on l'envoie en la Prison d'où il a été tiré, et là on le couche sur dos dans une basse Fosse, tout nud, les Parties honteuses étant seulement couvertes, les bras et les jambes attachées avec des Cordes aux quatre coins de la Chambre, on met ensuite sur son Corps autant de fer de pierre qu'il en peut porter et davantage. Le lendemain on luy donne trois morceaux de pain d'Orge sans boisson, le troisième jour on luy donne un peu d'eau telle qu'elle se trouve près de la Prison sans Pain. Et c'est là toute la nourriture qu'on luy donne tous les jours jusqu'à ce qu'il meure.' The whole of the chapter called 'Gémissement' is based on this extract from Chamberlayne; all Hugo's dramatic power and feeling for a dramatic situation have gone to make the scene more vivid. Hugo himself saw everything with absolute precision; so much so, that in the manuscript (p. 368) opposite the words 'La cave était vaste' we find a drawing of the prison—it looks like a deep round well, with the criminal stretched out in the centre, a stairs at one point and various words to show what the objects represent, as 'dalle,' 'fauteuil de bois,' etc. It is curious to note the points in Chamberlayne's account of the punishment, to which Hugo gave special attention.

Hugo has borrowed many names of officials from Chamberlayne, as Baker, clerk of the crown (II, p. 54), Brown, clerk of Parliament (II, p. 54)—in another part he gives the names of actual members of Parliament, Harley and Mungo Graham, but those he found in Beeverell's *Délices*;

but the officer who seems to have made the greatest impression on Hugo, and struck his imagination most deeply is the 'huissier de la verge noire sous Jaques II, le Chevalier Duppa' (I, p. 184, Chamberlayne). Again and again we find references to this court official, so that we incline to think it must have been something in the 'black wand' that appealed to Hugo. Chamberlayne describes him thus (I, p. 184): 'En la chambre de Présence du Roy il y a toûjours quatre Gentilshommes Servants ordinaires, dont le premier a cet honorable Office de la Verge Noire, et lorsque le Parlement est assemblé, il se tient toûjours à la porte ou dans la Chambre des seigneurs. Il est aussi Huissier de l'Ordre de la Jarretiére, il a un siège hors de la barre ou balustrade dans la Chambre haute du Parlement, et lorsque le Roy commande à la Chambre des Communes de le venir trouver dans la Chambre des Pairs il leur envoie l'Huissier de la Verge noire, ainsi appelé à cause d'une Verge noire qu'il porte en sa main. Les pairs mettent sous sa garde ceux qu'ils jugent coupables de quelque faute qui le merite. C'est luy aussi qui prepare toutes les choses nécessaires dans la chambre haute auparavant que le Parlement s'assemble, et qui introduit les Seigneurs dans la même Chambre.' In this, we recognise to the full Hugo's 'huissier,' and realise that little creative work was done by Hugo's imagination.

The Wapentake, too, plays an important part in *L'Homme qui rit*. Here the name and the office both must have struck Hugo, but he does not introduce us to the Wapentake, who existed historically, and, as if to leave for himself a loophole of escape, he says, 'Nous croyons même que le mot wapentake a changé de sens. Il signifiait une magistrature, maintenant il signifie une division territoriale; il spécifiait le centenier, il spécifie le canton.'

Our first introduction to the Wapentake is dramatic. 'Gwynplaine?' 'Quoi?' 'Regarde,' 'Où?' 'Dans la place,' 'Et puis?' 'Vois-tu ce passant?' 'Cet homme en noir?' 'Oui.' So the dialogue goes on, and we realise that the man in black with the mace is terrible indeed and possesses terrible powers. Chamberlayne gives us a rather different and less dramatic meaning to the word Wapentake. 'Chaque Comté étant subdivisée en centaines, ainsi appelées au commencement, parce qu'elles contenoient cent Familles, ou cent hommes obligés de fournir des armes, ou en Wapentakes à cause d'un Weapon ou arme de fer qu'ils touchoient quand ils pretoient le Serment de fidélité, comme cela se fait encore en Suède...chacune de ces Wapentakes ou centaines a pour l'Ordinaire un Baillif, qui est une Charge fort ancienne, mais maintenant fort peu

considérable' (Chamberlayne, II, p. 105). We can see what appealed to Hugo, the arm, the name Wapentake, the touching of the iron, and how he made a new creation out of the elements provided by Chamberlayne.

Chamberlayne describes (II, pp. 108—9), as does Victor Hugo, the sheriff of a province (Coyer gives more details in his *Nouvelles Observations sur l'Angleterre*); he differs from Hugo in his explanation of a 'justicier-quorum' (Chamberlayne, II, p. 102), but attaches the same meaning to 'sous-shériff'.

Chamberlayne in speaking of the Armada (II, p. 120) and again of the army (II, p. 174) explains what 'train-bands' are. Hugo uses this as matter for one of the bills, brought before the House of Lords when Gwynplaine sat among the peers.

For no apparent reason, Hugo mentions the laws of 'Rhodes et d'Oléron' when discoursing on English law; the paragraph is one of those added to the original manuscript. Something in this English interference in a French island must have struck Hugo as he read of these laws in Chamberlayne (II, p. 102), or it may have been that the name—'Rhodes et Oléron'—pleased him by its sonority. Neither can we understand why Hugo speaks of the three P's 'sine Prece, sine Pretio, sine Poculo,' unless again it be that it pleased his fancy, as it stood in Chamberlayne (I, p. 49).

These are the facts which Hugo borrowed from Chamberlayne's *État Présent de l'Angleterre*. Once or twice, Hugo quotes Chamberlayne as his authority, as he does in the case of Beeverell; but little do we realise in reading *The Laughing Man* how many the footnotes would be if Hugo acknowledged his whole debt! It is interesting to note how little, in one sense, Hugo's matter meant to him, and how great was his power of utilising whatever matter came into his hands. Think of the work, rather of the hard labour, that Flaubert would have gone through had he undertaken the reconstruction of early eighteenth century England! What scruples would he not have had! What documents would he not have examined! What accuracy in all his facts! What relevancy in all his descriptions, and fidelity in every detail! But the literary conscientiousness which was the principle behind all that Flaubert wrote and which in the end made his literary work real torture to him, was unknown to Hugo. He took what he found, as he found it; he did not examine the accuracy of its form; he took no trouble to reproduce it in the form in which it came to him. He cared not so much for accuracy as for an outward appearance of accuracy, not so much for reality as for its outward appearance; he did

not search far and wide that he might reconstruct England as it was; but he took what matter lay at his hand, and with that matter he reconstructed England from the facts which his imagination had to work upon; and this reconstruction of England according to the curious laws of his imagination left him free to expound his democratic ideas, his political theories, and the principles of his social philosophy.

And so perhaps we understand why Victor Hugo borrowed so largely from two books as little known, as unscientific, as old-fashioned and out-of-date as the *Délices de la Grande Bretagne* of Beeverell and the *État Présent de l'Angleterre* of Chamberlayne.

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## NOTES ON LESSING'S 'BEYTRÄGE ZUR HISTORIE UND AUFNAHME DES THEATERS.'

LESSING'S first dramaturgic periodical is comparatively rare and has apparently not found its way to any of our English libraries. I have to thank the authorities of the University Library in Berlin for kindly placing their copy at my disposal for a few weeks.

It consists of four parts which form an octavo volume, measuring seven inches by a little over four, and containing 24 + 606 + 7 pages, 'Vorrede' and 'Register' being unpagged. The title-page of the first 'Stück' is 'Beyträge | zur | Historie und Aufnahme | des | Theaters. | [Vignette] | Erstes Stück. | Stuttgart, | bey Johann Benedict Metzler, 1750.' The contents are as follows:

Erstes Stück: Vorrede (22 unnumbered pages). i. Versuch eines Beweises, dass die Schauspielkunst eine freye Kunst sey, pp. 1—13. ii. Abhandlung von dem Leben, und den Werken des Marcus Accius Plautus, pp. 14—52. iii. Abhandlung von dem Nutzen und den Theilen des dramatischen Gedichts. Aus dem Französischen des Peter Corneille übersetzt, pp. 53—95. iv. Des Herrn von Voltaire Gedanken über die Trauer- und Lustspiele der Engländer, aus seinen Briefen über die Engländer übersetzt, pp. 96—109. v. Theatralische Neuigkeiten aus Paris, pp. 110—122. vi. Nachricht von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande des Theaters in Berlin, pp. 123—136.

Zweytes Stück: i. Die Gefangnen, ein Lustspiel. Aus dem Lateinischen des M. Accius Plautus übersetzt, pp. 139—210. ii. Die zweyte Abhandlung des Peter Corneille, von den Trauerspielen insbesondere, und von den Mitteln, sie nach der Wahrscheinlichkeit und Nothwendigkeit auszuführen. Aus dem Französischen übersetzt, pp. 211—265. iii. Untersuchung, ob man in Lustspielen die Charaktere übertreiben solle? pp. 266—272. iv. Nachricht von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande des Theaters in Dresden, pp. 273—282. v. Fortgesetzte Nachricht von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande des Theaters in

Berlin, pp. 283—286. vi. Theatralische Neuigkeiten aus Paris, pp. 287—293.

Drittes Stück: i. Clitia, ein Lustspiel in fünf Aufzügen. Aus dem Italienischen des Nicolaus Machiavell übersetzt, pp. 297—368. ii. Kritik über die Gefangnen des Plautus, pp. 369—435. iii. Nachricht von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande des Theaters in Paris, pp. 436—468. iv. Samuel Werenfels Rede zu Vertheidigung der Schauspiele. Aus dem Lateinischen ins Deutsche übersetzt, und mit einigen Anmerkungen begleitet von M. Immanuel Friedr. Gregorius, aus Camenz, pp. 469—476.

Viertes Stück: i. Die Schauspielkunst, an die Madame \*\*\* durch den Herrn Franciscus Riccoboni, den jüngern. Aus dem Französischen übersetzt, pp. 481—544. ii. Die dritte Abhandlung des Peter Corneille, von den drey Einheiten, der Handlung, der Zeit, und des Orts, pp. 545—572. iii. Beschluss der Kritik über die Gefangnen des Plautus, pp. 573—591. iv. Nachricht von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande des Theaters in Stutgard, pp. 592—595. v. Nachricht von einem in Freyberg aufgeführten Schulschauspiele, pp. 596—606. Followed by table of Contents and 'Register,' 7 pages (unpaged).

The only contemporary notices of the periodical mentioned by Goedeke are from the *Critische Nachrichten aus dem Reiche der Gelehrsamkeit*, 1750, No. 6, pp. 55 f.; No. 8, p. 72; No. 40, pp. 387 f<sup>1</sup>, but there were also notices in J. C. C. Oelrichs' *Berlinische Bibliothek*<sup>2</sup>, published by C. F. Voss. The *Beyträge* was edited anonymously, and there is no indication in the journal as to who were the writers responsible for the individual articles.

When, in 1754, Lessing replaced the defunct *Beyträge* with the *Theatralische Bibliothek*, he wrote of the former:

Von mir nehmlich schrieb sich nicht nur der gantze Plan jener periodischen Schrift her, so wie er in der Vorrede entworfen wird; sondern auch der grösste Theil der darinn enthaltenen Aufsätze ist aus meiner Feder geflossen. Ja ich kann sagen, dass die fernere Fortsetzung nur dadurch wegfiel, weil ich länger keinen Theil daran nehmen wollte. Zu diesem Entschluss brachten mich, Theils verschiedene allzukühne und bittere Beurtheilungen, welche einer von meinen Mitarbeitern einrückte; Theils einige kleine Fehler, die von Seiten seiner gemacht wurden, und die nothwendig dem Leser von den Verfassern überhaupt einen schlechten Begriff beybringen mussten.

<sup>1</sup> *Grundriss*, III<sup>3</sup>, p. 359.

<sup>2</sup> Band iv, St. i (1750), pp. 137—139: 'Daselbst [in Stuttgart] ist bey Joh. Bened. Metzler mit dem Anfang dieses Jahres eine periodische Schrift herausgekommen, welche folgenden Titul führet: *Beyträge zur Historie und Aufnahme des Theaters*. Erstes Stück. Wir haben gegenwärtig nicht nöthig, von dieser Schrift eine weitläufigte Nachricht zu geben, da solche schon bekannt genug ist, und mit vielem Beyfall aufgenommen worden. Die Abhandlungen sind ausgesucht. Der Inhalt ist dieser:...' And in the sixth 'Stück' (pp. 823 ff.) the remaining parts of the *Beyträge* are noticed.

And he instances, as an example, the statement about the Italian drama in the introduction to a translation of Macchiavelli's *Clitia*<sup>1</sup>.

This 'Mitarbeiter,' whose name Lessing does not mention, was Christlob Mylius<sup>2</sup>, who had died shortly before—March 7, 1754—in England. There is no doubt, that, whoever else may have made up the 'Gesellschaft,' Lessing and Mylius had the chief share in the *Beyträge*<sup>3</sup>; they were 'die Verfasser' who signed the 'Vorrede.'

With regard to the authorship of the individual items, the 'Abhandlung' on Plautus and the translation of *Die Gefangnen*<sup>4</sup> are by Lessing. This has never been questioned. The editorial notes to the 'Critik über die Gefangnen des Plautus' and the criticism of that 'Critik' in the third and fourth parts are obviously by the translator of the *Gefangnen*; and in a letter to his father<sup>5</sup>, Lessing claimed the authorship of the review of Gregorius's translation of Werenfels. On the other side, we may, on Lessing's own authority, attribute to Mylius the translation of Macchiavelli's *Clitia* and the 'Untersuchung, ob man in Lustspielen die Charaktere übertreiben solle<sup>6</sup>'; and the opening article, 'Versuch eines Beweises, etc.' was also doubtless by him.

As far as direct evidence goes, this, however, is the most that can be said with certainty. The present opinion with regard to Lessing's share in the periodical depends, in the first instance, on a categorical statement by Karl Lessing in the Preface to Part xxii of the first collected edition of Lessing's works (1794)<sup>7</sup>. 'Das meiste darin,' he says of the *Beyträge*, 'sind Uebersetzungen, Theils aus dem Französischen, Theils aus dem Italiänischen. Diese könnten aber, und wenn es auch

<sup>1</sup> *Schriften* (my references are throughout to the Lachmann-Muncker edition), vi, pp. 3 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. E. Consentius in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, LII (1906), pp. 545 ff., and E. Thyssen's dissertation, *Christlob Mylius, sein Leben und Wirken* (Teildruck), Marburg, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> 'Er sammelte,' said C. H. Schmid, *Chronologie des deutschen Theaters*, 1775, p. 152 (ed. P. Legband, Berlin, 1902, p. 97), 'in Gesellschaft von Mylius, die Beyträge zur Aufnahme und Historie des Theaters, welche zu Stutgard herauskamen...' In the *Historia Myliana* (by J. C. Mylius, Jena, 1751, quoted by Danzel, *Lessing*, i, pp. 177 f.), it is stated that he wrote 'quasdam tractationes [in the *Beyträge*], de quo scripto 4 partes anno 1750 et 1751 Stuttgardiae in 8 prodierunt.'

<sup>4</sup> *Die Gefangnen, ein Lustspiel. Aus dem Lateinischen des M. Accius Plautus übersetzt*, was published separately by Metzler, Stuttgart, 1750. 72 pp. 8vo. (Goedeke, i.c., and Muncker, iv, p. xi.) It was also reprinted, after Lessing's death, in *M. Accius Plautus, Lustspiele. Aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt*. Mit einer Vorrede von C. S. Mylius. i. Berlin, 1784 (Goedeke).

<sup>5</sup> November 2, 1750 (*Schriften*, xvii, p. 23).

<sup>6</sup> Preface to *Theatralische Bibliothek* and note to first article in that journal (*Schriften*, vi, pp. 3 f., 47; also 'Vorrede' to Mylius's *Vermischte Schriften* (*Schriften*, vi, p. 405). Jördens, *Lexikon*, III (1808), p. 774, claims for Mylius 'unter andern' the three items mentioned above.

<sup>7</sup> Page iii. Cp. Danzel, i.c.

wirklich ausgemacht wäre, dass sie von Lessing herrührten, keinen Platz in der gegenwärtigen Sammlung finden. Von eignen Aufsätzen hat Lessing in den Beyträgen etc. gewiss weiter nichts, als was hier daraus abgedruckt worden ist, obgleich es in den so genannten *Analekten* etc. auch noch die Abhandlung: Versuch eines Beweises, dass die Schauspielkunst eine freye Kunst sey, ihm zugeschrieben wird.' And the works which Karl Lessing does reprint are: 'Das Leben des Plautus,' 'Die Gefangnen,' 'Critik über die Gefangnen,' and 'Werenfels' Rede.' This canon has been accepted by subsequent editors: the only changes being that, in the second Lachmann edition, the 'Vorrede' was added on the advocacy of Danzel<sup>1</sup>, and has since been retained, and the Hempel edition<sup>2</sup> includes the translation of Riccoboni's *Art du Théâtre*, an ascription which Muncker has also accepted<sup>3</sup>.

The *Beyträge* came to an end with the first number for reasons which Lessing has given in the passage just quoted. The 'kleinen Fehler' on the part of Mylius may be taken as referring to the preface to his translation of Macchiavelli; but what the 'verschiedenen allzukühnen und bitteren Beurtheilungen' were, it is not easy to say; for, as will be seen, there are difficulties in the way of accepting the usual explanation, namely, that Lessing was thinking of the last article in the journal<sup>4</sup>. The only other adverse criticism which the journal contains is to be found in the 'Critik über die Gefangnen' and in the review of Werenfels. Consentius has questioned Lessing's statement altogether<sup>5</sup>, and argues that, as the very last number contains a promise of a continuation, the journal did not come to an end because Lessing and Mylius could not see eye to eye, but because the publisher refused to continue. But in the absence of any proof of the latter assertion, there seems little ground for doubting Lessing's statement of the matter; after all, the contents of the number—especially the 'Beschluss der Critik,' which contains the promise in question, and was originally intended for the third number—might well have been in type before the decision to discontinue the journal was arrived at.

However that may be, the abrupt demise of the *Beyträge* left much undone that Lessing had hoped to do<sup>6</sup>: some of the material collected for this journal, ultimately found its way into the *Theatralische*

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. XI, Part I, pp. ix f.

<sup>3</sup> *Schriften*, IV, pp. viii, 180.

<sup>4</sup> Goedeke, p. 359; and preface to Vol. XI, Part I of the Hempel edition of Lessing, p. ix.

<sup>5</sup> *Allg. deutsche Biographie*, LII, p. 553.

<sup>6</sup> Promises of future contributions will be found on pp. 14 (*Schriften*, IV, 57), 33 (69), 36 (71), 46 (78), 49 (79), 49 (80), 140 f. (84), 298, 375 (135), 397 (150), 591 (192 f.).

*Bibliothek*; and Danzel is probably right in inferring that the theatrical data and anecdotes, which Lessing published in the *Neueste aus dem Reiche des Witzes*, in December 1751<sup>1</sup>, were originally intended for the present publication.

### I. 'VORREDE.'

There is no reason to cavil at Danzel's conclusion that Lessing himself is responsible for the 'Vorrede,' which is dated 'Im October, 1749.' Danzel bases his argument on the passage from Lessing's Preface to the *Theatralische Bibliothek* which has just been quoted<sup>2</sup>, and the note to the 'Critik über die Gefangnen des Plautus,' in which Lessing claims the right to break the rules he has himself made<sup>3</sup>. The style of the 'Vorrede' points, it seems to me, to Lessing rather than to Mylius, and I would add one more argument in support of this view, namely, the fact that Mylius, in his own first contribution<sup>4</sup>, considered it necessary to supplement the programme of the 'Vorrede' with one of his own. Here he emphasises the intention of the journal to give consideration to 'die Ausübung theatralischer Stücke auf der Schaubühne'; but he hastens to add: 'Es ist von regelmässigen Schaubühnen die Rede, oder wenigstens von solchen, deren Aufseher sich der Regelmässigkeit befleißigen.'

Lessing—I shall assume without further question that it is he who is writing—makes no concealment of the fact that his chief object with this new journal is to prepare the way for Gottsched's promised 'Historie des Theaters'<sup>5</sup>; he will supplement the materials which Gottsched himself had been accumulating in the *Deutsche Schaubühne*. Thus

<sup>1</sup> *Schriften*, iv, pp. 471 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Also the passage from the same Preface (vi, p. 5): '...die Alten, mit welchen ich das noch gewiss zu leisten hoffe, was ich in der Vorrede zu den Beyträgen versprochen habe.'

<sup>3</sup> *Beyträge*, p. 383 (*Schriften*, iv, p. 141).

<sup>4</sup> 'Die Schauspielkunst eine freye Kunst,' pp. 1 f. This article had in the main been already published in Mylius's own 'Monatsschrift,' *Ermunterungen zum Vergnügen des Gemüths* (cp. E. Consentius, *A.D.B.*, LII, p. 553). Mylius's other, and very brief article in the *Beyträge*, 'Untersuchung, ob man in Lustspielen die Charaktere übertreiben solle'—which he answers in the affirmative—is of still less importance; its mention by Gellert (cp. Lessing's *Schriften*, vi, p. 47) is merely due to the fact that Mylius refers to that writer in complimentary terms.

<sup>5</sup> *Schriften*, iv, p. 54. In the 'Vorrede' to the last (sixth) volume of the *Schaubühne* (1745) Gottsched had said: 'Künftig erwarte der geneigte Leser von mir eine Historie der Schaubühne überhaupt, und unsrer deutschen insbesondere. Mein Vorrath deutscher Schauspiele von allen Gattungen, ist nun schon über anderthalbtausend Stücke gewachsen; und ich würde auch hier eine ziemliche Nachlese zu dem Verzeichnisse derselben mittheilen können, wenn es der Raum der Bogen zuliesse. Sie sollen aber künftig in ihrer Stelle erscheinen; nur ersuche ich die Liebhaber und Besitzer theatralischer Stücke hiemit nochmals, mir mit denjenigen Nachrichten an die Hand zu gehen, die mir etwa noch fehlen möchten.' Cp. also *Neuer Büchersaal*, I, iii (Sept. 1745), p. 287.

Gottsched's activity suggested, in the first instance, this journal dealing with the history of the drama; and that writer's periodicals, the *Beyträge zur critischen Historie der deutschen Sprache, Poesie und Beredsamkeit* (1732-44), and more particularly, its successor, *Neuer Büchersaal der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste* (1745-54)—both to a large extent modelled on the *Journal des Sçavans*—defined the form of the new journal<sup>1</sup>. It is true, Lessing reproaches his predecessors for having reduced the German theatre to monotony, by drawing their materials too exclusively from France; and he complains that the existing 'Monatsschriften' are inclined to neglect the drama. This was particularly noticeable in the case of the *Neue Büchersaal*, which had at first devoted much space to the drama, but ultimately ignored it almost entirely.

A comparison of the 'Vorrede' of Gottsched's journal with that of Lessing's emphasises the relations between them. Gottsched opens with an apology for adding one more to the many existing 'deutschen Monatsschriften,' but justifies himself on the ground of the increase of specialisation. 'Die schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste sind bisher noch mit keinem besondern Tagebuche versehen gewesen; und diesem augenscheinlichen Mangel, bin ich willen hierdurch einigermassen abzuhelfen' (p. 7). Lessing offers no apology, but feels a similar need of justifying his periodical; he specifies his field as 'nur den dramatischen Theil.' Neither journal will restrict itself to Germany. 'Nicht nur deutsche,' says Gottsched, 'sondern auch englische, französische, und italienische Sachen werden hier ihren Platz finden'; while Lessing desires that his journal shall be a contribution to the universal history of the theatre; he will not deal only with the ancient drama, but with the French, Italian, English, Spanish and Dutch drama, besides, of course, that in his own tongue. Here he had clearly in view that first 'comparative' history of the theatre, Luigi Riccoboni's *Réflexions historiques et critiques sur les Théâtres de l'Europe*, Paris, 1738. At the same time, the Greek and Latin drama was to have the chief share of attention; and the plan which Lessing draws out with regard to it was, no doubt, suggested by Brumoy's *Théâtre des Grecs*<sup>2</sup>. Of the modern drama he goes on to say: 'Wir werden besonders unser Augenmerk auf das englische und spanische

<sup>1</sup> The title is perhaps an echo, not merely of Gottsched's *Critische Beyträge*, but also of Bodmer's anti-Gottschedian *Critische Betrachtungen und freye Untersuchungen zum Aufnehmen und zur Verbesserung der deutschen Schaubühne*, Bern, 1743 (Goedeke, III, p. 11). Lessing refers to the *Neue Büchersaal* on p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Danzel, *l.c.*, I, p. 179.

Theater richten.' This was not because Lessing had at this time any knowledge of or particular interest in either of these literatures; he knew, indeed, little more than was to be gleaned from Riccoboni's *Réflexions* and from Voltaire's *Lettres angloises*, where the English theatre is compared with the Spanish<sup>1</sup>. From Voltaire he obviously drew his list of English dramatists, omitting only Addison. Lessing's knowledge of the Spanish drama was even still hazier; and where the extraordinary list of names came from<sup>2</sup>, is an enigma I have not yet been able to solve. With regard to the Italian and Dutch drama he makes a special reservation: 'Von den Italiänern und Holländern werden wir nur das, was sie regelmässiges und eigenthümliches haben, aufsuchen.' And the general conclusion to which this translating and criticising and comparing lead, is one towards which Elias Schlegel had been moving when he compared Gryphius with Shakespeare, and which Lessing himself was so brilliantly to establish: 'Das ist gewiss, wollte der Deutsche in der dramatischen Poesie seinem eignen Naturelle folgen, so würde unsre Schaubühne mehr der englischen als französischen gleichen.'

## II. THE PLAUTUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

It is hardly necessary to adduce evidence of Lessing's predilection for Plautus in his early days. In the Preface to the third part of his *Schriften* (1754) he says: 'Theophrast, Plautus und Terenz waren meine Welt, die ich in dem engen Bezircke einer klostermässigen Schule, mit aller Bequemlichkeit studirte<sup>3</sup>.' And Lessing's interest in the Roman dramatist is to be seen, not merely in his contributions to the present journal, but also in his drama, *Der Schatz*; the sketch of *Weiber sind Weiber*, which is built up on motives from the *Stichus*, borrows the name 'Labrax' from the *Rudens*, and, like *Die alte Jungfer*, is provided with a motto from Plautus. Further, *Justin* was planned as a version of the *Pseudolus*, a drama which probably also influenced in part *Der junge Gelehrte*<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> From the translation in the *Beyträge* (p. 96): 'Die Engländer hatten, sowohl wie die Spanier, schon ihre Schaubühne, als die Franzosen noch auf Brettern spielten. Shakespear, der der Engländer Corneille war, blühte mit dem Lopez de Vega bey nahe zu einer Zeit.'

<sup>2</sup> Cp. C. Pitollet, *Contributions à l'étude de l'hispanisme de G. E. Lessing*, Paris, 1909, pp. 72 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Schriften*, v, p. 268.

<sup>4</sup> Danzel, *Lessing*, i, p. 143; E. Schmidt, *Lessing*, i<sup>3</sup>, p. 138.

(a) *Abhandlung von dem Leben, und den Werken des Marcus Accius Plautus.*

Danzel was of the opinion that Lessing's discussion of Plautus in the *Beyträge* was prompted in the first instance by a desire to supplement the *Théâtre des Grecs* of Brumoy<sup>1</sup>. Without unduly underrating the initial influence of Brumoy, I believe that Lessing had a much more immediate model for his 'Abhandlung' in the *Bibliotheca Latina* of J. A. Fabricius (Hamburg, 1697; second edition, 1721), or in the German counterpart of that work, G. E. Müller's *Historisch-critische Einleitung zu nöthiger Kenntniss und nützlichem Gebrauche der alten lateinischen Schriftsteller*, II. Theil, Dresden, 1747<sup>2</sup>. Lessing's article is similar in form to the sections on Plautus in these books, that is to say, a general account of the poet's life and work is followed by brief notes on the individual plays and a list of editions of Plautus. At the same time, Lessing by no means follows either Fabricius or Müller in his actual matter; here he seems to have been most indebted to the 'Dissertation préliminaire sur la vie et les œuvres de Plaute' which is prefixed to H. P. de Limiers' *Les Œuvres de Plaute en Latin et en Français*, Traduction nouvelle, Amsterdam, 1719, 10 volumes. This he supplemented by the authoritative edition of Plautus by Taubmann; and evidence also seems to point to his having consulted the later edition of Taubmann by Gruter and the edition 'in usum Delphini' by Operarius<sup>3</sup>. In Taubmann are to be found all the Latin passages quoted by Lessing, with the exception of that from Cicero's *Brutus*.

Lessing's method of using these sources is perhaps best illustrated by quoting the opening page or two from Limiers:

Quoiqu'il en soit, Plaute est un de ceux dont on sait le moins de particularités, et la vie est aussi obscure que le Lieu et le tems de sa Naissance. On croit pourtant, et il semble même qu'on n'en peut pas douter, qu'il nâquit à Sarcines, Ville d'Ombrie, située au pié de l'Appennin [Note: Sarcines étoit autrefois une Ville d'Ombrie.... Pour ce qui est de la situation de cette Ville, qui ne se trouve plus sur nos Cartes, voici ce qu'en dit *Strabon*, etc.]; et l'on prétend qu'il a lui-même indiqué cette Ville pour sa patrie dans l'une de ses Comédies [*Mostellaire*, III, ii, 83]. Mais pour ce qui est du tems auquel il est né, c'est de quoi l'on n'a aucune certitude.... Pour ce qui est de son Origine, elle étoit des plus viles, et l'on prétend même que ses Ancêtres étoient Esclaves; tellement que pour désigner un homme de basse extraction, on disoit en commune proverbe, qu'il étoit de la race de Plaute [Note:

<sup>1</sup> Danzel, I, pp. 180 f.

<sup>2</sup> Müller's work was reviewed in Gottsched's *Neuer Büchersaal*, Vol. VII, pp. 32 ff., where the section on Plautus was discussed at length.

<sup>3</sup> *M. Acci Plauti Lat. Comoediae facillè principis Fabulae XX. superstites*. Cum novo et luculento Commentario F. Taubmani, Wittenberg, 1605. The edition by J. Gruter was published in 1621; that of Jacobus Operarius, 2 vols., Paris, 1679.



*Quod e vulgatissimo illo verbo, quod apud Minutium felicem occurrit, etc., Pareus]....* Tout ce qu'on sait de sa vie, c'est qu'étant tout à fait denué des biens de la fortune, il fit valoir le talent qu'il avoit pour la Comédie; qu'ayant gagné quelque chose par ce moyen-là, il s'adonna au Négocio; et que le Négocio ne lui ayant point réussi, il vint à Rome, après avoir perdu tout l'argent qu'il avoit gagné par ses compositions, et que là il fut réduit, pour vivre, à se mettre au service d'un Meunier.... Il est beaucoup plus plausible de croire que Plaute s'étant mis au service du Meunier, ou parce qu'il avoit perdu tout son argent dans le Commerce, ou, selon d'autres, dans le tems d'une grande cherté de vivres, il reprit ensuite son premier Métier d'Auteur, qui l'aida apparemment à subsister le reste de sa vie. Ce fut pendant qu'il tournoit la meule, qu'il composa deux Pièces [Note: Ces deux Pièces étoient intitulées l'une *Satyrio* et l'autre *Addictus*], dont il ne nous reste que les noms, et une troisième à ce qu'on prétend, dont nous ne savons pas même le titre.... Admirable facilité du génie de Plaute, qui, quoiqu'occupé à des travaux serviles, ne laissoit pas de conserver toute la Liberté d'esprit nécessaire pour répandre dans ses Ouvrages cette gayeté et ce naturel que nous y admirons encore aujourd'hui!<sup>1</sup>

This clearly provided the basis for the first two or three pages of Lessing's account. Saggiatarius's work he found referred to in his bibliographical sources; the variant 'Attius' is mentioned by Festus and discussed by Operarius in his Preface; Taubmann (p. 1305) supplied the note from Janus Parrhasius about Sarsina, and Zedlitz's *Universallexikon*, s.v. afforded further geographical information. The reference to the 'Aediles' (p. 59, l. 5) is based on a note of Taubmann's to the passage quoted from the *Amphitruo*<sup>2</sup>; and Athenaeus and Laertius quoted after Limiers' notes on p. 7: 'Pour ce qui est de l'extrémité à laquelle Plaute fut réduit de se louer à un Meunier pour vivre, il eut cela de commun avec Ménédème, Asclépiade et Cléanthe, trois Philosophes très renommés.' With reference to the *Addictus*, Limiers' translation, 'le Valet obéissant'<sup>3</sup>, is controverted in a note, the substance of which is drawn from Taubmann's comment on *Bacchides*, v, ii, 86 (p. 523); and the passages from the anonymous interpreter of Virgil and from Festus are quoted by both Limiers and Taubmann. The attribution to Plautus of the nickname 'Asinus' is discussed by Taubmann in the introduction to the *Amphitruo*. The 'spanische Schriftsteller' referred to by Taubmann (p. 1306)<sup>4</sup>, Lessing conjectures, was 'Antonius de Guevara.' C. Pitollet has shown<sup>5</sup> that he was thinking of Guevara's *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea*, in the translation of Aegidius Albertinus. In the edition I have before me (*Mühseeligkeit dess Hoffs und Glückseeligkeit des Landlebens, anfänglich in Hispanischer Sprach beschrieben durch H. Anton de Guevara*, Verteuetscht

<sup>1</sup> Dissertation préliminaire. I, pp. 2—8.

<sup>2</sup> Page 11; but Madame Dacier has also a note: 'Il étoit de la charge des Édiles d'avoir soin de tout ce qui concernoit les jeux publics, ils y présidoient, ils mettoient le prix aux pièces, et ils les payoient' (Limiers, I, p. 15).

<sup>3</sup> Vol. x, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Taubmann's reference is also quoted by Limiers, I, pp. 5 f. note.

<sup>5</sup> *Contributions à l'étude de l'hispanisme de G. E. Lessing*, Paris, 1909, pp. 77 ff.

durch Aegidium Albertinum, Cölln, 1643) the passage occurs on p. 21: 'Plautus [Guevara, however, wrote 'Plato'] der Philosophus war in seiner Jugend liederlich genug, dann er lief dem Krieg nach, und fuhr auffm Meer, er war auch ein Beck, und handelte mit Kaufmanschaft, verkaufft Oel, und lernete das Schneider Handwerck,' etc.

On the death of Plautus Limiers has not a great deal to say; but Lessing is again, I think, indebted to him when he speaks of Plautus's personal appearance (p. 8):

À l'égard de son air et de sa Physionomie, on prétend qu'il s'est peint lui-même dans sa Comédie du Trompeur. Je ne sai sur quoi les Interprètes peuvent fonder cette opinion; mais ils s'accordent tous à dire, sans en apporter de preuves, qu'on trouve là le véritable portrait de Plaute. Si cela est, il n'étoit rien moins que beau; ou bien le goût des Anciens étoit aussi extrêmement différent du nôtre sur cet article.

Limiers then quotes the Latin lines which Lessing reprints<sup>1</sup>. Note 'm' on page 63 on the meaning of the word 'Plautus' would seem to have been directly suggested by a passage in the Preface to Operarius's edition. With regard to the line from the *Mostellaria*, III, ii, 83<sup>2</sup>, Limiers had commented on it as follows: 'Voilà bien la plus froide plaisanterie qu'il y ait dans mon Auteur. C'est une allusion du mot d'*Ombre* à celui d'*Ombrie*, Patrie de Plaute, auquel il oppose le nom de *Sarcines*, Ville de cette Province'. The play on the word 'Umbra' is discussed by Taubmann and the other commentators. The 'Grabschrift' is also given by Limiers (p. 18), but Lessing's text is in accordance with Taubmann (p. 1306). On p. 23 of his preliminary Dissertation Limiers passes 'au nombre des Comédies de Plaute.' He also quotes both Cicero *De Officiis*, xxix, and Hieronymus (cp. Lessing's text, p. 67), but these 'testimonies' are, of course, also in Taubmann. It is possible, however, that Limiers' comment on Hieronymus<sup>4</sup> suggested to Lessing his discussion of the attitude of the Christian to the theatre. Lessing next considers the criticism of Plautus in Horace's *De Arte poetica*, 371 ff. which he quotes, text as well as translation, from Gottsched's *Critische Dichtkunst*. He had, however, found the controversy referred to, not only by Madame Dacier and Camerarius—whose Dissertation was accessible to him in Gruter's or in Operarius's edition, but also in Heinsius, *Ad Horatii de Plauto et Terentio judicium*, which is printed, as Lessing indicates, in the edition of Terence, 'in

<sup>1</sup> *Pseudolus*, iv, vii, 120 ff. 'Ventricosus' in the first line is a misprint for 'ventriosus.'

<sup>2</sup> '3 Auft.' is a misprint.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. iv, pp. 380 f.

<sup>4</sup> Page 21: 'On a peine à concevoir comment ce S. Père de l'Eglise pouvoit lire Plaute sans scrupule pour se délasser; il choissoit sans doute les plus pures d'entre ses Comédies,' etc.

usum Delphini' (Paris, 1675). Lessing's text, page 70, l. 23 to page 71, l. 18, is a translation from the unpagged Preface to Madame Dacier's translation: *Comédies de Plaute, traduites en François*, par Mademoiselle Le Fèvre, Tome I, Paris, 1683, also included in Limiers' edition, I, pp. 43 ff.

Lessing defends his list of editions of Plautus in a note to the 'Critik': '... dass meine Absicht gar nicht gewesen, alle Ausgaben des Plautus anzuführen'. But his list makes, all the same, a distinctly secondhand impression. Possibly he made merely a selection from that published by Fabricius or Müller; in any case, it is noticeable that he omits from it both the Strassburg edition of 1508, edited by Mulingus, to which he himself refers, as well as the Plantine edition of 1609, which he used<sup>2</sup>.

Lessing next proceeds to discuss modern translations of 'dieser Vater aller Comödienschreiber,' a characterisation of Plautus probably suggested by Limiers, who describes him (p. 18) as 'le père de la Comédie.' The translation of Madame Dacier has just been referred to; Volume I contains *Amphitryon*, II *Rudens*, and III *Epidicus*. All three plays were published in 1683, and are included in Limiers' work. In her Preface she says: 'Je ne donne que trois Comédies, si elles ont quelque succès, j'ai dessein de donner en peu de tems quelques Comédies d'Aristophane, de prendre ensuite tour à tour les Tragiques Grecs, et de revenir après cela à Plaute, dont je traduirai toutes les pièces qui peuvent être mises en notre langue<sup>3</sup>.' The title of 'Herr Cost's' translation is: *Les Captifs, Comédie de Plaute, traduite en François, avec des Remarques*, par M. Coste. Amsterdam, D. Mortier, 1716. It was taken over into the second volume of Limiers' work as 'seconde édition revûe et corrigée,' and supplemented by a 'Dissertation sur la Durée de l'Action des Captifs.' I shall have occasion to return to this. In his Preface Limiers says (p. 33): 'Je n'ai eu le secours d'aucun Manuscrit, ce qui m'auroit pourtant été d'une très grande utilité; mais j'ai du moins eu l'avantage de recouvrer une Édition assez ancienne et assez rare, qui est celle d'Aldus. J'ai eu aussi entre les mains des Remarques MSS. du célèbre Mr Gronovius, dont j'ai souvent fait usage.' When Lessing writes, 'man muss seine Geschicklichkeit loben, mit welcher er die anstössigen Stellen eingekleidet hat,' I am inclined to think, in view of his subsequent attitude to the matter, that he is merely echoing

<sup>1</sup> Page 138. The comment on Merula probably came from Zedlitz's *Lexikon*, xx (1739), p. 1054, where it is said of him: 'Er lehrte 40 gantzer Jahre so wohl zu Venedig als Mayland die Jugend'; Zedlitz also comments on Taubmann's 'schertzhaftte Reden und lustige Einfälle' (xlii, 1744, p. 215). I have been unable to trace in English libraries the edition of Plautus by Samuel Patrick to which Lessing refers.

<sup>2</sup> Pages 150, 168.

<sup>3</sup> Limiers, I, pp. 65 f.

Limiers' introduction, pp. 30 f. The 'Stelle aus seiner Vorrede' which Lessing translates, is on pp. 36 f., the footnotes being part of the original.

The full title of the second complete French translation of Plautus is: *Les Comédies de Plaute. Nouvellement traduites en stile libre, naturel et naïf; avec des Notes et des Réflexions enjouées, agréables et utiles de Critique, d'Antiquité, de Morale et de Politique*, par M. Gueudeville. 10 Tomes, Leiden, 1719<sup>1</sup>. The other translation into French, that by Marolles, as well as that of 'Herrn Cokes' into English, Lessing only knew of by repute; the English one was merely a translation of the *Amphitruo* (1746), and the author's name was Cooke. Of German translations of Plautus, Lessing had evidently before him Joachim Greff's version of the *Aulularia* (Magdeburg, 1535). It had been mentioned by Gottsched in his *Critische Beyträge* (Vol. I, p. 33), and in the 'Nachlese des Verzeichnisses aller deutschen gedruckten Schauspiele,' in Vol. III of the *Deutsche Schaubühne* (1741, p. xx). In the 'Verzeichniss' itself (Vol. II, p. 49) Lessing had found 'Captivi der gefangenen Leute. Treu aus dem M. Accio Plauto übersetzt, durch M. Mart. Hayneccium, 1582.'

The meagre notices of the individual plays are on the lines of those in Fabricius and Müller; but they are no mere copy of these, being for the most part drawn from the 'arguments' and introductory notices in Taubmann's edition, and from the introductions to Limiers' translations. Only a few points require comment. The passage from Bayle's *Dictionnaire* on the *Amphitruo*, which Lessing controverts, is from the article on 'Amphitryon<sup>2</sup>.' The reference to Arnobius is also here. In the notice of the *Aulularia*, he took over from Fabricius: 'Antonius Codrus, Professor Bononiensis, qui clarebat sub Sigismundo et Friderico III Imp.,' but apparently did not know that 'Bononia' was Bologna! Where Lessing learned about Dryden's *Two Sosias*, *La Emilia* by Luigi Groto<sup>3</sup>, which originally appeared in 1579, although the edition with the French translation is of 1609, and Cecchi's version of the *Mercator*, I am unable to say; but Helena Balletti Riccoboni's version of the *Rudens* was published in Vol. v of Riccoboni's *Le Nouveau Théâtre Italien*, which was possibly one of the sources of the third article

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps worth noting that the list of 'anstössige Stellen' at the end of this edition, which calls forth Lessing's sharp comment, is taken direct from the edition of Plautus 'in usum Delphini'!

<sup>2</sup> In Gottsched's German edition, Vol. I, p. 200; the passage is quoted by Boxberger (*Deutsche Nationalliteratur*, LXIV), p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> 'Cicco' is, of course, a misprint for 'Cieco'; also in the notice of the *Asinarius*, 'Dimophilus' for 'Demophilus.'

on the Paris theatres. With regard to the 'better' title of the last-mentioned play, Madame Dacier had said in her Preface to her translation: 'J'ai changé son nom de *Rudens*, qui signifie *cable*, en celui d'*Heureux Naufrage*, qui est plus doux, et qui explique le principal incident de la Pièce.' Regnard's *Le Retour imprévu* and *Menaechmes*<sup>1</sup> Lessing probably knew at first-hand. *Stichus, ou le Triomphe de la foi conjugale* is in Vol. VIII of Limiers' work, pp. 319 ff.

The detail with which I have dealt with the sources of Lessing's knowledge in his 'Abhandlung' may have seemed unnecessary; but my purpose in estimating as exactly as possible these sources will appear more evident when I come to consider the 'Critik über die Gefangnen des Plautus.' Something, however, has first to be said concerning the translation of and notes to the play itself.

(b) *Die Gefangnen, ein Lustspiel. Aus dem Lateinischen des Plautus übersetzt.*

It is, I think, evident that Lessing's translation of the *Captivi* belongs to an earlier date than the 'Abhandlung' on Plautus in the first part of the *Beyträge*. From notes to the 'Critik' in the third part we learn that, in making the translation, he had not Limiers' volume containing Coste's translation 'bey der Hand,' and that the edition, 'die ich meistentheils bey meiner Arbeit gebraucht,' was the 'Plantinische von 1609 in 16.' although he also implies that he consulted Taubmann's edition<sup>2</sup>.

It thus does not seem an unreasonable conjecture to say that the translation was, in the first instance, made from the tiny Plautus edition Lessing mentions<sup>3</sup>, possibly the copy he used at school; and that he turned to Taubmann at a later stage. Before publishing *Die Gefangnen*, he had, of course, also the advantage of revising it and comparing it with Coste's French translation in the second volume of Limiers' edition. The influence of that translation is obvious on Lessing's notes, and is, I think, also occasionally to be traced on the text itself<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Limiers' introduction to the *Menaechmi* (Vol. v, p. 14) also mentions Regnard's play. It is interesting to note that, although Lessing does not yet know of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, Müller mentions it (p. 38).

<sup>2</sup> Pages 138, 149 f.

<sup>3</sup> *M. Acci Plauti Comoediae viginti. Ex Officina Plantiniana, 1609.* This is a little duodecimo volume, measuring only  $2\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$  inches, and consisting of 719 pages of minute print. It has neither introduction nor notes.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 525.

Judged by modern standards, Lessing's translation has no great value; it is often awkward and crude, and inaccuracies were unavoidable. It is, however, more literal than Coste's, much more so than Guedelette's, and it is not disfigured by those perversions of the original in the interests of polite French taste, of which Coste is guilty<sup>1</sup>. The principles which Lessing, in his Preface, says have guided him, were, like those on the observance of the proprieties in the 'Abhandlung,' no doubt, influenced to some extent by Limiers' views as to how a translator of Plautus should proceed<sup>2</sup>.

Lessing's notes on the text are meagre; but he himself apologises for them, and proposes to publish a more detailed commentary in 'einer besondern Abhandlung<sup>3</sup>.' The notes which he would seem to have inserted solely on his own responsibility, are of little or no value; and this must also be said of his attempts to emend the Plautine text<sup>4</sup>. A number bear witness to his use of Taubmann's commentary<sup>5</sup>, from which comes also the quotation from Douza in the 'Vorbericht<sup>6</sup>'; others, again, have been suggested by the notes in the French translation. A few of these are perhaps worth additional comment.

Page 87. The reference to 'Trauerspiele zum Lachen und Lustspiele zum Weinen' may have been suggested by Coste, p. 213: 'Plaute se moque ici de quelques Comédies de son temps, où le Poète avoit fait entrer des Incidens purement Tragiques. Qu'auroit-il dit de quelques Modernes qui ont donné des Pièces de Théâtre composées de deux Sujets très-distincts, l'un Tragique, et l'autre Comique ou même Burlesque? Il se seroit sans doute bien moqué de ces Pièces, et de ceux qui les ont honorées de leurs applaudissemens.'

Page 92. Taubmann, who refers (p. 208) to Scaliger's 'gelehrte Untersuchung,' has 'cirim' in his text, but 'irim' in his note, where,

<sup>1</sup> For example, the opening lines of Act I, sc. i. which Coste translates: 'Les jeunes gens me donnent des titres qui conviennent admirablement (!) à ma Profession de Parasite.'

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Lessing, p. 83: 'Sie werden uns mit Erbarmung ansehen' etc. with Limiers, I, p. 32: 'Pour ce qui est des jeux de mots, très fréquens dans Plaute, qui roulent uniquement sur des expressions particulières à la Langue Latine, et de certains tours si éloignés de notre usage qu'il est impossible de les rendre en François, je me suis servi, autant que j'ai pu, de façons de parler équivalentes: j'ai cherché dans notre Langue et dans nos manières ce qui étoit le plus capable de répondre à la pensée de mon Auteur, et j'ai rendu compte dans les Remarques des différences qui pouvoient se rencontrer entre les unes et les autres.'

<sup>3</sup> The reply to the 'Critik' obviously contains matter ('unsere Gedanken von dem Gebrauch der Wortspiele') which should have formed part of this 'Abhandlung.'

<sup>4</sup> Pages 86<sup>2</sup>, 96, 110, 111, 119, 126<sup>2</sup>. The only one of these that would seem to have found some measure of acceptance is that to Act III, sc. iv, 79 (p. 110).

<sup>5</sup> E.g., pages 86, 88 (on the ambiguity of 'invocatus'), 91, 92, 96, 105, 107, 115, 118, 120, 121.

<sup>6</sup> Page 83, cp. Taubmann, p. 195.

however, the explanation 'ciris, alauda nostra' is given. Coste has (p. 231) 'erem,' which he translates 'hérisson.' But see below, p. 530.

Page 97. The comma is to be found in Taubmann's text amongst others, but is omitted in Coste's Latin text (p. 254). Coste adds: 'Il s'approche de Tyndare qu'il prend pour Philarète.'

Page 99. Lessing's translation of l. 86: 'Tam hoc quidem tibi in proclivi, quam imber est, quando pluit,' is: 'Die Sache wird gehen, als ob sie geschmiert wäre'; Coste's: 'Cela ira de soi-même.' The latter adds a note (p. 259): 'C'est une expression proverbiale qui ne peut être traduite avec grace dans notre Langue.'

Page 107. There is a long note here, both in Taubmann (p. 231) and Coste (pp. 294 f.). The latter concludes: 'Mais à présent je suis convaincu que dans ces trois passages Plaute n'a parlé de l'Epilepsie et de la manière dont on pouvoit en être guéri que selon les idées superstitieuses et populaires qui étoient reçues de son temps.' His translation is: 'Il est souvent attaqué de cet horrible mal, qui fait qu'on crache à la vue de ceux qui en sont attequés.' In his first edition, however, he had (p. 117): 'Il est souvent attaqué du mal, qui fait écumer.'

Page 122. Coste's note is (p. 360): 'Ergasilus joue sur le mot *Boia* qui signifie *Carcan*, et la femme d'un Boien, (c'est le nom d'un Peuple des Gaules), mais outre que l'équivoque porte sur une idée obscène<sup>1</sup>, et que la plaisanterie est en elle-même obscure et insipide; c'est un jeu de mots si fort attaché à la Langue Latine qu'il est impossible de la traduire en François. Ce que j'ai mis à la place, est tout au moins facile à entendre.'

Page 128. Coste (pp. 384 f.): 'C'est un jeu fondé sur la double signification du mot *upupa* qui signifie l'oiseau qu'on nomme en François *une hupe*, et un Instrument de fer qui ressemble assez au bec de cet oiseau, et qu'on appelle *houe* ou *pic*.'

### (c) *Critik über die Gefangnen des Plautus.*

The 'Critik über die Gefangnen des Plautus' in the third part of the *Beyträge* was attributed to Lessing by his brother Karl, and all subsequent editors have accepted his decision and included it in Lessing's works. It has been urged that the insertion of letters purporting to come from outside contributors was a familiar device in the journalism of the time, from the *Spectator* onwards, and that Lessing employed it here in order to give variety to the contents of his journal.

<sup>1</sup> This passage is quoted in the 'Critik' (p. 150), where 'obscure' is an error for 'obscène.'

Instead of publishing the promised criticism of Plautus's comedy, as he had intended, he introduced a note of piquancy by throwing his ideas into a form of criticism ostensibly hostile to himself. But we have only to subject the 'Critik' to a careful scrutiny to see that it could not possibly be by Lessing. Even purely external characteristics of language and style point against Lessing's authorship. Danzel, who recognised the difference of style<sup>1</sup>, admired the skill with which Lessing converted himself for the occasion into a good Gottschedian; although, as a matter of fact, the Lessing of the *Beyträge* was more orthodox in respect of Gottsched's creed than his co-editor. Danzel quotes a single phrase that reminds him of Gottsched; but there are many expressions and stylistic turns that were distinctly foreign to Lessing at this time<sup>2</sup>. Then, again, the whole criticism is put together so clumsily and with so little of that logical method which was characteristic of Lessing, even in his earliest beginnings, that this alone speaks against his authorship. One has only to read the letter together with Lessing's own comment on it and reply to it, to be convinced that both could not have come from the same pen. The truth of the matter is, Karl Lessing rather hastily assumed that, because his brother promised a 'besondere Abhandlung,' the 'Critik' must necessarily be the fulfilment of that promise, more especially as it was written with what seemed to be unusual fulness of knowledge<sup>3</sup>.

An examination of the 'Critik' in detail further justifies this point of view. Its publication in the *Beyträge* in the form of a letter may have been suggested by Coste's own introduction to his second edition, as printed by Limiers. Coste's translation had been criticised in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* for March-April, 1716, pp. 280 ff., where he had been taken to task for having said that 'cette Comédie est exactement conformé aux règles.' To this criticism Coste replied in the July-August number (pp. 464 ff.), and this reply is reprinted as a 'Dissertation sur la Durée de l'action des Captifs' in the Coste-Limiers edition of the translation. 'J'avois crû,' he says, 'pouvoir me

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., 'anitzo' (p. 140, l. 14; 142, 14); 'so' as relative (p. 132, l. 21; 134, 14, 15; 135, 6; 141, 27; 158, 27; 170, 20, 33); the predilection for words like 'artig' (p. 132, l. 3; 138, 9; 142, 2; 147, 10; 159, 11; 167, 20, 22) and 'absonderlich' (p. 142, l. 4; 148, 7; 150, 19; 169, 23). The phrase which Danzel notes is 'denn so hätten wir es hernach auch gewusst' (p. 141, l. 2).

<sup>3</sup> It is perhaps worth noting that C. H. Schmid in his 'Life of Plautus,' in *Biographie der Dichter*, I (Leipzig, 1769), pp. 220 f. has no suspicion that it might be by Lessing; he says the volume contains a criticism, 'die sehr viele Kleinigkeiten tadelt (selbst die schleunige Zurückkunft des Philokrates rechne ich dahin), das beleidigte Costüme, und die verschwiegene Ursache von Stalagmus Ankunft ausgenommen und eine Widerlegung dieser Kritik, die desto leichter fiel, je seichter die Kritik selbst war....'



dispenser de donner un Examen suivi des *Captifs* pour en justifier la durée, parce que la Pièce me paroissoit fort régulière à cet égard. Depuis, j'ai été convaincu par les Objections d'un habile homme que cette régularité n'étoit pas si palpable et que je n'en avois eû moi-même qu'une idée très-incomplète, lors que je donnai ma Traduction au Public.' Then follows the reply from the *Nouvelles*.

The author of the 'Critik' makes no pretence to classical scholarship, and does not venture to criticise Lessing on this ground; but he has a wide knowledge of French literature of the theatre—wider, no doubt, than Lessing as yet had—and his mode of attack is to confront Lessing with arguments drawn in the main from French sources. From the little that Lessing had said of Coste's translation in his 'Abhandlung' he assumes that Lessing did not know it except by repute<sup>1</sup>, he being clearly unaware that the second edition, which he deplores Coste had never published, actually appeared in Limiers' work<sup>2</sup>. Had he known that Lessing made liberal use of this, he would, no doubt, have been more chary of supplementing the defects of Lessing's knowledge by arguments drawn from it.

He begins by criticising with studious politeness the very ambitious scheme of the *Beyträge*, and quotes, in illustration of its difficulties, a passage from the Preface to Vol. I of the *Histoire du Théâtre françois* of the brothers François and Claude Parfaict (Amsterdam, 1735). He expresses the hope that due attention will be given to the subject of Declamation—he draws Lessing's attention to the *Traité de Récitatif* of Grimarest<sup>3</sup>—and he refers to the opera, agreeing with the opinion of Gottsched, 'eines Dichters unserer Zeit,' that it is a serious blemish on the theatrical activity of the day<sup>4</sup>.

After these preliminaries he turns to Plautus, and objects that Lessing seems disposed to paint him in too uniformly favourable a light. He takes Coste's Introduction—to his first edition—as a basis for his argument; quotes from it a passage from Racine's 'Examen' of

<sup>1</sup> 'Ich bin daher auf den Argwohn gekommen, dass Sie vielleicht diese Uebersetzung nicht selbst gesehen haben...' (p. 138).

<sup>2</sup> 'Man sieht aus verschiedenen Stellen, dass Herr Coste eine zweyte Ausgabe mit verschiedenen Verbesserungen davon zu liefern Vorhabens gewesen ist, so aber meines Wissens unerfüllt geblieben' (p. 138). When he says on the following page, 'Wenn Sie an des Limiers Uebersetzung des Plautus seine Geschicklichkeit rühmen, mit welcher er die anstössigen Stellen übersetzt, so verdient Coste eben dieses Lob,' he clearly shows his ignorance of Limiers' work.

<sup>3</sup> A German translation of this treatise appeared later in the *Sammlung vermischter Schriften zur Beförderung der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste* (published by Nicolai), iv, ii and v, ii, Berlin, 1761-62.

<sup>4</sup> *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst* (2nd ed., 1737), ii, xii, pp. 715, 718; on p. 159 the critic describes Gottsched as 'ein grosser Kunstrichter.'

his *Bérénice*, and a sentence from Balzac<sup>1</sup>, and approves of Coste's attitude towards Plautus's offences against good taste. After giving, in an offensively informative tone<sup>2</sup>, the exact title of Coste's translation, he proceeds to translate directly from the Introduction<sup>3</sup>. He then supplements, in the same superior tone, Lessing's ignorance of the 1743 German translation of the *Aulularia*. His next point is to take Lessing to task for his expression 'der Vater aller Comödienschreiber': but he naturally finds his best opportunity in attacking the unreasonable claim that the *Captivi* is 'das vortrefflichste Stück, welches jemals auf das Theater gekommen.' Had Lessing said the best of Plautus's comedies, no objection could have been raised, but the critic does not understand why a play should have been selected for translation which had so little interest for posterity that no one ever imitated it.

The critic directs his attack mainly against two aspects of the *Captivi*, against its obscenity and its defective, irregular construction; he holds it (p. 142) to be both 'unanständig und unwahrscheinlich.' His argument is, in the first case, based on Coste, in the second, on Ménage's *Discours sur l'Heautontimorumenos de Térence* (Utrecht, 1690), pp. 14—16, but it seems more than likely that he was familiar with the criticism that had been very generally brought against Coste in the French press for his defence of Plautus's observance of the unities<sup>4</sup>. On the authority of Ménage he shows that Plautus was not himself responsible for the division of his plays into acts and scenes; and he draws attention to certain irregularities of this nature. Act II is wrongly divided, he says, into three, instead of into two scenes (Lessing had already had a note on this<sup>5</sup>); in Act II scenes 4 and 5 should be one, an opinion which Lessing disputes in his note; and the fourth scene of Act IV should be the first of Act v, with which Lessing agrees.

He now goes on to discuss the defects of the play in respect of the

<sup>1</sup> The passage from Balzac is not, however, quoted by Coste; it will be found (in Latin) in F. Vavasseur, *De ludicra Dictione liber...Accedunt Epistolae selectae L. Balzacii*, Leipzig, 1722, p. 671. What the immediate (French) source was, I am unable to say.

<sup>2</sup> It is surely inconceivable that Lessing—reverting for a moment to the view that he was the author—should have taken the trouble to indulge in this unnecessary masquerading.

<sup>3</sup> Page 138, l. 18—page 139, l. 6. Cp. Coste-Limiers, pp. v—viii.

<sup>4</sup> Besides that in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* already referred to, there were criticisms of a similar tenor in the *Histoire critique de la République des Lettres*, xiii, Amsterdam, 1717, pp. 1 ff.; the *Journal littéraire*, xi (1720), pp. 137 ff.; the *Journal Historique*, Amsterdam, 1719, p. 19; *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne*, xi, pp. 220 ff.; *Mémoires de Trévoux*, 1720, pp. 806 ff. In the Introduction to his translation of Plautus, Guedelette singles out the same two points for special discussion.

<sup>5</sup> It is again inconceivable that Lessing, having already decided this matter, should have brought it up again.

unity of action, and whether the Prologue is an integral part of the plan. Turning then to Plautus's improprieties, he deals first with the character of the Parasite, whom he compares with the modern 'Arlequin'. With reference to Ergasilus's 'Aetolia haec est,' he ridicules the ancient practice of characters proclaiming who and where they are, and, in support of his view, he quotes Sophocles's *Oedipus* from Brumoy's translation. He also objects to 'asides.' In his criticism of the passages in which Plautus offends against good taste, he takes his stand exclusively on Coste's translation and commentary<sup>2</sup>: while to the detailed time-table which Coste had drawn out to prove Plautus's observance of the unities, he opposes another suggested by Ménage's arguments, or possibly, as I have indicated, by Coste's critics<sup>3</sup>.

Lastly, a number of individual passages which do not come under the headings of the regularity of the play or its morals, are dealt with; these are all directly suggested by Coste's translation or notes. One is particularly interesting here as lending further support—if such be necessary—to my argument. It is a question of the translation of Act I, sc. ii, l. 76<sup>4</sup>. Coste, says the critic, reads: '*Heg. Agesis, rogo. Er. Nisi qui meliorem afferet.*' As a matter of fact, both editions of Coste read: '*Heg. Agesis, rogo. Er. Emptum: nisi qui meliorem afferet*'; and 'emptum' is also translated in the German (that German being clearly influenced by the French translation) which follows! Coste's note on the accepted reading is (pp. 229 f.): 'Tout cela fait un galimathias impénétrable. *Saumaise* s'est aperçu de ce désordre, et a rétabli tout le Passage de la manière que je l'ai fait imprimer. De cette correction il en résulte, ce me semble, un sens fort naturel. Une autre chose qui contribue à justifier la correction de *Saumaise*, c'est que de six Manuscrits de Plaute qu'il y a dans la Bibliothèque du Louvre, l'on trouve *emptum* dans cinq de ces Manuscrits.' It is conceivable that Lessing, had he been the author of the 'Critik,' should have made the slip in quoting Coste's Latin text; but that he

<sup>1</sup> I have not, so far, traced any source for this comparison, which appealed to Lessing so much (see his reply to the 'Critik,' p. 190) that he repeated it in his *Dramaturgie* (St. 18). The critic of the *Histoire critique de la République des Lettres* (see above) raises similar objections to Plautus's employment of the parasite.

<sup>2</sup> Page 148, l. 7—page 150, l. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Cp., for instance, *Histoire critique de la République des Lettres*, XIII, pp. 12 f.: 'Or il semble clair, qu'en accordant même x heures à la durée de toute la Pièce, on ne peut guères donner plus de III heures à ce voyage-là. Pour s'en convaincre, il n'y a qu'à considérer d'abord, que le *second Acte* finit par la résolution d'*Hégion* d'aller expédier ce qui étoit nécessaire pour le départ de *Philocrate*; et que celui-ci est de retour avant que le *IV Acte* commence,' etc. In his second edition Coste changed the numbers in his statement: 'elle ne dure que huit ou neuf heures tout au plus' to 'neuf ou dix.'

<sup>4</sup> Page 161; Limiers, pp. 228 f.

should have been misled by his own slip to write his footnote is quite incredible. The critic's accuracy is again at fault when he says that Coste reads in l. 81 'ictim'; what he does read is 'erem'.<sup>1</sup>

How exclusively the critic's emendations of Lessing's translation were based on his French authority will be seen from the following:

Page 162, ll. 12 ff. Coste's translation of the last line of I, ii is: 'Je vais rentrer chez moi, et faire un petit compte pour voir combien il me reste d'argent chez le Banquier. J'irai ensuite chez mon Frère où j'avois résolu d'aller.' And that of the beginning of Act II, sc. ii is: 'Je m'en vais rentrer chez moi, après avoir demandé à mes gens certaines choses dont je souhaite d'être instruit. (*Il parle à ses Valets.*) Où sont donc mes Captifs,' etc.

Page 163, ll. 6 ff. The emendation of Lessing's 'sykophantische Täuschereyen' is merely a translation of Coste's 'Il n'est plus en mon pouvoir de plâtrer mes friponneries.'

Page 163, ll. 24 ff. The text of the French translation is: 'Ar. ...À quoi bon tous ces signes de tête? Tyn. Moi? Je te fais des signes de la tête? Eh Monsieur, à quelles extrémités ne se porteroit-il point, si vous étiez plus loin d'ici! Hég. (*commençant à s'apercevoir de la fourberie de Tyndare.*) Quoi? que dites-vous? Mais pourtant si j'allois aborder cet insensé?'

Page 164, ll. 20 ff. 'Vae illis virgis' etc. is in the French: 'Pauvres verges qu'on va mettre en pièces sur mon dos, je vous plains!' The criticism of Lessing's retention of 'balista' and 'catapulta' corresponds with Coste's view that they 'n'auroient pas eu la même grâce en François qu'elles peuvent avoir dans l'Original. J'ai laissé les images, et me suis attaché au sens.' And similarly with the other passages criticised.

The quotation from Herr von Effen is from *Le Misanthrope*, Discours LIV: 'Portrait de Plaute.' In *Œuvres diverses de Mr Juste von Effen*, ii, Amsterdam, 1742, pp. 104 f.

Who was the author of the 'Critik'? The article itself throws, or professes to throw, a little light on his personality. We learn that 'von Jugend auf' he had 'ein grosses Vergnügen an der dramatischen Kunst gefunden, und wenn mich die Natur einen Dichter hätte lassen geböhren werden, so würde ich vielleicht in keiner andern als dieser Art der Dichtkunst meine Kräfte versucht haben.' Further, that he

<sup>1</sup> In his note he says (p. 231): 'Je préfère *erem* après plusieurs savans Critiques; parce que cette dernière leçon fait un sens plus naturel et plus suivi que les deux autres [*cirim, irim*]. Si ce n'est pas la véritable, c'est du moins la plus vraisemblable.'

had always interested himself in declamation, and, by its aid, had developed his naturally weak voice; and that when formerly in Berlin, he had recommended that the recitative in the opera should be spoken and not sung, and 'diese Gedanken fanden damals Beyfall.' Finally, he says that he is by temperament not inclined to be a eulogist<sup>1</sup>.

This, however, does not carry us very far, and I have not yet any conjecture to put forward which might help to solve the problem. It is tempting to look to Mylius; but a cursory review of the facts shows that this explanation is not justified. Although he could not have been the author, Mylius may, however, have had something to do with the acceptance and publication of the article. It is unlikely, I think, that Lessing would have, of his own free will, printed this somewhat patronising criticism of himself in place of the 'Abhandlung' he had in preparation; and his comments leave the impression that he did not feel at all comfortable under the attack. Thus the responsibility for the article may have rested with his co-editor; and this may have been the 'verschiedenen allzukühnen und bitteren Beurtheilungen, welche einer von meinen Mitarbeitern einrückte' which, as we have seen, it is otherwise impossible to account for. However this may be, my contention for the present is that, whoever wrote the 'Critik,' it was certainly not Lessing.

The reply which Lessing makes to the 'Critik' is distinctly the best piece of critical writing in the volume; here Lessing begins to emerge as a master of his art. He sums up his opponent's attack on Plautus as concerned with three things: 'Kunst, Witz und Moral'; and he considers these in turn. He begins with the last and takes his stand on the opinion which had been already maintained by Brumoy<sup>2</sup>, that an author's morality must be judged by the standard of his own time and contemporaries. Turning to the second point, Lessing shares the abhorrence of the classical critics for the 'Wortspiel'—of Boileau, for instance, and of Gottsched in his *Critische Dichtkunst*—and he exonerates Plautus in the same way as Gottsched had exonerated Virgil for a pun in his *Eclogues*: 'Allein der Poet kann leicht damit entschuldiget werden, dass er sein Räthsel in den Mund eines einfältigen Schäfers leget, der auf dem Dorfe leicht etwas für schön halten konnte, was doch Virgil selbst für was schlechtes hielte<sup>3</sup>.' Lessing takes the opportunity of making a warm appeal for that realism in the theatre,

<sup>1</sup> *Schriften*, iv, pp. 132, 134, 135.

<sup>2</sup> 'Discours sur la Comédie grecque' in *Théâtre des Grecs*, iii, pp. xxxvi ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Critische Dichtkunst*, 2nd edition (1737), p. 238.

which was coming into favour with the new 'bürgerliche Trauerspiel'; and he appears still more as an advocate of this type of drama when he claims (p. 191) it as a merit that the 'empfindliche Seele' will say with Hegio: 'Was für grossmüthige Seelen! Sie pressen mir Thränen aus.'

Lastly, Lessing deals with the arguments concerning the 'mechanische Einrichtung,' arguments which had been so damaging to his claim for the superlative excellence of the *Captivi*. He calls in Houdart de la Motte's 'unité de l'intérêt'<sup>1</sup> to meet the criticism that Plautus had complicated unnecessarily the action by making Tyndarus a son of Hegio; and to mitigate the sin against the unity of time, he falls back on Coste's own defence<sup>2</sup> that the two places in Aetolia and Elis might be thought of as lying not far from the boundary between the two provinces. Further, he maintains that a certain latitude must be allowed a poet in the matter of the time-unity, especially when he is skilful enough to arrange his plot that the audience do not easily perceive it<sup>3</sup>. From all of which it is clear that Lessing had not yet got very far from the strict classical attitude to the unity of time; that he was still in essential agreement with Corneille. After defending the use of asides on the ground of the greater extent of the Roman stage—an argument set forth by Ménardière—Lessing concludes by once more asserting his thesis 'dass dieses Stück das schönste sey, welches jemals auf das Theater gekommen ist,' the chief reason being that it 'der Absicht der Lustspiele am nächsten kömmt'; but as a subsidiary virtue he claims one which was much under discussion at the time—Voltaire, L. Riccoboni, Calepio, etc.—namely, that Plautus 'die gereinigte Moral, welche durch das ganze Stück herrscht, nicht durch den allzuzärtlichen Affect der Liebe geschwächt' hat.'

(To be concluded.)

J. G. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

<sup>1</sup> *Premier Discours sur la Tragédie.*

<sup>2</sup> See Limiers, p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> See Hedelin, *La Pratique du Théâtre*, I, p. 234.

## EIN UNBEKANNTER BRIEF CHRISTIAN BRENTANOS AN HENRY CRABB ROBINSON<sup>1</sup>.

Durch die Schwestern Servièr ward Crabb Robinson im Jahre 1801 den Damen Brentano vorgestellt, in deren Haus er bald ein gern gesehener Gast wurde. Ihnen verdankte nach eigener Aussage der damals 26-jährige die Erweckung seines tiefgehenden und bis in den späten Lebensabend hinein bewahrten Interesses an deutscher Dichtung und Literatur, vor allem an Goethe. Hier lernte er auch Clemens, weit intimer freilich Christian Brentano kennen, mit dem er im selben Jahre eine längere Fussreise unternahm, die sie über Göttingen, wo man Clemens besuchte, und durch den Harz nach Sachsen führte. Sie blieben in Grimma, wo Christian damals auf der Fürstenschule studierte und wo Robinson mit Seume<sup>2</sup> bekannt wurde. Nachdem er in dessen Gesellschaft seinen ersten Besuch in Weimar gemacht hatte<sup>3</sup>, kehrte Robinson mit Christian Brentano über das Fichtelgebirge, Erlangen und Nürnberg nach Frankfurt zurück. Christian Brentano ging nach Marburg, kann aber nicht gar lang ohne seinen englischen Freund sein. 'While I was at Frankfort,' heisst es in den *Erinnerungen*<sup>4</sup>, 'I received an invitation from Christian Brentano'—d. i. zweifelsohne der im folgenden mitgeteilte Brief—'to join him at Marburg.' Robinson folgte der Einladung und lebte 5—6 Wochen mit Christian (und Fr. K. von Savigny) im Hause des Professors der Philosophie Tiedemann. Dann wanderten beide Freunde nach Jena, wo Robinson sich unter dem Prorector Voigt immatrikulieren lässt und bis in den Herbst 1805 verbleibt. Er nennt seine Jenenser Studienjahre 'one of the happiest periods of my life.'

<sup>1</sup> S. Th. Sadler, *Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence of H. Crabb Robinson*, 3rd ed., 2 vols., London, 1872; G. Herzfeld in *Herrig's Archiv*, cxx, S. 25—34 und cxxi, S. 217—219; Ellen Mayer, *Begegnungen eines Engländers mit Goethe, Deutsche Rundschau*, xxv (1899), S. 172 ff.; J.-M. Carré, in der *Revue Germanique*, viii, No. 4, pp. 385 ff.; und im *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, xxxiii (1912), S. 3 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Im Briefband auf das Jahr 1804 ist ein Zettel (der untere abgerissene Teil eines Quartblattes) eingeklebt, den Robinson als Autograph Seumes vom Oktober 1804 bezeichnet. Er enthält in fetten, grossen Zügen den Satz: 'You are a lazy body Seume.'

<sup>3</sup> Sadler, i, S. 58—62.

<sup>4</sup> Sadler, i, S. 66.

Unter dem Einfluss des starken Eindrucks, den Christian zunächst auf ihn machte, entwirft Robinson am 22. März 1801 eine recht schmeichelhafte Schilderung von ihm in einem Briefe an seinen Bruder Thomas, worin er Christian eine grössere Zukunft prophezeit als Clemens<sup>1</sup>. Später, als er seine *Erinnerungen* schrieb (begonnen 1843), malt er im Rückblick auf jene Tage ein viel weniger hellfarbiges, der Wahrheit jedoch näher kommendes Bild von ihm. Die Stelle ist noch nicht gedruckt, mag also hier einen Platz finden: (1801) 'This life of idle enjoyment was put an end to on the 14th of June when I commenced a new career. I set out on a pedestrian journey to Saxony in company with Christian Brentano, the youngest of 5 brothers. He was about 19 or 20 years of age—of a wayward disposition. His heart was good, but his temper was capricious. He was self-willed, had no fixed taste for any art or science and had a great deal of talent which he knew not how to direct to any purpose.....It was no insignificant circumstance, but a frequent source of discomfort that he had a very marked and even ugly expression of countenance. His Italian features had especially a Jewish cast which he denied angrily, though we were often asked, "Sind Sie nicht Hebräer, meine Herrn?" He insisting that it was I not he whose physiognomy brought on us this injurious imputation.'

Der folgende Brief, ein Quartbogen 23,9 cm. hoch, 19,7 cm. breit, ist gewiss nicht der einzige, den Christian an seinen Freund Robinson gerichtet hat, aber er ist, soweit ich sehen kann, der einzige, der erhalten blieb. Crabb Robinson vernichtete in späteren Jahren viele der an ihn gerichteten Briefe; nur was ihn davon wertvoll und merkwürdig dünkte, wollte er erhalten wissen. Die Einladung nach Marburg, der Vorstation für seinen bedeutungsvollen Jenenser Aufenthalt, mochte ihm des Aufbewahrens wert erscheinen; war sie doch zugleich eine Erinnerung an eine Jugendfreundschaft, die freilich im Mannesalter sich lockerte und endlich ganz löste.

Zum Schluss möchte ich noch der Verwaltung der Dr William's library, der Aufbewahrungsstätte des Crabb Robinsonschen Briefnachlasses, meinen wärmsten Dank ausdrücken für das freundliche Entgegenkommen, das mir stets daselbst zu teil wurde.

R. PRIEBSCH.

LONDON.

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Herzfeld, *Archiv*, cxx, S. 28.



MARBURG d. — AUGUST 1802.

Ich befinde mich hier recht wohl und habe alles so gefunden wie ich es wünschte. Ein kurtzer Satz, der aber vieles begreift, was mir schwer werden sollte Ihnen zu beschreiben. Indessen wäre es auch überflüssig, denn dass ich Ihnen schreibe, geschieht bloss Sie an unsre Ubereinkunft zu erinnern, und bey'm Wort zu halten. Sie werden also schon alles selbst sehen. Ja ja! lieber Robinson, brechen Sie auf und kommen Sie nach Marburg, wo wir Sie alle sehnlich erwarten. Fehlt es Ihnen an einem Vorwand bey der Madame Kohl<sup>1</sup>? Ey sagen sie ihr nur; sie müsten einem Freunde bey springen, der sich in den letzten Nöthen befände; wie es denn auch wahr ist; denn nach dem ich mich nun in meiner Stube im Hause des Herrn Professor *Tiedemann* ganz eingerichtet habe, sind sie es, was mir zu guter letzt noch nöthig ist. Oder fällt es Ihnen so hart sich von den Mll<sup>2</sup>. Serv.<sup>3</sup> zu trennen; ist das der Magnet an dem ihr eiserner Muth kleben bleibt? Sitzen Sie dem kleinen häuslichen Glücke im Schoos? und lassen sich mit zärtlicher Hand den Kopf von Sorg und Grillen lausen? Wohlan; was schadet's! Hierher kommen heist ja nicht jenem entsagen. Dieses Glück bleibt Ihnen gewiss. Es kann ihre Absicht nicht seyn das sichere noch sicherer zu machen; oder zerbrochene Bouteillen zu versiegeln. In der Correspondenz ist man tugenhafter (!)<sup>3</sup> das heist besser als im Umgang; dieser Vorthail kann Ihnen von hieraus mit der M. S.<sup>4</sup> zu statten kommen. Täuschen sie sich nicht länger mit ihrer *glücklichen* Lage; wer sich im frühen Morgen erfrischt hat blickt mit Ekel auf andere die noch immer im Bett liegen; so würde Ihnen diese glükliche Lage von hieraus vorkommen. Geben Sie keinem Einwurf gehör der Ihnen noch einfallen möchte, sondern kommen Sie den geraden Weeg hieher; oder wollen Sie einen recht schönen Umweg machen; so machen sie ihn um Ihre Gewohnheit, Umwege zu machen; Sie kommen dann durch Nachgiebigkeit welches ein schöner Flecken im Rheinherzen ist.

<sup>1</sup> Geboren Mylius, Frau des Frankfurter Doctors Kohl. Crabb Robinson wohnte in ihrem Haus. Mit ihr und ihrem Bruder Mylius machte er am 27. Mai 1801 einen dreitägigen Ausflug nach Wetzlar. Im Briefnachlass befindet sich auch ein Schreiben von ihr an Crabb Robinson nach Jena vom 2. Nov. 1802.

<sup>2</sup> Charlotte und Paulina Servièr (vgl. über die Familie Düntzer, *Frauenbilder aus Goethes Jugendzeit*, S. 214). Crabb Robinson lernte sie bald nach seiner Ankunft in Frankfurt, d. i. im Frühjahr 1801, durch den Speirer Domdechante, Baron von Hohenfeld, kennen und schätzen. Im Nachlasse finden sich zahlreiche Briefe Charlottens, die manch interessantes Streiflicht auf Christian, Clemens und Kunigunde Brentano, sowie auf Savigny und August Winkelmann werfen. Ich hoffe bei anderer Gelegenheit darauf zurückzukommen.

<sup>3</sup> 'tugen'—aus einem nicht mehr leserlichen Wort korr.

<sup>4</sup> Charlotte Servièr ist gemeint.

Wenn Sie sich länger über Madame Kohls Schlafkammer aufhalten so werd auch ich mich darüber aufhalten; fort dauernd aber in Marburg bleiben. Wenn Sie was mich betrifft das Schuldige halten; werde ich meiner seits das beste von ihnen halten. Bleiben Sie Ihrem worte treu, und wenn Sie nach Empfang dieses Briefes demzufolge fortfahren, werde ich Ihr Freund bleiben und sonach fortfahren. Diess ist mein Versprechen und glauben Sie dass ich dem nachkomme; wenn sie meiner Bitte nach kommen. Aber wozu die Mühe, was weiteres zu sagen; ich habe ja ihr Wort dass sie kommen wollen; sobald ich Sie von hieraus darum bäte; und da ich weis; wie strenge sie Ihr Wort halten, so erwarte ich sie ruhig.

CHRISTIAN.

Unsre Finanzgeschäfte haben sie während der Zeit nun wohl mit meinem Br. Franz<sup>1</sup> in Richtigkeit gebracht.

(4. Seite, Nachschrift.) Nach dem ich nun meinen Brief noch einmal gelesen habe, missfällt er mir sehr; und ich zweifle ob er Sie bewegen würde hieher zu kommen; leider ist auch die bis der Post abgang noch übrige Zeit zu kurtz, als dass ich noch etwas rührendes hin zusetzen könnte; ich bitte Sie daher als meinen Freund bewegen Sie doch statt meiner den Herrn Robinson dazu; dass er kommt, es ist mir herzlich Ernst darum und ich werde ihnen sehr dafür verbunden seyn. Winkelmann<sup>2</sup> ist hier und wünscht sehr sie zu sehen, kommen sie also schnell, so werden Sie ihn noch treffen, eh er weiter reisst. Kommen Sie, wenn es nicht anders ist, zu erst nur in der absicht eines Besuchs aber ich hoffe Ihr eignes Wohlgefallen wird Sie dann hier halten. Adieu.

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. *Goethe's Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde*, 2. Aufl. (1837), S. 44 f.

<sup>2</sup> August Stephan Winkelmann, geb. 1780 zu Braunschweig, gestorben daselbst als Professor am anatomisch-chirurgischen Kollegium 1806. S. Goedeke, VII, S. 334. Crabb Robinson hatte ihn, den Freund Clemens Brentanos, im Vorjahre (1801) auf seiner Reise mit Christian in Göttingen kennen gelernt. 'He lectured on poetry....The heading of one of his lectures was "the Virgin Mary as the ideal of female beauty and perfection." It was he who first distinctly taught me that the new German philosophy—in connection with which Fichte was the most celebrated living teacher, and Schelling was rising into fame—was idealism' (cf. Sadler, I, p. 48).

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

### ‘BEOWULF’ AND ‘DANIEL A.’

Since the appearance of Balg's dissertation, *Der Dichter Cedmon und seine Werke* (1882), many scholars have been accustomed to regard the Old English poem, *Daniel*, as a composite, made up of two parts—*Daniel A* and *Daniel B*. Of these, *Daniel A* is probably the older, and an interesting problem arises out of the attempt to determine its chronological relationship to *Beowulf*. In his *Chronologische Studien zur Angelsächsischen Literatur* (1909), Richter came to the conclusion that *Daniel A* is older than *Beowulf*, the argument being based on Morsbach's three tests.

But literary tests are sometimes as reliable as linguistic in determining the priority of one poem over another, and Klaeber in his article, *Die ältere Genesis und der Beowulf* (*Englische Studien*, XLII, 3), has reinforced one at least of Richter's conclusions—the priority of *Genesis A* over *Beowulf*—from another field of research. Klaeber has also made it highly probable that the author of *Beowulf* drew upon *Genesis A* for much of his material. It is the object of the present note to show that there are links between *Beowulf* and *Daniel A*, and that these point in all probability to borrowings on the part of the *Beowulf* author.

It is uncritical to base arguments for borrowing upon the chance occurrence of common terms and expressions, but some weight should be attached to the fact that the use of certain words is confined to *Beowulf* and *Daniel A*, e.g., *beswālan* (*B.* 3041, *D.* 438), *ende-lēan* (*B.* 1692, *D.* 187), *fǣrgryre* (*B.* 174, *D.* 463), *gædeling* (*B.* 2617, *D.* 422), *hrēohmōd* (*B.* 2132, *D.* 242), *wāfre* (*B.* 1150, *D.* 241); cf. Hofer (*Anglia*, XII). The following parallel expressions, though they cannot be regarded as proofs of borrowing (the context is often unlike, and, if borrowing is assumed, *Genesis A* has sometimes to be reckoned with), yet tend to suggest that the style of *Beowulf* is much more in keeping with that of the Christian epic than has usually been supposed.

*D.* 17 oð þæt hīe wlenco anwōd : *B.* 915 hine fyren onwōd. Cf. *Gen.* 2579.

- D. 55 (hæfdon) Israela ēðelweardas  
 lufan, lifwelan, þenden hīe lēt metod :  
 B. 1728 hwilum hē on lufan læted hworfan.  
 D. 65 Gehlōdon him tō hūde hordwearda gestreōn : B. 124 hūde  
 hrēmig.  
 D. 73 ofer ealle lufen (meaning doubtful) : B. 2886 lufen ālicgean.  
 D. 85 nales ðy þe hē þæt mōste oððe gemunan wolde,  
 þæt hē þāra gifena gode þancode :  
 B. 1270 hwæpre hē gemunde mægenes strenge,  
 gim-fæste gife, ðe him God sealde. Cf. *Gen.* 2919.  
 D. 222 freoðo wilnedan : B. 188 freoðo wilnian.  
 D. 230 grim and gealhmōd : B. 1277 gifre ond galg-mōd.  
 D. 234 in fæðm fýres lige : B. 185 in fýres fæþm.  
 D. 418 þæt is wundra sum : B. 1607 þæt wæs wundra sum. Cf. *Gen.*  
 2572.  
 D. 450 þæt se wære his aldre scildig : B. 3071 þæt se secg wære  
 synnum scildig.  
 D. 669 swā him ofer eorðan andsaca ne wæs :  
 B. 1772 þæt ic mē ænigne  
 under swegles begong gesacan ne tealde.

Much more important, however, is the parallelism between passages 180—187, 590—593, and 718—732 in *Daniel* and passages 175—183, 1728—1757, and 980—990 in *Beowulf*.

The idolatry of the Danes is described in much the same terms as that of Nebuchadnezzar and his followers. *Hærg-trafum* (B. 175) parallels *herige* (D. 181), *gehēton wīg-weorþunga* (B. 175—6) = *wurðedon wihgyld* (D. 182) and *metod hīe ne cūþon* (B. 180) = *ne wiston wræstran ræd* (D. 182). The *Beowulf* passage refers to devil-worship rather than to a Thor-cult as Sarrazin supposes (cf. Klaeber, *Anglia*, 1911), and is more likely to be an imitation of the *Daniel* passage than *vice versa*.

The pride-passages (B. 1728—1757) is paralleled by a corresponding passage in *Daniel* (590—593), and even helps towards the interpretation of the latter. Hofer and Cosijn were of opinion that the idea expressed by *fyrene fæstan* (D. 592) was that of 'becoming fixed in sin.' Blackburn (*Exodus and Daniel*, 1907) rejected this view, on the ground that 'Daniel urges the king to amend his life with the hope of averting the threatened punishment.' But the former view is tenable, since *Daniel*, ll. 590—3, may be regarded as in the nature of a warning—a glimpse into the mysterious ways of Providence—and it should be noticed that Hrōdgar concludes with words suggesting that the purpose of his speech was

the same as Daniel's, cf. ll. 1758-61. The author of *Beowulf* was clearly interested in theological problems (ll. 980-990).

Finally, the scene on the occasion of the inspection of Grendel's arm resembles closely that in Belshazzar's hall, though it is necessary to take the *Beowulf* passage in connection with other passages such as 1647-1650 and perhaps 994-996. The phrase *egeslic for eorlum* (*D.* 719, *B.* 1649) is common to both poems.

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LONDON.

CHAUCER ATTRIBUTIONS IN MS. R. 3. 19, IN THE LIBRARY OF  
TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

In this manuscript there are a number of notes in a later hand attributing poems to Chaucer, Lydgate, etc. No recent critic has attached much weight to these ascriptions, but some difference of opinion has existed as to whether the notes were made by Stow, who certainly used the manuscript, or whether they were already there and misled Stow, or whether they were added subsequently as a result of Stow's attributions in his edition of Chaucer in 1561. Prof. H. N. MacCracken in his *Lydgate Canon* (*Minor Poems of Lydgate*, I, xxxix, E.E.T.S., 1910, cvii) writes that 'in MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 19, we find Chaucer's name added by Stow to one piece of courtly poetry after another.' More cautious critics have left the question open. Miss E. P. Hammond in her admirable *Chaucer: a Bibliographical Manual*, 1908, p. 462) says of such a note that 'whether it was written earlier or later than the printing of this and other bits by Stow as Chaucer's is not to be decided.' The notes in question are written by one hand but in a variety of different styles, all very careful, and I have no doubt whatever in my own mind that they were added by Beaupré Bell (cf. e.g., MS. B. 16. 45). Beaupré Bell entered the College in 1722 and the notes must therefore have been made long after the manuscript came to its present home.

A number of other notes in the volume are unmistakeably in the crabbed little hand of John Stow. But in these Chaucer's name only appears twice, once in the margin of fol. 25, where it is not an ascription, but is intended to call attention to a mention of Chaucer in the text, and again on fol. 156, where we find the marginal protest 'Chaucer died 1400' against the date 1448 given in the text of the *Craft of Lovers*. Yet other notes are in a large sprawling hand of the sixteenth century. This on examination proves to be likewise that of Stow. It

ascribes the *Craft of Lovers* to Chaucer, but nothing else. Stow made use of some blank leaves near the end (fols. 236-7) to write in two of Lydgate's fables. They are subscribed 'Finis Iohn Lydgat wryten by Iohn Stow.' The text of these is in his usual hand, the headings in the larger and more sprawling one.

Most of the text of the volume is written in a good hand of the end of the fifteenth century. But fols. 49-53 are in a more current hand. This, however, I believe to be the current hand of the same scribe. Further, fols. 218-252 are in a quite different hand, which Prof. Skeat thought 'considerably later than 1500' (*Chaucer*, VII, lxxiv). But I would call attention to the facts that these last sections are foliated (separately) in the same hand as the rest of the volume, that this hand is pretty certainly fifteenth century, and that the sections were demonstrably not bound in blank. It follows that the contents were written before 1500, and I see nothing in the hand itself to make this unlikely. If I am right, therefore, the *Court of Love* cannot belong to the circle of poets represented by Tottel's Miscellany as Skeat suggested.

The main scribe of the volume is also the main scribe of R. 3. 21, and one of the other hands of R. 3. 21 is said to occur in MSS. Harley 2251 and Addit. 34360 at the British Museum (*Anglia*, xxviii, 10). Neither is that of John Shirley, but all these MSS. evidently came from a scriptorium where at least one Shirley MS. was in use.

W. W. GREG.

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#### THE AUTHORSHIP OF 'LUMINALIA,' WITH NOTES ON SOME OTHER POEMS OF SIR WILLIAM D'AVENANT.

'Luminalia | or | the Festivall of Light |. Personated in a masque | at Court | By the Queenes Majestie | and her Ladies | On Shrovetuesday Night 1637. | London. | Printed by John Haviland for Thomas Walkley, and | are to be sold at his shop at the flying Horse neere | Yorke House, 1637 |.' This is the title of the anonymous masque which has been attributed to Ben Jonson (in a pencil note, corrected, on the title-page of one of the British Museum copies); to Robert Greene and Thomas Lodge by Phillips in his *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675), an ascription concerning which Grosart, who reprinted the masque (*Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies Library*, Vol. 4), remarks that everyone must agree with Dyce that it is most improbable; and finally by R. Brotanek in 'Ein unerkanntes

Werk Sir William Davenants' (*Anglia, Beiblatt*, xi, pp. 177—181) and *Die englischen Maskenspiele* (p. 364), to D'Avenant. Brotanek's assignment rests on resemblances in style between *Luminalia* and *Britannia Triumphans* the King's masque composed for Twelfth Night 1637, of which D'Avenant's authorship was acknowledged; and derives additional support from the probability that the composition of the Queen's masque would also be intrusted to the poet then succeeding, as he had previously supplanted, Ben Jonson in the framing of these exquisite and costly literary ephemera.

The following extract from the Stationers' Hall Register establishes Brotanek's conjecture:

6 March 1657 (i.e. 165 $\frac{1}{2}$ )

Mr Hum: Moseley. Entred for his Copie by vertue of an Assignment under the hand and seale of Thomas Walkley All his Estate right & tytle in the severall Bookes following viz<sup>t</sup> The Temple of Love a masque at Whitehall on Shrove Tuesday 1634. Brittonia Triumphans a masque at Whitehall at Twelfth night 1637. Luminalia or the ffestivall Light a masque at Court on Shrove Tuesday night 1637. Salmatida Spolia a masque at Whitehall on Tuesday the 21th of Ianuary 1639. all written by Sr Willm Davenant. To w<sup>ch</sup> Assignm<sup>t</sup> the hand of Mr Thomason warden is Subscribed.

vid.

The music of *Luminalia* was said, by Rimbault, to have been printed in the quarto. Reyher (*Les Masques Anglais*) remarks that it is not so found in the three British Museum examples; and it is not bound up with the Bodleian copy which I have seen. Rimbault also gives N. Lanieri as the composer ('Hist. Introduction to the opera of *Banduca*'); but probably he therein followed Stafford Smith (*Musica Antiqua*, i, p. 60) who by some unlucky confusion has given the words and music of a song in one of Campion's masques (1614) as belonging to *Luminalia*.

Completely 'unknown to bibliographers' is another work of D'Avenant's, entered at the Stationers' Hall in the preceding year.

7 December 1657

Mr Henry Herringman. Entred for his Copie (under the hand of Mr Thomason warden) a booke called Severall Poems upon severall occasions. To w<sup>ch</sup> is added A Poem to my Lord Broghill. Epithalamium upon the Marriage of the Lady Mary Daughter to his Highness w<sup>th</sup> the Lord Viscount ffalconbridge to bee sung in Recitative Musick. An Essay for the New Theatre representing the Preparacōn of the Athenians for the Reception of Phocion after hee had gained a victory. all written by Sr William Davenant.

vid.

There is considerable interest in this edition of poems. Even if the body of the collection possibly consisted of work which previously appeared in *Madagascar and other poems* (1638 and 1648), two, certainly, of the three particularised are poems hitherto unknown. 'My Lord Broghill' is Roger Boyle, first Earl of Orrery, 'the Credit of the Irish nobility for wit and ingenuous parts and a smooth stile both in Prose and Verse,' as Edward Phillips writes. A lengthy address in heroic couplets is inscribed to him in Herringman's posthumous edition of D'Avenant's works. It occurs among 'Poems...never before printed,' but nevertheless may be substantially a reprint of the 1657 poem. There was no reason against its reappearance, such as may have occasioned the suppression of the two others. The *Epithalamium* upon the marriage of Cromwell's daughter Mary is another testimony to the favour enjoyed by D'Avenant under the Protectorate, when also, in Sir Henry Herbert's angry words, 'he obtained leave from Oliver and Richard to vent his operas.' The 'essay for the New Theatre,' representing the reception of Phocion after an Athenian victory, may be plausibly conjectured to have been intended to celebrate Blake's victory at Santa Cruz on April 20, 1657, the same year, possibly for performance on the day (June 3) of public rejoicing, or after his return, had he lived. The 'New Theatre' may intend a reference to the Cockpit, whither D'Avenant's 'public entertainments by moral representations' were transferred from Rutland House; or may resemble a rhetorical flourish on the title-page of Flecknoe's *Love's Dominion* which, he claims, is written for a new reformed theatre for which he implores the favour of Cromwell's daughter, Mrs Claypole.

The accessible catalogues of most of the important public and private collections have been examined for an entry of these 'Severall Poems,' but without result. It is, as has been remarked, unnoted by bibliographers. Possibly, therefore, this entry in the Stationers' Register may afford another instance of books entered but not published, so far as known. Anthony à Wood (*Ath. Oxon.*, III, 808, ed. Bliss) names in his list of D'Avenant's writings, 'Poems on Severall Occasions,' but unfortunately gives no date to establish that he is not referring to the 1672 collection 'never before printed' which forms part of Herringman's folio. Moreover, in his list the preceding and following entries are dated 1669 and 1676 respectively, from which circumstance it is to be feared that he does not intend the 'Severall Poems' of 1657.

It is curious that Masson appears to have known of the *Epithalamium* (*Life of Milton*, Vol. VI, p. 274 note, ed. 1880); but he may equally have



observed the entry in the Stationers' Hall Register. At any rate, he gives no clue to the existence of a copy. Possibly after the Restoration D'Avenant was not overwhelmingly anxious to preserve an edition containing this poetic tribute as well as a triumphal pageant to celebrate the victory of the Protestant commonwealth over the navy of Spain. His literary executors, at any rate, did not print them.

EDITH S. HOOPER.

LONDON.

#### NOTE ON A LINE IN KEATS'S 'ISABELLA.'

The line, 'The little sweet doth kill much bitterness,' in Stanza xiii of Keats's *Isabella*, does not correspond to anything in the original—the fifth novel of the fourth day of the *Decamerone*. No edition, that I have been able to consult, contains any note on it, and it has, apparently, been taken to be Keats's own addition. But the thought occurs in an Italian device appended by George Turberville to the seventh of his *Tragical Tales*, a translation of the same story from Boccaccio. In the case of several of his Tales, he introduces devices in Italian, which are not to be found in Boccaccio; and that which he appends to his seventh Tale is,

Un puoco dolce molto amaro appaga

(p. 199 in the 1837, Edinburgh, reprint of the *Tragical Tales*). Turberville was indebted to Petrarch for this device, the last line of *Triumphus Cupidinis* II ('Era sì pieno'—the second section of the first part of *I Trionfi*) being,

Che poco dolce molto amaro appaga.

Can this be the origin of Keats's line? And if so, can the explanation of the fact that both Keats and Turberville connect this line from Petrarch with this story from Boccaccio, be that Keats read Turberville?

Turberville's *Tragical Tales* were not reprinted until 1837; but three copies of the 1587 edition are known to exist, one being in the Bodleian, the second in the Edinburgh University Library, and the third in the British Museum. The British Museum copy was picked up in 1894, in a secondhand furniture shop in Shrewsbury. It is an interesting coincidence, though probably nothing more, that Shrewsbury was the birthplace of John Hamilton Reynolds, of whose projected collection of stories from Boccaccio, the *Isabella* of Keats was, at one time, meant to form a part. Curiously, too, the two stories from Boccaccio which Reynolds versified, calling them 'The Garden of Florence' and 'The Ladye of Provence' (published in *The Garden of Florence*, 1821, under

the pseudonym of John Hamilton), are translated by Turberville in his ninth and fourth Tales respectively.

GERTRUDE E. FORD.

ENGLEFIELD GREEN.

‘BACKARE,’ ETC.

In the last number of the *Review* (Vol. VII, p. 373) Mr Long questions the generally accepted explanation of this word as jocular-Latin for ‘back,’ ‘stand back.’ He quotes a passage from Grange’s *Golden Aphroditis*, which he thinks ‘suggests rather a military signal to retreat, and Italian rather than Latin.’ I cannot myself see that the use of the word in this passage in any way differs from its playful use in Udall and other writers.

Mr Long is mistaken in supposing that the passage is ‘hitherto uncited.’ It was quoted by Steevens in illustration of *The Taming of the Shrew*, II, i, as I find on referring to the Variorum Shakespeare of 1820. In the same note Farmer cites two of Heywood’s so-called Epigrams, which furnish the best possible illustration of our word.

- (1) Backare, quoth Mortimer to his sow.  
Went that sow backe at that bidding trowe you ?
- (2) Backare quoth Mortimer to his sow: se  
Mortimers sow speakth as good latin as he.

(*Three hundred Epigrammes*, No. 194. Spenser Society’s reprint, p. 158.) Heywood evidently regarded the word as ‘Latin’; and in his time and Udall’s, our literature had not begun to turn to Italian for its conceits and jocularities.

A more serious writer than Heywood may be alleged in support of this view. In 1582 R. Mulcaster<sup>1</sup> has occasion to mention a class of ‘Latin words, or of a Latin form, when theie be vused English like, as *certiorare* [sic] *quandare*.’ We can hardly be wrong, I think, in regarding *backare* as a jocular member of this class.

The fashion of using (and coining) words in *-ārē* may have been suggested in the first instance by the very familiar Law-Latin *certiorari*. This appears to have been quoted popularly as *certiorare*, and had a protracted vogue in the corrupt forms *siserary*, *sisserara*, etc., especially in the phrase ‘with a siserary.’

The word *quandary*, if we are to believe Mulcaster, must have been coined to simulate Latin. Exactly how it came into being, and why it should mean ‘a nonplus,’ we do not know. Ellis thinks it was for

<sup>1</sup> *First Part of the Elementarie*, c. xvii, p. 111. The passage is given in full by A. J. Ellis, *Early English Pronunciation*, Pt. 3, pp. 912-13.

'*quam dare*, as if they were the first words of a writ' (like *certiorari*). Skeat, less probably, suggests an origin in *quantum dare* 'how much to give.' My conjecture is that some ingenious person chose to regard *quando*, for the nonce, as a verb of the first conjugation, yielding an infinitive *quandare*! This is perhaps temerarious; but it occurred to me on finding the word in close juxtaposition with a genuine Latin vocable of similar sound, in the following passage (*Misogonus* III, i, lines 84, 85, 90, ed. Bond):

Co. An yow knewe as much as I knowe Ime sure youde both laughe and sing  
youde be in iocundare cum amicis and yow had all toulde.....

Phi. Is this the comforte Ist haue by thy takle thou makst me in a greater  
quad[ary]<sup>1</sup>.

In 'iocundare cum amicis' Mr Bond sees a reminiscence of S. Luke xv, 29. However this may be, 'iocundare' is found elsewhere alone, Cf. *Golden Aphroditis*, sig. B ij:

So iocundare leades my will, that wanton needlesse toyle  
Of Courtlike Dames, my pestred wittes *declaro* seekes to foyle.

And Dekker, 2nd Pt. *Honest Whore* (1630), sig. B 2 verso:

I haue no wife, I haue no child, haue no chick, and why should not I be in my Iocundare?

Note that in Dekker, as in *Misogonus*, the phrase is 'in (my) iocundare,' which runs parallel to 'in a quandary.'

Lastly may be cited, again from Grange, what appears to be a specimen, however fantastic, of this 'Latin-like' coinage in *-ārē*. It occurs in a duet between a 'Courtier' and a 'Courtresse,' in anapaestic verse (*Golden Aphroditis*, sig. M iii verso). The Courtier sings:

Let flaunta, galanta, put sorrowes to flight.....

His lady replies:

Let flanta galanta stiffe holde vp our sayle.....

Then both together, in a concluding rapture:

With all aflantare then let vs beginne.

Here *flu(u)nta* and *galanta* are apparently connected with *flaunt-a-flaunt* and *galanta-gay* (for instances of which see the *New. English Dictionary*). And from *flanta*, with some reminiscence of *aflaunt*, is evolved the phrase *with all aflantare*, which has perhaps more sound than sense to recommend it.

WALTER WORRALL.

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<sup>1</sup> So Bond; Brandl prints 'quand[ary].' The square brackets indicate letters no longer legible, and the termination may have been written *-are*. It rhymes with 'S. Mary.'

## REVIEWS.

*The Complete Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge.* Edited with Textual and Bibliographical Notes by ERNEST HARTLEY COLERIDGE. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1912. 2 vols. 8vo. xxvi + 1198 pp.

'The aim and purport of this edition...is to provide the general reader with an authoritative list of the poems and dramas hitherto published, and at the same time to furnish the student with an exhaustive summary of various readings derived from published and unpublished sources.' It also includes 'a considerable number of poems, fragments, metrical experiments, and first drafts of poems now published for the first time.' It may be said at once that Mr Coleridge has carried through his task, a difficult and elaborate one, with an accurate and painstaking scholarship that is deserving of the highest praise, and that as a textual study of the poems his work is not likely to be superseded.

Before the appearance of these volumes we had in Dykes Campbell's Coleridge (1893) what is probably the best existing edition of a modern poet. It was a masterpiece of learned and accurate scholarship, and whilst in its textual variants it gave us all of the matter then available that was of a vital interest, the critical and explanatory notes were of such a full knowledge and fine literary judgment that they are indispensable to the student of Coleridge. The present editor is content with supplying us with a full textual and bibliographical apparatus; in critical and elucidatory comment he enters into no competition with his predecessor.

Of much of this new critical apparatus we may well be impatient. It is true that we can hardly know too much concerning the composition of a really great work of art. To see it growing through its various stages to its final perfection, to watch the poet at work either upon its earliest drafts, or later improving upon its first published form, is itself a valuable study in poetic. But when each trivial change is recorded in the text of verses which were not in the first place worth writing, to say nothing of publishing, the effect is not a little depressing. A poem poor alike in its thought and its expression is only excusable if it has been tossed off in a light moment and then forgotten. A record of correction and emendation causes an awkward feeling that the poet himself took it more seriously than it deserved. It is well perhaps

that we should know this, if it is the truth, for it runs counter to the notion that Coleridge was habitually modest about his poetical achievement; but having gained the general impression, there are few who will care to study the detail upon which it is based. Mr Coleridge's excuse in presenting it is that it is impossible to draw the line between what is likely to be valuable and what is not, but surely one of the chief duties of an editor lies in this discrimination, and the danger of presenting the significant and the insignificant alike, for all the praise it wins from a certain school of modern scholars, is that from the editor it demands diligence and mechanical accuracy rather than nice and critical discrimination, and from the reader it hides the wood in the trees.

On the three greatest of Coleridge's romantic poems no knowledge is given us which Dykes Campbell had not already supplied, but of poems only second in importance to these there are variants of deep interest. That wonderful rejected stanza of 'The Dark Ladie':

While Fancy like the midnight Torch  
That bends and rises in the wind  
Lit up with wild and broken lights  
The Tumult of her mind—

was not, it is true, unknown before, but it had only been published in 1899, in a rare little volume of facsimile reproduction, and is therefore new to many readers. And from MSS. at Rugby School two valuable drafts are printed of 'The Eolian Harp,' one written before and the other after its publication in 1796. Coleridge was right in regarding 'The Eolian Harp' as the most perfect poem he had yet produced, and no poem is more important to the study of his development both in style and thought. He did well indeed never to print the following variant of the most significant passage in that poem:

And what if All of animated Life  
Be but as Instruments diversely fram'd  
That tremble into thought, while thro' them breathes  
One infinite and intellectual Breeze,  
And all in different Heights so aptly hung,  
That Murmurs indistinct and Bursts sublime,  
Shrill Discords and most soothing Melodies,  
Harmonious from Creation's vast concert—  
Thus *God* would be the universal Soul,  
Mechaniz'd matter as th' organic harps,  
And each one's Tunes be that, which each calls I.

But we are none the less grateful to his editor for recording it. Bad poetry as it is, if indeed it is poetry at all, it is a valuable commentary upon the passage it elaborates, and it throws light both on Coleridge himself and upon the influence he had in moulding the poetic genius of Wordsworth, and diverting it to the 'philosophic poem.' Of an equal interest are some of the variants supplied to other poems, particularly to Coleridge's last great poem, the address 'To William Wordsworth; composed on the night after his recitation of a poem on the growth of an individual mind.'

Mr Coleridge differs from Dykes Campbell in taking as the basis of his text the 1834 rather than the 1829 edition of the poems. Dykes Campbell was under the impression that the poet had little to do with the edition of 1834, and therefore preferred to follow the earlier text. But Mr Coleridge is undoubtedly right both in the arguments he puts forward in favour of the 1834 text, and in his contention that that text is superior. To the examples which he adduces to prove his point I should like to add one to me even more cogent. Line 6 of the 'Ode to a Departing Year' ran in the first edition 'With inward stillness, and a bowed mind.' This beautiful and imaginative phrase, which Keats borrowed to express his veneration for the memory of Chatterton, was replaced in all editions from 1803 to 1829 by the more obvious 'submitted mind.' But in 1834 the original reading was restored.

This edition has added to the poetical works of Coleridge a large number of hitherto unpublished poems, fragments and metrical experiments. Seeing that these verses were in existence, it was necessary, we suppose, to print them: we can only regret that they existed. The priceless possession of Coleridge's true poetry was already overweighted with much heavy and wearisome lumber, and those who most love the one will most deeply lament the increase of the other.

There is nothing in these poems and fragments that is of the least value. But with the metrical experiments the case is different. They are not indeed great poetry, but they are of a real and vital interest to the student of metre. They strengthen our sense of Coleridge's superb mastery of a varied rhythm and cadence and at the same time our conviction that no poet of a genius comparable with his, has left so little that is worthy of him.

The volumes are completed with a full Bibliography of the Poetical Works, which is a model of its kind, and will prove of the highest value. Mr Coleridge is to be warmly congratulated upon the result of his labours, and the more so if their conclusion has set him free to complete his life of the poet, which has been long and eagerly awaited.

E. DE SÉLINCOURT.

BIRMINGHAM.

*Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association.* Vol. III. Collected by W. P. KER. Oxford: University Press. 1912. 8vo. 152 pp.

The third volume of papers published by Members of the English Association compares favourably in variety and value with the earlier volumes. Its best is probably better and its worst possibly worse.

In the first paper Professor Gilbert Murray suggests with clearly provocative intent 'what English poetry may learn from Greek.' His analysis of the essential qualities of classical art is clear, humorous, sane and illuminating. We disagree with some of his *obiter dicta*: for instance, 'that poetry excels prose threefold and fourfold in sheer boring

power.' Which of us could wade through a prose *Endymion* or a prose *Faerie Queene*; or, to take an extreme instance, how could even the voracious readers of the early nineteenth century have read, still less admired, Southey's *Kehama* in prose? The truth is that the normal English reader gets far more stimulus from the possibly rough and inartistic *form* of English poetry than is given to the Professor of Greek, whose ear and taste have been trained in the severer school of the ancient Greek poets. The latter half of the paper deals with 'texture' in Greek and English poetry, and here Professor Murray reveals himself unblushingly as a partisan. He exemplifies the English hexameter by a few of the worst lines in Clough's *Bothie*, quotes for praise some of Kipling's *Mandalay*, because its four-syllabled feet accomplish a Greek metrical effect, and finally—the most unkindest cut of all—quotes for dispraise as 'one of the most admired lyrics' of Milton's *Samson Agonistes*,

God of our fathers, what is man?  
That thou towards him with a hand so various,  
Or might I say contrarious...

It is, alas! possible that this actually is one of the most *admired* of Milton's choruses, but the critic should in fairness have illustrated not from the most admired but from the most admirable. He does full justice however to the style of *Paradise Lost*, and his whole discussion of metrical texture is enlivening and suggestive. But we must protest against a conception of style which denies the existence of English lyrical poetry before Shelley mastered the secrets of Greek technique. Against the statements (1) that 'Elizabethan song cannot handle the trisyllabic foot,' (2) that 'No Elizabethan song can handle what the Greeks call syncope' we would quote (1) from a famous song of Ben Jonson's,

Have you seen but a bright lily grow...

(2) from a song of Nashe's which should be famous,

Brightness fa-alls from the air,  
Queens have di-ied young and fair

(printing in Mr Murray's manner). No one is better able than Mr Murray to reveal the essentials of Greek art, and if his criticism of English poetry is biassed it is also sharply stimulating.

Mr Mackail's paper on *The Lover's Complaint*, a poem which has hitherto eluded the attention of scholars, is a serious contribution to Shakspearean criticism. The present critic submits it to a close examination under three heads, vocabulary, syntax and phrasing, with the result that its essentially un-Shakspearean style is revealed. A careful logical argument then leads to the hypothesis that the author of the poem is the unknown rival poet of the Sonnets. Fuller evidence is needed, as Mr Mackail points out, to support this conjecture, but the paper as it stands is a model essay in scholarship.

Professor Saintsbury suggests the value of his lecture on 'Dante and the Grand Style' in his own statement (p. 115) that 'when I have to

write about an author I generally read him first.' To read is for this critic to live through his author, to strike out new thought, and above all heartily to admire. In this way he leads his hearers to re-read Dante. His best contribution to the somewhat overdone discussion of 'The Grand Style' is his vindication of the conceit as a possible element. 'The Grand Style,' he insists, 'can confer its *grandeeship* on any expression to which it gives its hand to kiss or its garment to touch.'

Mr T. S. Omond contributes an essay on 'Arnold and Homer,' in which we could wish he had devoted less space to the general question of methods of translating Homer, and more to the particular question of rendering in English the metrical equivalent of the hexameter. It is Mr Omond's distinction among English Metrists that despite his learning and his enthusiasm he manages to keep his head. He puts concisely the central truth about English attempts at classical metres in two sentences, 'The right way of handling English verse must be gathered from observing the practice of English poets when writing from native inspiration,' and 'Development will come, if at all, on lines already familiar: syllable-quantity will be "counterpointed" to accent, remaining ancillary and subordinate, as in all our native verse.'

Canon Beeching in his essay on 'Blake's religious lyrics' draws an interesting parallel between the doctrines of Blake and St Paul, and touches certain aspects of the poetry with good sense and feeling. But he remains on the outskirts of Blake's philosophy. No one who has plunged whole-heartedly into Blake's thought could make the unqualified statement (p. 150) 'that when he began to generalize, whether in science or art or religion, he fell into error.'

Mr D. W. Rannie treats a fine subject laboriously and unfruitfully in his paper on 'Keats's Epithets.' The most simple of readers will hardly need to be told that 'Tiger-passion'd is short for "with such passions as those of a tiger,"' and the least passionate will cry out at the statement that 'in the great lyric of *Endymion* mushrooms are called *cold*, to express abstinence in contradistinction to vinous indulgence.' Again, when he asserts that 'Keats makes us feel (see *Hyperion* i. 74 and 353) that the stars are *always* earnest and patient just as they are always bright,' we must protest that Keats could never on a point of natural observation make us feel anything so false. But the critic himself is at any rate always earnest and patient, and his researches will probably suggest to those who already know Keats new depths in his meaning and new life in his images.

HELEN DARBISHIRE.

OXFORD.

*Le poème Anglo-Saxon de Beowulf.* Par HUBERT PIERQUIN. Paris: Alphonse Picard. 1912. Demy 8vo. iv + 846 pp.

The title of this book, its massive proportions, the high reputation of its publishers, and the distinguished quality of recent French scholarship in the field of English literature, all combine to excite pleasurable



anticipations. We may say at once that these anticipations are not realised. The Introduction to the *Beowulf* is quite inadequate, occupying a bare twenty pages, with a liberal allowance of blank spaces. It is quite uncritical, containing good and bad taken indifferently from remote and from somewhat modern writers. Thus we are informed that 'la langue de Beowulf est une variété primitive du dialecte saxon de l'ouest, à laquelle sont mêlées, çà et là, des expressions normandes.' By 'saxon de l'ouest,' as we learn from a statement on p. 738, M. Pierquin means the language of Wessex; by 'normandes,' of course, he means Norse. To the Introduction there succeeds, unexpectedly, and as it were absent-mindedly, a treatise of three hundred and fifty pages entitled 'Les Saxons en Angleterre,' in the preparation of which, M. Pierquin tells us in an unobtrusive footnote, he has followed Kemble's *Saxons in England*. 'Followed' is hardly the right word. Journeying through, or rather over, this tract we at last reach the text of *Beowulf*, printed in short lines side by side with a translation in French prose, and with footnotes relating to the MS. readings and emendations by previous editors.

Next come ten pages of explanatory notes, we merely remark the curious fact that these notes stop short at about l. 700, with no explanation of the deficiency. Then follows the text of *Widsith* and *The Battle of Finnsburh* with translation and footnotes; an index of proper names; a bibliography going no further than the year 1907 and omitting many important works, and an appendix with woodcuts representing weapons, ornaments, houses, ships, etc. Next we come to a treatise of nearly sixty pages on 'Rythmique Anglo-Saxonne et du très-ancien Anglais,' and one of forty-eight pages on the elements of Old English grammar, followed by a grammatical bibliography lifted bodily out of the third edition of Sievers' *Angelsächsische Grammatik*. Last of all, the prodigal but now flagging M. Pierquin presents us with a 'Lexique' or word-list to *Beowulf* covering fifty pages.

We feel now constrained to ask ourselves what was M. Pierquin's object in compiling such a book. He tells us in the preface that his sole aim is 'populariser un grand poème national dont les origines sont aussi fièrement revendiquées par l'Angleterre, que celles du *Roland* par la France.' Further, he says, that his labour will not have been in vain if the reader 'a compris notre effort vers la vérité.' The book therefore is apparently intended by its compiler to be popular and at the same time scientific. Let us examine it from this standpoint. M. Pierquin frankly admits that the various treatises in this volume are compiled from the works of a few earlier writers. They certainly give a good deal of information, but the treatment is uncritical, nor is it up-to-date, a defect which runs through the book. The treatise on Old English versification is very detailed in its account of verse-types, but there are notable omissions, and no account is given of the relative stress of the various grammatical classes of words. The outline of West-Saxon grammar is fairly correct, so far as it goes, but while too succinct and technical for the general reader, it is of no use to the student

who has Sievers' Grammar on his bookshelf. The 'Lexique' to *Beowulf* is a mere word-list, with many words omitted. The meanings are given first in English, which is odd, and then in French, and one reference only in each case is added, followed by 'etc.' This is likely to be a disappointment to the French reader who wishes to make some acquaintance with the language of the poem.

We have reserved the text of *Beowulf* and the French prose version to the last for consideration. Here it is that we have a real test of M. Pierquin's scholarship, of his knowledge of Old English, in a word of his fitness for the work he has undertaken. The text certainly presents an exceptional number of new features, in the shape of misprints which occur with incredible frequency, and are by no means always due to the printer. Instead of the usual symbols þ and ð, we generally find *th* used. But now and again we come across *p* and *d*, which are tell-tale survivals of the process adopted by M. Pierquin in the making of his text. Stops are inserted or omitted at random, so are the hyphens of compounds. Prefixes thus set at liberty have in quite a number of cases deserted to the preceding word, so that linguistic monsters appear, which will sorely puzzle the readers for whom M. Pierquin has provided the glossary and manuals of the language. The text seems to be based on those of the older editors, modern authorities such as Klaeber, Holthausen, Schücking, etc., being ignored. But it is the French prose version which is the least satisfactory part of M. Pierquin's performance. To substantiate this statement we append a few of the choicer specimens culled from the first seven hundred lines, which will, we trust, dispense us from specifying errors in other parts of the book. In l. 27 *felaħror* is 'tout caduc'; l. 32 *ħringedstefna* is 'à la proue sonore' (!); l. 70 *æfre gefrunon* is 'célébreraient à jamais'; l. 226 *sæwudu sældon*, *syrcan ħrysedon* is 'ils rangèrent leurs rames, laissèrent leurs cottes de mailles'; l. 231 *beran ofer bolcan* is 'suspendre aux mâts'; l. 258 *se yldesta* is 'le plus hautain'; l. 312 *hildedeor* is 'le guetteur au cheval de guerre'; l. 330 *irenþreat* is 'faisceau hérissé d'airain'; l. 333 *fætte scyldas* is 'boucliers épais' (!); l. 434 *for ħis wonħydum* is 'grâce à sa peau maudite' (!); l. 440 *þær gelyfun sceal* is 'c'est là que dormira'; l. 489 *on sæl meoto* is 'mange avec joie' (!).

This list could be greatly extended, but we refrain. M. Pierquin would have done better if he had given a literal translation of one of the German or English versions of the poem. Indeed, we may say in general that M. Pierquin has missed an opportunity. If he had only taken the trouble to do his compiling with average carefulness and discernment he could have produced a book which would have been a real boon to those French students, now not a few, who are interested in Germanic origins and literatures.

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*Keble's Lectures on Poetry*, 1832—1841. Translated by EDWARD KERSHAW FRANCIS. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1912. 8vo. 434, 534 pp.

It need not be doubted that Keble's *Prælectiones Academicæ* have been less widely read than they ought to be, or that this has been partly owing to the fact that they are written in Latin. It is not likely indeed that any except those who have some classical scholarship would be attracted by them, nor indeed could any others read them very profitably: but after all a Latin book is less easy to read than an English one, and requires more time; so that we are naturally disposed to welcome this translation, though we cannot without loss lay aside in favour of it the graceful and beautiful Latin of the original.

It may be said at once that the version is a good one, easy and idiomatic for the most part and not too much suggesting the idea of a translation. There are lapses, it is true. Thus 'they are more habituated to daily avocations in the full light of publicity' cannot be regarded as an ideal rendering of the simple 'ut qui in luce oculisque multorum magis sint versati' (I, p. 36), 'somewhat unelastic' is hardly a good rendering for 'præfractioni' (I, p. 41), and 'much, not to say a great deal' will never do for 'multa, ne dicam plura' (II, p. 232). In the following sentence, 'I hardly know whether it is justifiable to associate with such important considerations as these, the exquisite clearness of Lucretius' style, which like a clear atmosphere, makes all his theories stand out in such clear sequence and proportion' (II, p. 366), there is an awkward repetition of the words 'clear' and 'clearness' which (it is almost needless to say) is not found in the original, 'exquisitum illum styli Lucretiani nitorem, quo velut puro aere pellucet rationum junctura et series,' and after all 'clearness' does not exactly represent 'nitorem.' There is a similar or rather worse instance of the same kind in the very next sentence, 'since its peculiar power consists less in illuminating particular passages than in its power of filling the whole' etc. But these occasional infelicities are balanced by many examples of peculiarly happy renderings—'soothe deep-rooted and vital yearning' (I, p. 90), '[she] will wistfully gaze back on the well-known charms which have delighted her from her birth' (p. 92), 'we must trace by what special impulse, by what unrest (quo desiderio) he was led to draw together, as by a magician's wand, all the undiscovered resources of poetry' (p. 93),—these are examples gathered within a few pages, and it would be easy to find many more, while the general style is such as the author might well have approved, if a translation had been executed in his life-time, as was apparently at one time intended.

Yet, while noting and appreciating the merits of his work, we feel bound to say that the translator, in planning it, has made one very serious mistake. The lectures are concerned with the Greek and Latin classical poets, and they are naturally full of quotation. The argument

is everywhere illustrated, and the criticism justified, by passages from Homer, Æschylus, Pindar, Lucretius or Virgil, and these passages are here in almost every case represented by English metrical translations. The originals are not given even in footnotes. Now it is obviously impossible that critical remarks upon poetry can be properly illustrated by translated quotations, and even where it is the substance and not the style of the passage that is referred to, the badness, for the most part, of these particular versions goes far to destroy the reader's pleasure, so that it may fairly be said that without constant reference to the *Prælectiones* or to the original authors from whom the quotations are taken, no real satisfaction is to be got from these volumes. The lectures on the *Iliad* are made almost intolerable by the combination of Chapman and Pope to which we are treated: it is difficult to say which represents Homer worse. In those on the *Odyssey* for the most part we have Cowper, who is far less irritating, because at least he reproduces with simplicity the sense of the original. For Virgil we have to put up with Dryden, and Lucretius we see for the most part through the medium of Creech. A particular protest must be made against Chapman, who is often grotesquely bad; but in fact the whole thing is a mistake: the original passages ought of course to stand in the text, and if translations are thought to be needed, they should be in prose<sup>1</sup>. Numberless examples might be quoted of the ruinous effect produced by the system adopted. Keble compares Virgil, *Æn.* VIII, 407 ff., with Homer, *Il.* XII, 432 ff., and the former passage is represented by Dryden's version, the latter by Chapman's (I, p. 185). Between the two it may fairly be said that all the points that are relevant to the comparison have been dropped out. Again, the author points out how Lucretius in a certain passage (II, 629 ff.) appeals to common sympathies by a reference to childhood and the games of children, but the passage as quoted from Creech has no such reference and contains nothing that corresponds to the words 'pueri circum puerum' (II, p. 320). Sometimes the translation is inconsistent with Keble's interpretation of the passage, as in II, p. 183; more often, of course, it merely fails to illustrate in any degree the lecturer's remarks about the features of style in the original. For example, Keble quotes Lucretius, III, 1060 ff., and asks his reader to note especially the restrained simplicity of the passage. But what Mr Francis gives us is not Lucretius but Creech, and in his version there is no restrained simplicity. The translator found Lucretius too simple for his taste, and he took good care that there should be a sufficiency of ornament added (II, p. 352). In quoting the well-known passage about the horse from *Iliad*, VI, 506 ff., Keble remarks upon the appropriateness of the broken rhythm in the line,

ρίμφα ἐ γούνα φέρει μετά τ' ἦθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων.

<sup>1</sup> We have noticed a very few cases in which this is done. A quotation from Virgil is once given in the original, with the prose translation by Conington (I, p. 77); and in another place a few lines from Lucretius are cited in Latin, with Munro's translation (II, p. 309).

But in the translation, as given from Pope, all is smooth enough,

And springs exulting to his fields again (I, p. 168).

Again, in one place we are asked to note the sound of the verse in a passage from Pindar, and are presented with Moore's rendering of it,—fairly good, but of course not in the least reproducing the sound. In a few cases, no doubt, the versions are successful and serve their purpose. Some of Cowper's from the *Odyssey* are, for translations, all that can be desired, e.g. I, p. 290,

Shout not, be still. Unholy is the voice  
Of loud thanksgiving over slaughtered men.

Dryden occasionally contributes a fine rendering, as in the passage quoted in I, p. 460, and a few jewels from Conington are scattered here and there. On the whole, however, this large collection of examples serves chiefly to remind us of the general rule that poetry cannot be translated.

Other matters are of less importance; but it would have been well to distinguish the footnotes of the translator in some way from those of the author, and the method adopted sometimes of rendering an echo of some Latin poet by a quotation of a somewhat similar tendency from an English poet, is rather misleading. When we find (I, p. 92) 'the "cool, sequestered vale of life,"' we naturally think that Keble quoted from Gray. It is only when we turn to the original that we perceive his expression to have been a reminiscence of the 'fallentis semita vitæ' of Horace. Again, the quotation from Mr Mallock's poem which appears on II, p. 365 surely ought not to have been introduced into the text.

This is not the place to say much of the lectures themselves, but I am unwilling to pass them by without a few words of appreciation, and I gladly make use of the translation provided by Mr Francis to illustrate what has to be said. The lectures are remarkable first for their theory of poetry generally, then for their classification of poets as primary and secondary, and finally for the critical judgment shown in dealing with the poetical work of those whom the author selects as preeminent. It is not (as has sometimes been stated) by the criterion of pleasure that he appraises poetry, but by its function of healing. 'De Poeticæ Vi Medica' are the words on the title-page of the *Prelectiones* which indicate their subject. Poetry is 'a kind of medicine divinely bestowed upon men: which gives healing relief to secret mental emotion, yet without detriment to modest reserve: and, while giving scope to enthusiasm, yet rules it with order and due control' (I, p. 22). It is interesting to note the relation of this view of poetry to the Aristotelian doctrine of *κάθαρσις* as applied to tragedy, though Keble himself perhaps did not fully appreciate the relation, for he probably did not take the *κάθαρσις* of the *Poetics* in a medical sense. Indeed it is noticeable that Keble finds some difficulty in bringing the more objective forms of poetry, the Epic and the Drama, under the terms of his theory

(I, p. 86), which seems to have been framed first with a view to lyric poetry, perhaps more particularly with a view to the work of the poet to whom he dedicated these lectures, and whom he repeatedly refers to as the greatest of his time, namely Wordsworth. How can Epic poetry or Tragedy be regarded as an outlet of individual emotion, a remedy for the unrest of a passionate spirit? The answer is given in the distinction of *ἡθος* and *πάθος*, and the twofold division of poetry in accordance with this distinction. There are those whose poetical expression serves to calm the tumult of momentary passion, in themselves and in others, those who compose 'at a white heat' as Shelley expresses it, though they may afterwards add laborious finish; but there are also poets in whom some life-long yearning, some deep-seated unrest can satisfy itself only by tasks of a different kind, by presentation of human life and destiny in forms which correspond to the feeling which disturbs them, a feeling which is not indeed tumultuous but none the less powerful and compelling. Thus Homer was moved by an intense yearning for those heroic times which when his poems were composed had passed or were rapidly passing away; Æschylus was disturbed by his overpowering sense of the working of a Supreme Power, combined with his doubts as to the divine righteousness; Euripides was moved by his deep sense of common humanity; Lucretius by his passion for mystery and infinity; Virgil by his longing for the peace and simplicity of country life. In a certain sense, then, all poets are lyrical (II, p. 93). And the distinction of primary and secondary poets is made upon the basis of the same principle. Those are primary who are dominated by a single, sincere and consistent feeling. 'The central point of our theory is that the essence of all poetry is to be found, not in high-wrought subtlety of thought, nor in pointed cleverness of phrase, but in the depth of the heart and the most sacred feelings of the men who write' (II, p. 201). It is because there seems to the lecturer to be no such genuine spring of inspiration visible in the work of Sophocles, that he places him in the second rank, as one who has become a poet in virtue of consummate skill and culture. Keble holds that he has a want of true religious feeling and of pity. He is conscious that by such a case as this his theory is tested severely, but he holds that he must not shrink from the test, and on similar grounds he excludes Horace also from primary rank. Whatever may be our opinion about these cases, we must all agree that the theory is to some extent insufficient, that some further test than that of consistency and sincerity is required: yet we must allow that as expounded and illustrated by Keble, it is extremely interesting and suggestive. And here we come to the detailed criticism of particular works, to which the greater number of the lectures are devoted. Nothing can be better than the fine appreciation of the character of Achilles in the *Iliad*, or the charming estimate of the story of the *Odyssey*. With Æschylus the lecturer is in deep religious sympathy, and his discussion of the *Prometheus Vincetus* and of the *Oresteia* is profoundly illuminating. His defence

of Euripides as the champion and protector of common human feeling, no woman-hater, but something of an ascetic, with a special love of religious purity, as shown in the characters of Ion and Hippolytus, is one of the most interesting things in the lectures; and his treatment of Lucretius is distinguished by true poetical appreciation, triumphantly prevailing over his natural aversion to the religious theories which it is the chief aim of Lucretius to drive home. In spite of these, he finds in him a constant testimony to the highest and purest ideals, and a feeling for the mystery and infinity of Nature, by which, all unknown to himself, the poet wonderfully supports and communicates to those who read him the religious sense which in terms he seeks to abolish. 'Infinita contemplari, religio quædam.' Finally in Virgil, perhaps the dearest to him of all the Classical poets, he finds not primarily the Epic poet<sup>1</sup>, but the lover of the calm tranquillity of Nature, delighted ever to recognise the vestiges of a power higher than human, and rightly recognised by the Middle Ages as a true precursor of Christianity.

The lectures are concerned entirely with Classical literature, but they have very numerous references to the English poets, and especially to Shakespeare and Spenser. Keble repeatedly speaks of Wordsworth as the greatest poet of his own time, but he highly praises Scott, for whom he evidently has a genuine affection. Byron is mentioned with sufficient acknowledgment of his poetical power, but with reprobation of the tendency of his work; while Shelley, who to some extent comes under the same condemnation, is recognised as a poet of finer feeling and higher powers of rhythmical expression. We feel that if Keble had known him better, he might have been saved in company with Lucretius. Neither Coleridge nor Keats is mentioned. To Burns there are several references, and he is evidently a favourite, though the inequality of his work is deplored. Milton is four or five times referred to, and *Lycidas* is particularly appreciated. But Keble thought it beneath the dignity of his Chair to quote modern poets in modern languages, and when he has occasion to cite passages, he turns them into Greek or Latin<sup>2</sup>, thus lending some colour, it must be admitted, to the practice of Mr Francis, who quotes the Greek and Latin poets in English. But Keble's quotations from the English poets are rather ornamental than necessary to the argument; and moreover the translations are made, and very exquisitely made, for the occasion by the author himself. They increase in fact the sense that we have throughout, of

<sup>1</sup> Some parts of Keble's criticism of the *Æneid* are amusing in their severity, as for example his remarks on the character of Æneas, and his observation that the plea of God's command is 'the customary cloak of fraud throughout the *Æneid*.' He makes the very true remark that Virgil's men and women move our sympathies not so much for their own sakes as on account of their fates and fortunes, while Homer's characters 'are so hit off that each of them exhibits characteristic and peculiar individuality' (II. p. 383).

<sup>2</sup> Thus Burns is quoted in Greek elegiacs (*Prælect.*, p. 20) and in a Latin lyric metre (p. 238), Milton's Sonnet on his blindness in Greek iambs (p. 243), *Paradise Lost* in Latin hexameters (p. 226) and Spenser's *Astrophel* in Latin sapphics (p. 523). Rather strangely, the quotations from the Bible are given in Greek, not in Latin.

being in contact with a very attractive personality and one of true poetical taste and feeling; and in spite of the faults to which we have referred, we heartily welcome the present translation, which is certain at least to make the circle of contact wider.

G. C. MACAULAY.

CAMBRIDGE.

*Poems of Adam Lindsay Gordon.* Edited by FRANK MALDON ROBB. Oxford: H. Frowde. 1912. 8vo. cxxiv + 390 pp.

The irritating brevity of human life is never brought home to us with greater force than when some new and promising development of science or literature or art seems to open before our eyes, and we know that the historian of the future will alone be able to appreciate it at its proper value, or see whither it is tending. Such a development is what we may roughly term 'Colonial Poetry,' which has a quality of its own, difficult to define but quite distinct from our own modern lyrics. The pioneers who go out to hew a path for civilization, to ranch and mine and build, are usually men of action rather than of culture, but contact with the forces of Nature stirs the poetry which lies buried in the heart of most of us, and the lumber-man and the squatter understand, perhaps better than their brethren in the Old World, the feeling that inspired the song of pre-Conquest Wanderer or Seafarer. Theirs is a hard life enough, but though it may be brutal it is never vulgar, and not even the rise of occasional big cities has as yet been able to reduce it to the conventionality to which we are accustomed, or to rob it of the reality which a spice of physical danger always implies.

No game was ever yet worth a rap  
For a rational man to play,  
Into which no accident, no mishap  
Could possibly find its way,

is not poetry, but its frank enjoyment of adventure is akin to the spirit which has inspired some of the most poetic ages of history. The Elizabethans too were mighty men of their hands, pioneers and explorers and it is curious and interesting that in their poetry, as in that of their Anglo-Saxon forbears, we find the same mixture of exhilaration and bitter depression that marks the poems of the greatest lyric poet of Australia. Gordon's physical delight in anything daring has inspired some of his finest passages. The ride in *The Romance of Britomarte*, though it echoes Browning a little too obviously, is full of vigour and life, *The Roll of the Kettledrum* has in it something of the thrill of battle as *Hippodramia* has the thrill of the race-course. It is a pity that a touch of Byronic sentimentality so often spoils the effect. Gordon is more at home among horses than among men. He has not the reticence and restraint needed for dramatic effect, and when he does not, as is too often the case, intrude his own personal emotion, he is apt to expatiate upon the sentiments of his characters. Mr Robb, in his interesting



prefatory essay on Gordon's debt to English literature, quotes with approval the statement that *Fauconshawe* 'breathes the very spirit of the knightly days of chivalry'; but while the picturesque side of chivalry, and still more the sentimental side, make a strong appeal to the poet, he has none of that power of grim suggestion, none of that dramatic simplicity, which give their fascination to the genuine ballads. The *Launcelot* of *The Rhyme of Joyous Garde* is Tennysonian, but not in the least mediæval; his self-torturing is far more closely akin to that of 'a second-rate sensitive mind' than to the splendid and dignified tragedy of the *Morte d'Arthur*. Where Gordon excels is, as has been said, in his description of rapid action and in his occasional happiness of phrase. Mr Robb draws attention to his constant, and often most effective use of alliteration and assonance. The influence of Swinburne and Tennyson is marked, but it is easy to gather passages which are no mere imitation of other men's tricks of style:

And the long lithe sword in the hand became  
As a leaping light, as a falling flame,  
As a fire through the flax that hasted,

is neither Swinburne nor Tennyson, but Adam Lindsay Gordon. It is a pity that the poet who could write like this, too often allowed his facility for rhyming to carry him off into mere jingle. Mr Robb likens him to Browning in this respect, and it is easy enough to pick out certain superficial resemblances, but Browning's verse at its ugliest is hewn out of the man himself; Gordon catches now an echo of this poet, now a hint from that, and plays with styles as if he were a boy experimenting. And of the deeper influence of Browning—in spite of Mr Robb's contention to the contrary—it is hard to find a trace. The tragedy of Gordon's short life left its mark on all that he wrote. At the best he has but a weaker version of Henley's stern self-reliance to offer us:

So we'll ne'er surrender tamely  
To the ills that throng us fast.  
If we must die, let's die gamely;  
Luck may take a turn at last.

At other times bitterness overwhelms all else:

A little season of love and laughter,  
Of light and life and pleasure and pain,  
And a horror of outer darkness after,  
And dust returneth to dust again.  
Then the lesser life shall be as the greater  
And the lover of life shall join the hater,  
And the one thing cometh sooner or later,  
And no one knoweth loss or gain.

This is very different from the gospel of *Prospice* or *Abt Vogler*. But with all its faults and immaturities the poems of Gordon have a quality of their own. Whether that quality is Australian or peculiar to the poet himself, it is as yet too early to say. In either case it ensures

their continued existence. Gordon is not a great poet; but he is a poet, and we owe a debt of gratitude to the sympathetic and careful editorship of Mr Robb, who has given us the opportunity of studying his life and works side by side, and of judging dispassionately his place in the roll of nineteenth century writers.

GRACE E. HADOW.

CIRENCESTER.

*Die neuere deutsche Lyrik.* Von PHILIPP WITKOP. Erster Band: Von Friedrich von Spee bis Hölderlin. Zweiter Band: Novalis bis Liliencron. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1910, 1913. 8vo. viii + 366, vii + 380 pp.

Witkop is a disciple of Wilhelm Dilthey; he seeks to combine poetry, aesthetics and philosophy. He takes the personality of the poet as his starting-point: 'die Lyrik gibt uns einsam und unmittelbar den Dichter, das Individuum.' His task is, 'die innere Form der lyrischen Persönlichkeit darzustellen: eben sie ist die Form ihrer Lyrik.' The touchstone of good lyric poetry is inner truth, and he tests this by asking if the context is based on 'Erlebnis.' With the Minnesang he has little sympathy: it lacks 'Leidenschaftlichkeit, Notwendigkeit'; even Walther von der Vogelweide is no exception (p. 39). The Volkslied is 'typisch' in contrast to 'individuell,' its importance has been exaggerated. He regards it as exclusively 'Bauernlied' (p. 44) and the Kirchenlied as 'Lied der Geistlichen' (p. 47). The 'Schäferpoesie' of the seventeenth century is simply 'verlogen' (p. 50). No poet before Spee 'hat sich zum unmittelbaren, notwendigen Ausdruck der Persönlichkeit durchgerungen' (p. 35). The mere literary historian, at whom Witkop arrogantly scoffs, would hardly make such statements. We grow tired of Witkop's formulas and schemes, especially when they convey no meaning, e.g., 'Hagedorn, der von der Sinnlichkeit zur Idee verlangt,' or 'Angelus Silesius hat der deutschen Lyrik den Innenmenschen gegeben, Brockes den Sinnenmenschen.' The stress laid on 'Erlebnis' brings us to the amusing conclusion that Hagedorn is greater than the Anacreontists because he really suffered from gout and died an early death (p. 141). The chapters on Claudius, Bürger and Schubart are good. Witkop's view of Goethe's many love affairs as a necessity of his 'Hingabe an das Allgemeine' (p. 252), of his dramatic characters as purely subjective (p. 248), the explanation of his unrhymed stanzas as 'herrlichste Notwendigkeit' (p. 250), and of the sensual tone of the *Römische Elegien* also as a 'Notwendigkeit'—'sein in sich selber ruhender, reiner Geist verlangt seinen Gegenpol, die reine Sinnlichkeit'—are examples of the dangers of formalism and narrowness.

In the second volume some more 'Schlagwörter' are introduced, 'Erdverwachsenheit,' 'Volksverbundenheit' and 'Weltverbundenheit.' Heine has none of these qualities, 'Je wurzelloser Heine in der Welt

des Wirklichen war, ohne Land, Volk und Beruf.' So his early poetry is discarded, although Witkop in the first volume insisted principally, almost solely, upon the lyric being 'persönlich, individuell.' Heine's use of the form of the Volkslied is unjustifiable, 'ein Versuch Volkslieder ohne Volksverbundenheit zu dichten' (p. 202). His poems do not possess 'den schlichten Ton des Volkslieds' (p. 201), a statement, contradicted later on page 322. The *Nordseebilder* 'entbehren jeder Reinheit und Wahrheit: Heine hat ein inneres Verhältnis zur Natur nie besessen' (p. 204). The treatment of Eichendorff, Hebbel and Droste is good, but Storm seems rather neglected (5 pages to 32 for Platen). Lenau's merits are distinctly underestimated: his poems are 'einzeln und für sich meist unvollkommen und wenig selbständig' (p. 137). Liliencron is fully discussed, but it is strange that he is praised for his use of the 'Feile' (p. 345), which in Heine's case was regarded as a proof of 'innere Unwahrheit' (p. 204). Witkop confines himself to the great names, but in a book of 764 pages room might have been found for Freiligrath, Herwegh, Geibel, Lingg, Heyse, Groth. There is no attempt to trace literary connections or to show how the poetry breathes the spirit and atmosphere of the age. The greatest fault of the book is the want of a broad, clear view of the essence of poetry. Certainly 'Erlebnis' and inner truth are very important, but to insist on these to the neglect of external form, of the imaginative working-up of the theme, which frequently, as in Mörike's case, means the addition of a large fictional element, inevitably leads to false judgments. Witkop's book has been written gradually; that may explain the lack of clearness and consistency, but not the pomposity and bombast. In his preface he discards the 'Nur-geschichtliche, das Zufällige' and yet—one example only—he gives us an indescribably dreary paragraph enumerating all the public offices held by Eichendorff (p. 80).

JOHN LEES.

ABERDEEN.

*An Introduction to the French Classical Drama.* By ELEANOR F. JOURDAIN. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1912. 8vo. 208 pp.

Les critiques anglais ont bien souvent répété, depuis Dryden, que le théâtre classique français était froid, compassé, artificiel, trop chargé de rhétorique. C'a été, de tous temps, et partout, l'avis de beaucoup de collégiens en France, et il s'y rencontre même des amateurs de littérature qui ne se soucient pas, leurs études finies, de reprendre contact avec les chefs-d'œuvre qui leur ont été imposés dans les programmes du baccalauréat et de la licence ès lettres; ils les admirent de loin et laissent à d'autres de les pratiquer et de les goûter; c'est pour eux-mêmes plaisir acheté trop cher. Miss Jourdain s'est attachée à vaincre dans le public anglais des préventions ou des résistances du même genre; son désir serait de convaincre les étudiants des Universités où nous enseignons:

'That the French classical drama of the seventeenth century has been influential because it is not cold, but thrilling with passion, because the words are not mere rhetoric, but carry the right meaning, because the setting is not a sign of artificiality, but of art. The real antithesis may be not, as has been supposed, between the naturalism of the present day and the conventionalism of the seventeenth century, but between the subjectivity of the Teutonic idea, with its accompanying love of mystery and expansiveness, and the French social ideal, whether expressed by Corneille and Racine in different forms of romanticism, or by Molière in those of realism' (p. 7).

Miss Jourdain ne traite en effet que de ces trois auteurs, qu'elle connaît bien; elle fait peu d'allusions aux écrivains du second ordre, ou même à celles des œuvres qui, aujourd'hui oubliées, ont triomphé à la scène et nous permettent de reconstituer à distance, aujourd'hui, en ses principaux traits, le sens esthétique du public moyen d'alors, qu'elles ont pleinement satisfait. L'auteur s'est défendu d'avance contre ce reproche possible: 'This introductory essay does not attempt to do more than suggest lines of investigation and reading, and therefore the illustrations given are not exhaustive' (p. 8-9).

Le livre est ainsi divisé: généralités sur le théâtre du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle (définition des termes des différents genres, de la loi de 'l'action dramatique, telle que l'a donnée Brunetière, la volonté en action, volonté individuelle et volonté collective—celle-ci plus marquée chez Racine que chez Corneille,—l'interprétation et la mise en scène); Corneille et la scène française, Corneille et le drame espagnol, Corneille et la théorie du drame; Molière et la scène française et italienne, Molière de *l'Ecole des Maris* au *Misanthrope*, la Comédie de Molière; Racine et le drame grec, Racine et les forces dramatiques qui, à l'arrière-plan, dominent ses tragédies (rapprochement avec Maeterlinck), Racine et la poésie dramatique; en appendice, deux courtes notes sur Corneille et son interprétation des textes d'Aristote, et sur les adaptations de pièces françaises classiques en Allemagne.

L'auteur a fort bien fait de ne pas donner l'analyse des pièces dont il avait à parler (il ne s'occupe avec quelque détail que du *Cid* et de *Polyeucte*), et de réduire au minimum, comme il l'a fait, les indications biographiques; il était plus important d'essayer de définir l'originalité des trois grands écrivains dramatiques par rapport à leurs modèles de Grèce, de Rome, d'Italie ou d'Espagne; et les lecteurs anglais trouveront les rapprochements faits avec le théâtre anglais des XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles, plus instructifs que ceux qui auraient pu être faits avec des œuvres françaises de moindre valeur.

Cette 'mise au point pour le public de langue anglaise' ne vise point à l'originalité; elle n'en sera pas moins utile; elle témoigne d'intelligence, de finesse, de sensibilité esthétique; elle a recours directement aux textes et aux documents du temps aussi bien qu'aux jugements des critiques modernes. Parmi ceux-ci Miss Jourdain cite de préférence L. Moland, Rigal, P. Stapfer et H. Bergson (*Le Rire*) pour Molière, Le Bidois et Paul Janet pour Racine, Jules

Lemaître pour Corneille, plus rarement Brunetière, G. Lanson et É. Faguet, nulle part G. Larroumet pour Molière, G. Michaut pour Racine, ni Paul Desjardins (*La méthode des classiques français*).

Le développement n'a rien de didactique, de sec, ni même de fermement rigoureux dans le détail de l'ordonnance; la rédaction est sobre, aisée, agréable et distinguée. La révision typographique semble n'avoir pas été faite avec toute la minutie désirable. Voici quelques contributions à l'Errata futur: p. 14, note 5, 3<sup>e</sup> vers faux; supprimer *a*; p. 18, note, dern. ligne, lire *des libertés*; p. 19, n. 2, 5<sup>e</sup> ligne de bas en haut, lire *aux dépens*; p. 26, dernier vers cité, lire *M'explique son oracle*; p. 28, n. 1, l. 4, lire *ancienne dignité*; l. 5, lire *seroys*; p. 29, n. 1, l. 7, lire *fût*; p. 43, n. 1, l. 2, lire *dis*; p. 44, n. 2, vers 8, lire *fais*, vers 9, lire *toi seul as*; p. 48, n. 1, ligne 2, lire *finie*; p. 61, n. 2, l. 4, lire *s'appropriait*; p. 87, n. 1, l. 3, lire *latin*; p. 89, l. 5, lire *attribuerois*, l. 6, lire *fût*; p. 91, l. 3, lire *malaisés*, n. 7, lire *leurs*; p. 92, l. 16, lire *employer*; p. 93, l. 3, lire *derniers*; p. 107, n. 1, l. 2, un mot omis après *avait*; p. 155, vers 2, lire *s'opposeront* (le vers tel quel est faux); p. 157, 4<sup>e</sup> vers cité, faux, par omission d'un mot; p. 158, n. 3, dern. vers, lire *va t'en*; p. 167, 2<sup>e</sup> vers cité, lire *enchaînés*; p. 175, n. 3, dern. vers fautif; p. 179, vers 1, lire *préparoit*; p. 181, n. 4, 2<sup>e</sup> vers fautif; p. 188, n. 2, l. 2, lire *stratégique*; p. 199, l. 4, lire *malgré*; les formes en *oit* seraient à restituer en certains endroits; p. 51, notes, p. 91, l. 5, p. 95, l. 3, p. 119, n. 2, p. 120, 2 derniers vers, p. 126, n. 2, p. 138, n. 1, p. 139, n. 1, p. 142, 10<sup>e</sup> vers cité, p. 149, 3<sup>e</sup> ligne citée, p. 151, 4<sup>e</sup> vers cité.

L'index tient lieu de table bibliographique, et la Préface, de conclusion générale.

H. CHATELAIN.

BIRMINGHAM.

*The Commedia dell' Arte; a Study in Italian Popular Comedy.* By WINIFRED SMITH. (*Studies in English and Comparative Literature.*) New York: Columbia University Press, 1912. 8vo. xv + 289 pp.

A dispassionate estimate of the importance of the *Commedia dell'arte* is not easy to give. Even its origins are still somewhat obscure; while its influence on foreign comic plays and on later Italian ones has received a varying amount of recognition. Much has been written on the subject, and some particular departments have been exhaustively investigated, but no one can claim to have given a thoroughly comprehensive and synthetic survey of the whole. Miss Smith was certainly well advised in directing her attention to the *Commedia dell'arte* and she has taken considerable trouble to attain completeness and at the same time to satisfy the requirements of modern criticism. The results of her labours, in so far as novelty is concerned, are somewhat scanty, but he would be an unfair critic who did not appreciate the usefulness

of some sidelights she has brought to bear on the subject. After all, a book in which the main facts are summarised, current opinions carefully criticised, and the most important data conveniently grouped, cannot fail to act as a stimulant to further research. The treatment of a subject involving several countries and covering well over two hundred years offers many difficulties. Points which have been thoroughly thrashed out had to be reconsidered, or the work would have been incomplete, while others requiring further research could not in the general economy of the book be adequately enlarged upon. Such difficulties, which we cannot say have been fully overcome, account for the main shortcomings of this work. There is however one really pleasing feature of this book; it draws attention to certain accounts of performances of *commedia dell' arte* which were written by foreign visitors in Italy, such as Coryate. For these interesting sources, which had not hitherto been thoroughly exploited, we are greatly in the author's debt.

The daring, if fascinating, opinion which was last upheld by De Amicis, about the connection of the *Commedia dell' arte* with the popular theatre of Rome, has been now entirely abandoned. The pages devoted to this discussion might consequently have been curtailed without any appreciable harm, although Miss Smith had necessarily to make her attitude on the matter clear. The author is duly impressed by the fact, only too often overlooked, of the continuity of Latin thought throughout the Middle Ages in Italy; but she rightly sees that, however absurd it may be to trace the origin of the professional extemporary comedians to the Roman popular actors or the like, it would be equally uncritical to ignore that analogous conditions may in the same people have the same effects even at an enormous interval of time. The people of Rome, before they were mastered by the fatal obsession of the *ludi circenses*, were far more partial to the *Mimi* and the *Atellanae* than to the higher sort of theatricals, which a refined minority, brought up on Greek culture, had striven to acclimatise. However little we know about those less noble performances, we know enough to realise that they were closely allied to the coarse antics of *joculatores*, *cantimbanchi* and others of the same class. This is the sole justification for the erroneous assumption of a real continuity of the genre. When churchmen thundered against theatrical performances as schools of immorality, they had a much easier victory over the offshoots of the artificial Græco-Roman theatre than against the more popular forms of entertainment, and throughout the Middle Ages we repeatedly find sermons aimed at the scandals caused by farces and jugglers.

Histrionic types may have existed before the *Commedia dell' arte*, but even although typical masks were proved to have existed before the middle of the sixteenth century, this would in no way prove that the *commedia* itself had come into being at so early a date. The author is rather too ready to dismiss the *Rappresentazioni sacre* as witnesses to the popular taste for comic scenes. D'Ancona himself (why does

Miss Smith always print Ancona for D'Ancona?) quotes several good instances of comic scenes and comic characters which were imitated by professional players. The *Rappresentazioni* were in time acted by professional players, a circumstance which should not be overlooked, since it was only necessary for these or the patrons for whom they played to light upon the idea of adapting a *commedia erudita* to the coarser taste of the people, by introducing comic features, topical allusions, or even some favourite mountebank, in order to have a *commedia dell'arte*. The external history of the earlier professional comedies in Italy is carefully studied, and is drawn, as we already mentioned, from contemporary sources; but the account might have been rendered more complete by a closer acquaintance with critical studies on this subject<sup>1</sup>. Miss Smith had, however, a wide field to cover and could hardly be expected to deal exhaustively with every section of it. On the history of the earliest companies she cannot be said to have thrown any new light<sup>2</sup>.

Naturally Miss Smith has given great attention to the collections of *scenari* and has carefully analysed some of these<sup>3</sup>, but it is to her credit that she has not been led, by partiality for the subject, to overrate the importance of the *commedie dell'arte*, either as works of art or as sources of later developments in Italy or in other countries. In fact, if anything, she seems inclined to be apologetic for the theme of her study. She avers quite rightly that the authors and performers of these plays never aimed at anything but the immediate entertainment of a rather unsophisticated public. But perhaps it is difficult to do justice now to these plays, merely by reading the *scenari*; their value and popularity must have depended to a great extent on the histrionic powers of the actors. They were meant to give scope to the acting and to the improvisation of professionals who must have had in many cases quite remarkable gifts developed by a specialised training, which ought not to be overlooked or underrated. We must realise that the *scenario* gives us only the background of the picture, the foreground was held by the actor, who enhanced the value of a meagre plot by clever acting and judicious extemporising. Otherwise the long-continued popularity of these plays would be inexplicable.

<sup>1</sup> We may mention here that the bibliography reveals in general many omissions. It might be rendered more complete by a reference to the notes to *La Commedia* by Ireneo Sanesi, in *Storia dei Generi letterari*, Milano, Vallardi, 1911. There is an interesting article, *Notizie sulla storia del teatro a Padova nel secolo xvi*, etc., in the *Ateneo Veneto*, xxii, vol. i.

<sup>2</sup> A couple of articles which might have been mentioned are *Le abbazie degli stolti in Piemonte*, by F. Neri in the *Giornale Storico*, xl (1892), and *Alcuni appunti sul teatro in Piemonte nel secolo xv*, by F. Gabotto in the *Biblioteca delle Scuole Italiane*, v. There is also a curious passage in Lasca which I venture to draw attention to, not knowing whether it has already been noticed, '...facendosi per sorte allora una commedia nel palagio de' Pitti dalla compagnia del Lauro e Amerigo...' (Lasca, Cena i, Novella ii, Torino, Pomba, 1853, p. 291).

<sup>3</sup> The following might be added to the collections which are mentioned; *Ancora una raccolta di scenari*, by F. de Simone Brouwer, in *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, Serie v, x, 11—12.

The problem which Miss Smith also deals with, as to why Italians practically held the privilege of performing these plays, does not seem very important, and we are inclined to think that a satisfactory solution is not to be found. Goldoni's attitude towards the *Commedia dell' arte* is rather more complex than the author assumes (p. 207); he was not an opponent of it, he merely disliked bad and debased *commedie*, as is explained at great length in a recent book<sup>1</sup>.

Had Italian actors never crossed the Alps the interest in their performances would be limited. They appear, however, to have found their way to all parts of civilised Europe. Miss Smith has spared no pains in estimating the importance of such performances in different countries. Her treatment of this part, though brief, is full of interest. Spain might still be searched to some advantage for documents regarding this matter. Germany does not offer much, but France and England stand out with quite a wealth of documents. Miss Smith has attained so large a measure of success in her study that it appears almost pedantic to point out deficiencies<sup>2</sup>. Perhaps it would have been more profitable if she had limited the field of her study and tilled the soil more deeply. There is however little doubt that her book is the result of serious study, that it offers a useful comprehensive survey of an interesting subject, and that it will be read with profit even by those who are already conversant with some sections of the history of the *Commedia dell' arte*.

CESARE FOLIGNO.

OXFORD.

*Dante and the Mystics.* By EDMUND G. GARDNER. London: Dent. 1913. 8vo. xv + 357 pp.

This book will be welcome to all who love Dante or who are interested in the mystical theology of the thirteenth century. Mr Gardner adopts the fruitful method of interpreting the poet by showing what were the sources from which he drew, and he brings to the task not merely scholarship and learning but also, what is yet more important, sympathetic understanding and spiritual insight.

Under the literal sense of the *Commedia* lies the allegorical or mystical sense. Dante's journey is no mere imaginary voyage through some remote heaven and hell, but the unfolding of intense present experience. Heaven is 'fulfilled desire,' Hell is 'the shadow of a soul

<sup>1</sup> *Goldoni e la Commedia dell' arte*, by O. Marchini-Capasso, Napoli, Perrella, 1912. Little information is to be obtained from *Études de Littérature Italienne*, by Maurice Mignon, Paris, Hachette, 1912, pp. 115—153. *La comicità e l'ilarità del Goldoni*, by A. Momigliano in the *Giornale Storico*, lxi (1913), pp. 193 ff. does not deal with this subject.

<sup>2</sup> Considering the wide scope of the bibliography the following might have been added. *Early Plays from the Italian*, by R. W. Bond, Oxford, 1911; *La comédie italienne en France, 1570—1791*, by N. M. Bernardin. I have also noticed a few misprints: p. 7, n. 3 'Piangiani' for 'Pianigiani'; p. 151 'Gonzaghe' for 'Gouzaghe'; p. 157, n. 40 'Aridosio' for 'Aridosia'; p. 160, n. 47 'extravagently'; p. 203, note 'della piu infime' for 'della più infima'; p. 272 '(Pellizzaro) anteriora' for 'anteriore.'



on fire.' Dante himself has been there. He bears witness to what he has seen and known and felt. Hence the precious poem is the most intense biography of spiritual experience. The perception of the hideousness of vice and the beauty of virtue is a moral vision and implies the apprehension of an unseen reality and the appeal to an eternal standard. This intuition may light the soul in growing clearness through all the grades of spiritual ascent.

In the Epistle to Can Grande Dante claims that he has himself had the mystical and ineffable experience described in the closing cantos of the *Paradiso*, and refers in support of his claim to Richard of S. Victor's *de Contemplatione*, to S. Bernard's *de Consideratione* and to S. Augustine's *de Quantitate Animae*. Professor Lubin of Graz pointed out Dante's dependence on these sources, though he used Richard's *Benjamin Minor* rather than the *Benjamin Major* as the basis of comparison, and he also remarked that this evidence of indebtedness is a valuable confirmation of the genuineness of the Epistle in which these writers are appealed to. Dante was a scholastic in theology but a mystic in religion, and his debt to the mystics has been hardly enough realized. Mr Gardner takes these writers and tracks out minutely correspondences of thought and phrase between them and the poem.

Dante is so many-sided that almost every aspect of the life and thought of the time is reflected in his writings. Mr Gardner thus correlates the mystical side of his teaching with that of the writers whom he studied and brings it out clearly against the background of the age.

This method is a most valuable one, but there is danger if it is too exclusively followed. The poet is treated as though he were a literary man working in a well-stocked library and having unlimited leisure, yet during many of these years he was an almost destitute wandering scholar, devoid of luggage and pressed by 'rei familiaris angustia.' Thus much of what finds expression in the poem probably comes from life rather than from books, and from living tradition rather than from study. When Mr Gardner is dealing with Dante's account of S. Francis, for instance, as he tracks the poet's phrases back to some written source, the whole story seems to become a mosaic of tessellated fragments collected from the various lives of the Saint and the *Sacrum Commercium*. Yet much of Dante's knowledge of S. Francis must have come from intimate companionship with the friars. Among them the history of S. Francis was cherished and sacred and the memory of the Saint was present and powerful.

Again Mr Gardner is inclined to minimize the influence of S. Bonaventura. Here was a great and fervid personality whose life overlapped that of Dante, who had walked over the hills of Umbria and who had left the fragrance of his footsteps where the exiled poet was wearily to tread. Signor di Bologna has shown how innumerable are the correspondences between the thoughts of that great mystical teacher and the *Commedia*. Although in many cases these thoughts can be

traced back to earlier sources and follow an age-long mystical tradition, yet we may well believe that what would otherwise have been mere diffused light was concentrated in S. Bonaventura and through him as a glass focussed in burning radiance on the soul of Dante.

Once more Mr Gardner would find a literary origin for many of the details of the Earthly Paradise in the visions and writings of Mechteld of Magdeburg and of Mechteld of Hackeborn. Yet surely it is more probable that the imagery is drawn from some scene which the poet had visited. Is it rash to hazard the suggestion that Dante's description of the Earthly Paradise was based on the life at the monastery of La Verna in the Casentino? It was here that S. Francis received the Stigmata. At this monastery S. Bonaventura wrote, in 1259, the *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*. Dante knew the neighbourhood well (*Infer.* 29<sup>109</sup>, 30<sup>65</sup>, 30<sup>73</sup>, *Purg.* 5<sup>94</sup>, 14<sup>43</sup>, *Canzone* XI, *Ep.* ii, tit.). It was perched high up by the crest of a spur of the Apennines. Here the air was clear and cool, and in the forest close at hand the sweet breeze moved whisperingly through the tremulous leaves. Here the birds, the little sisters dear to S. Francis, sang joyous and undisturbed. Here hyacinth, anemone and narcissus carpeted the ground. This Franciscan retreat was indeed the summit of a mountain climbed by penitence, discipline and love. Here man's pristine innocence was restored and his happiness regained. Here he was crowned and mitred king and priest over himself. From this favoured ground the pageant of the Church's chequered progress through history might be clearly seen. Here his early ideal confronts Dante again, and he thinks of Beatrice now ascended from flesh to spirit and become more resplendent than before in beauty and virtue. Through her he is cleansed and strengthened and becomes ready to ascend to the stars. It is surely from some such experience as this rather than from books that Dante paints the Earthly Paradise. His imagery is necessarily borrowed from the shows of time, but he uses it to express experience which is beyond time and transcends space. The mystic is not he who makes known for the first time some divine secret, but he who has gained a standpoint above the temporal and who enjoys a new and direct vision of old truths. Dante ascended through every sphere till he reached the final ineffable experience so complete, so satisfying, which transcended thought and escaped memory. From the patron's stairs to the heavenly ladder, from the salt bread of dependence to the bread of angels, from poverty and pain and exile to the light and love and joy of the Empyrean the way was open and Dante passed along it. The glory which he beheld was no will of the wisp, but that sure light which had guided the saints shining ever more and more to the perfect day.

Dante tells us that his vision was similar to that which had illumined them. He partakes of a great inheritance and is related to the masters of the religious life. That relationship is very close, and in studying it Mr Gardner is a penetrating and sympathetic guide.

JOHN T. MITCHELL.

## MINOR NOTICE.

Rather more than seven years ago (to be exact, in August, 1906) Professor J. Schick of Munich proposed the publication of a great *Corpus Hamleticum*, a collection of volumes which should contain everything of importance in the literatures of the world bearing on *Hamlet*. Thanks to Professor Schick himself the first volume of this mighty undertaking is now before us—(*Corpus Hamleticum: Hamlet in Sage und Dichtung, Kunst und Musik*, herausgegeben von J. Schick. 1. Abteilung, *Sagengeschichtliche Untersuchungen*. 1. Band, *Das Glückskind mit dem Todesbrief, Orientalische Fassungen*: E. Felber, Berlin, 1912). Having thus fixed his attention on one element in the Hamlet-story, Dr Schick employs his unrivalled linguistic powers to survey the whole field of the world's literature, and to select for his first volume a number of oriental versions of the saga. Some are here printed in Oriental languages and characters—Pali, Sanskrit, Turkish, Coptic and Ethiopian—all accompanied with translations and critical comments in German; others are discussed and put into their places, but not printed in full. Only an orientalist—perhaps one should say, a syndicate of orientalists—could profess to deal with the book on its merits. But a student of English may be permitted to express his admiration of that enthusiastic devotion to Shakespeare which has led Dr Schick to undertake a work which needed extraordinary courage as well as extraordinary attainments, and no less his appreciation of those earlier pages of the book in which the editor surveys his field and in particular compares the treatment which the 'Death-missive' saga receives at the hands of Saxo Grammaticus and at those of Shakespeare. From the eloquence and brilliance of these passages one is justified in expecting much from the future volumes of the series. 'The succeeding volume,' we are told, 'will have to investigate the migration of the saga across Europe: Greek, Albanian, Roumanian, Hungarian, even Croatian, Russian, Polish and Finnish versions will demand our attention, as well as numbers of versions in Romance and Germanic lands.' It is clear that the monument which is being raised to Shakespeare will be no less a monument to the powers of the man who conceived the design and is carrying it into execution.

G. C. M. S.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS.

June—August, 1913.

### GENERAL.

- CAZAMIAN, L., *Études de psychologie littéraire*. Paris, Payot. 3 fr. 50.
- JOHNSTON, H., *Phonetic Spelling: a proposed universal alphabet for the rendering of English, French, German, and all other forms of speech*. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 3s. 6d. net.
- PRYS, J., *Der Staatsroman des 16. und 17. Jahrh. und sein Erziehungsideal*. Würzburg, Staudenraus. 4 M.
- VERRALL, A. W., *Collected Literary Essays, classical and modern*. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 10s. 6d. net.

### ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

#### General.

- ALLARD, E., *Friedrich der Grosse in der Literatur Frankreichs, mit einem Ausblick auf Italien und Spanien*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte der romanischen Sprachen und Literaturen, VII.) Halle, Niemeyer. 5 M.
- Bibliotheca Romanica. 177. *La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes*. 178. U. Foscolo, *Opere*. Poesie giovanili. Poesie liriche e satiriche. Originali. 179—182. D. Diderot, *Le Paradoxe sur le comédien*. Le neveu de Rameau. 183—187. M. Alemán, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, I. 188—189. P. de Ronsard. *Oeuvres*. Odes, I. Strassburg, J. H. E. Heitz. Each no., 40 pf.

#### Italian.

- Antologia d' antichi scrittori senesi, dalle origini a S. Caterina, a cura di F. Tozzi. Siena, Giuntini e Bentivoglio. 3 L.
- Antologia della lirica veneziana: raccolta di poesie dialettali dal cinquecento ai nostri giorni, ordinate da A. Pilot. Venice, G. Fuga. 5 L. 50.
- BALBO, C., *Sommario della Storia d' Italia*, a cura di F. Nicolini, I. (Scrittori d' Italia, L.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.
- BARETTI, G., *Scelta di lettere familiari, critiche e descrittive*, a cura di L. Piccioni. Livorno, Giusti. 1 L. 60.
- BELLEZZA, P., *Curiosità dantesche*. Milan, Hoepli. 8 L. 50.
- CARDUCCI, G., *Opere complete*, vol. IX, X. Bologna, Zanichelli. Each 2 L. 50.
- CASINI, J., *Scritti danteschi*. Florence, Ist. Micrografico italiano. 4 L. 50.
- CHIAPPELLI, A., *Storia del teatro in Pistoia, dalle origini alla fine del sec. XVIII*. Florence, B. Seeber. 6 L.
- DALLA MAN, L., *Un discepolo di P. Aretino*, Lorenzo Venier. Ravenna, Tip. Nazionale. 3 L.
- DANTE, A., *Pages choisies, traduction, résumés et commentaires par A. Valentin*. Paris, A. Colin. 3 fr. 50.

- FANTONI, G., Poesie, a cura di G. Lazzeri. (Scrittori d' Italia, XLVIII.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.
- FIAMMAZZO, A., Note dantesche sparse. Savona, D. Bertolotto. 5 L.
- LAMBERT, F. A., Dante's Matelda und Beatrice. Eine Skizze. Munich, Piloty und Loehle. 6 M.
- LIGUORI, E., and A. PELLI, Dizionario carducciano. Florence, G. Barbèra. 4 L.
- MARINO, G. B., Poesie varie, a cura di B. Croce. (Scrittori d' Italia, LI.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.
- MIGNON, M., Étude de littérature italienne. Paris, Hachette. 3 fr. 50.
- Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato, a cura di A. Segarizzi, II. (Scrittori d' Italia, XLIX.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.
- STAMPA, G., and V. FRANCO, Rime, a cura di A. Salza. (Scrittori d' Italia, LII.) Bari, Laterza. 5 L. 50.
- VOSSLER, K., La Divina Commedia, studiata nella sua genesi ed interpretata. Trad. di S. Jacini, vol. II, I. Bari, Laterza. 4 L.

**Spanish.**

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- FABO, P., Rufino José Cuervo y la lengua castellana. 3 Tomos. Bogota, Arboleda y Valencia. 22 pes. 50.
- RUIZ, J., Arcipreste de Hita, Libro de Buen Amor. Edición y notas de J. Cejador y Frauca. (Clasicos Castellanos, XVII.) Madrid, 'La Lectura.'
- SAN JUAN DE LA CRUZ, Obras del místico doctor. Edición crítica. Tomo II. Toledo, Pelaez. 5 pes.
- SANTILLANA, MARQUÉS DE, Canciones y Decires. Edición y notas de V. García de Diego. (Clasicos Castellanos, XVIII.) Madrid, 'La Lectura.'
- SAVJ-LOPEZ, P., Cervantes. Naples, Ricciardi. 3 L.
- WURZBACH, W. VON, Einführung in die romanischen Klassiker. 2. Cervantes, Don Quijote; 3, 4. Cervantes, Novellen. Strassburg, J. H. E. Heitz. Each no., 1 M. 50.

**French.**

(a) *General (incl. Linguistic).*

- BRUNEAU, CH., Étude phonétique des patois d'Ardenne. Paris, E. Champion. 15 fr.
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- MARTINON, PH., Comment on prononce le français. Paris, Larousse. 5 fr.
- PASSY, P., Les sons du français. Nouv. édit. Paris, H. Didier. 2 fr.
- SCHÖNIG, R., Romanisches vorkonsonantisches L in den heutigen französischen Mundarten. (Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, Beihefte, XLV.) Halle, Niemeyer. 5 M. 60.

(b) *Old French.*

- KRISTIAN VON TROYES, Yvain (der Löwenritter). Textausgabe mit Einleitung, herausg. von W. Foerster. (Romanische Bibliothek.) Halle, Niemeyer. 2 M.
- OLSCHKI, L., Paris nach den altfranzösischen nationalen Epen. Heidelberg, C. Winter. 10 M.
- Yderroman, Der altfranzösische, herausg. von H. Gelzer. (Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, XI. Jahrg. 1. Band.) Halle, Niemeyer. 16 M.

(c) *Modern French.*

- BALZAC, H. DE, Œuvres complètes. Tome XI, XII. Paris, L. Conard. Each 9 fr.
- BERSAUCOURT, A. DE, Études et recherches. Paris, Mercure de France. 3 fr. 50.
- BITHELL, J., Life and writings of M. Maeterlinck. London, W. Scott. 1s. net.
- BORGERHOFF, J. L., Le théâtre anglais à Paris sous la Restauration. Paris, Hachette. 5 fr.
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- RABELAIS, F., Œuvres. Tome II. Édition critique publ. par A. Lefranc, J. Boulenger, H. Clouzot. Paris, E. Champion. 10 fr.
- STROWSKI, V., Histoire du sentiment religieux en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Pascal et son temps. III<sup>e</sup> partie. Paris, Plon-Nourrit. 3 fr. 50.
- VERLAINE, P., Œuvres posthumes. Tome II. Paris, A. Messein. 6 fr.
- VIGNY, A. DE, Œuvres complètes, éd. définitive. 9 vols. Paris, Ch. Delagrave. Each vol. 3 fr. 50.
- VOLTAIRE, Œuvres inédites. Tome I. Mélanges historiques, publ. par F. Caussy. Paris, E. Champion. 10 fr.

## GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

**General.**

- CLASSEN, E., On Vowel Alliteration in the Old Germanic Languages (University of Manchester Publications, Germanic Series, I). Manchester Univ. Press. 3s. 6d. net.
- Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der germanischen Philologie. XXXIII. Jahrg. 1911. Berlin, Langenscheidt. 11 M.

**Gothic.**

- Bibel, Die gotische. I. Matthäus, herausg. von E. Mayr. (Münchener Texte, v.) Munich, Callwey. 60 pf.
- MAYR, E., Paradigmen zur gotischen Grammatik. (Münchener Texte, Ergänzungsreihe, I.) Munich, Callwey. 40 pf.

**Scandinavian.**

- BJORNSON, BJ., Artikler og Taler. 13.—15. Hefte. Christiania, Gyldendal. Each 30 øre.

- HEUSLER, A., Altisländisches Elementarbuch. (Sammlung germanischer Elementar- und Handbücher, 1. Reihe, III.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. 5 M.
- MÄSTERSTYCKEN UR SVERIGES LITTERATUR. IV. Bengt Lidner, Grefvinnan Spastaras död och Aaret 1783. V. Konung Gustaf III, Äreminne öfver riksrådet och fältmarskalken Lennart Torstenson. Stockholm, Lagerström. 5 kr. 50 and 4 kr. 50.
- NERMAN, B., Studier i Svärges hedna litteratur. Upsala, Akad. bokh. 4 kr..
- NORGES INDSKRIFTER, med de ældre Runer. Udgivne ved S. Bugge. Indledning. 2. Hefte. Christiania, J. Dybwad. 5 kr. 20.
- PALUDAN, J., Fransk-engelsk Indflydelse paa Danmarks Litteraturhistorie i Holbergs Tidsalder. Aarhus, Nationale Forfatteres Forlag 9 kr.
- STRINDBERG, A., Samlade skrifter. XII-XIV. Stockholm, A. Bonnier. 3 kr. 25 ; 2 kr. 25 ; 3 kr.
- TEGNÉR, E., Samlade dikter. Nationalupplaga. Stockholm, Svenska bokförlag.. 2 kr.

### English.

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- GREIN, C. W. M., Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter, neu herausg. von J. J. Köhler. 9. Lieferung. Heidelberg, C. Winter. 1 M. 50.

#### (b) *Modern English.*

- American Poems, 1625-1892. Selected and edited with illustrative and explanatory notes and a bibliography. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 6s. net.
- BREWSTER, W. T., The Writing of English. (Home University Library.) London, Williams and Norgate. 1s. net.
- BRIDGES, R., Poetical Works. Oxford Edition. London, H. Milford.. 1s. 6d. net.
- BRILLIOTH, B., A Grammar of the Dialect of Lorton (Cumberland). Upsala, Akad. Bokh. 4 kr.
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- DELATTRE, F., De Byron à Francis Thompson, essais de littérature anglaise. Paris, Payot. 3 fr. 50.
- DRUMMOND, W., of Hawthornden. Poetical Works, with A Cypress Grove, ed. by L. E. Kastner (University of Manchester Publications, English Series). 2 vols. Manchester Univ. Press. 21s. net.

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- JONSON, B., *The Poetaster; and Satiromastix* by T. Dekker. Edited by J. H. Penniman. London, D. C. Heath. 3s. net.
- Malone Society Reprints, 1912. *The Resurrection of our Lord*. H. Porter, *The Two Angry Women of Abington, 1599*. G. Peele, *The Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe, 1599*. *The Weakest goeth to the Wall, 1600*. *Wily Beguiled, 1606*. *Englishmen for my Money, 1616*.
- MICHAELIS, H. and JONES, D., *A Phonetic Dictionary of the English Language*. Hanover, C. Meyer. 6 M.
- PHOTIADES, C., *G. Meredith: his Life, Genius and Teaching*. London, Constable. 6s. net.
- Ralph Roister Doister, with Introduction and Notes by C. G. Child. London, Harrap. 1s. 6d.
- RIPARI, R., *Romantic and non-romantic Elements in the Works of Walter Scott*. Florence, Ist. micrografico italiano. 2 L.
- SELBY-BIGGE, L. A., *British Moralists; being selections from writers principally of the 18th century*. 2 vols. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 15s. net.
- SEPHTON, J., *A Handbook of Lancashire Place-names*. Liverpool, Young and Sons. 6s. net.
- SHAKESPEARE, W., *The Tragedie of Julius Caesar*. New Variorum Edition, ed. by H. Furness, Jr. London, Lippincott. 15s. net.
- Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, *Jahrbuch der deutschen*. XLIX. Jahrg. Berlin, Langenscheidt. 11 M.
- Shakespeare Reprints. II. *Hamlet*. Parallel Texts of the first and second Quartos and the first Folio. Ed. by W. Vietor. 2nd ed. Marburg, N. G. Elwert. 5 M.
- SHELLEY, H. C., *Shakespeare and Stratford*. London, Simpkin, Marshall. 3s. 6d. net.
- SMEATON, O., *Longfellow and his Poetry*. (Poetry and Life Series.) London, Harrap. 1s. net.
- SWIFT, J., *Correspondence*. Vol. v. Edited by F. E. Ball. London, G. Bell. 10s. 6d. net.
- THOMPSON, F., *Works*. 3 vols. London, Burns and Oates. Each 6s. net.
- TRENCH, W. F., *Shakespeare's Hamlet: a new Commentary*. London, Smith, Elder. 6s. net.
- TURNER, L. M., *Du conflit tragique chez les Grecs et dans Shakespeare*. Paris, Ollier-Henry. 6 fr.
- Vision of Piers the Plowman*, The. Transl. by K. M. Warren. New ed. London, E. Arnold. 2s. 6d.
- WALKER, H. and Mrs H., *Outlines of Victorian Literature*. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 3s. net.

### German.

#### (a) General.

- FÖRSTEMANN, E., *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*. II. Band. I. Hälfte. 3. Auflage von H. Jellinghaus. Bonn, P. Hanstein. 60 M.



KLARÉN, G. A., Die Bedeutungsentwicklung von können, mögen und müssen im Hochdeutschen. Lund, Lindstedt. 2 kr.

(b) *Old and Middle High German.*

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